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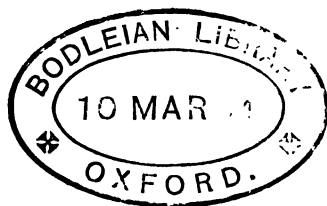
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THE
CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

N^o XXIX. OCTOBER 1882.

ART. I.—HOLLAND'S 'LOGIC AND LIFE,' AND
OTHER SERMONS.

Logic and Life. With other Sermons. By the Rev. H. S.
HOLLAND, M.A., Senior Student of Christ Church,
Oxford. (London, 1882.)

THESE remarkable sermons will recall a kind of preaching and writing which was familiar some two centuries ago, but which is of late reintroduction in our time. Its intellectual basis is that ancient theology which it is fashionable now to doubt about and to sneer at, a theology which thoroughly and enthusiastically believes in itself and its objects, and which is precise, severe, exacting, dogmatic. But, based on this theology, the style of composition gives the freest rein, not only to rhetoric, but to sympathy and imagination. It is marked by two characters, which, according to the rules of taste which have commonly borne sway among us, belong rather to poetry than to prose, especially the prose of sermons—the characters of unexpectedness and of affluence. Of course, unexpectedness and a certain kind of luxuriant affluence are found in much preaching which can only be described as coarse and uncouth ranting. Clever, audacious, earnest ranting is in high favour with many Dissenting audiences, and is becoming more popular than it is quite pleasant to contemplate in some Church pulpits. But the line which separates the daring and original forms of composition seen in these sermons from rant is clear and broad, though it may be the interest of those who are conscious of their own imperfect performances to confuse the boundary marks. The unexpected, which, after the first impulse of surprise, turns, on a few moments' thought, into mere affectation or commonplace, makes us feel with indignation that we have been the temporary victims of

imposture. The affluence, which daubs and smears its pictures with recklessly-assorted colours, showing only that the painter has an abundant supply of paints on his palette, and that he is utterly incompetent to use them, tells the tale of weakness and barrenness as surely as the driest and most helpless meagreness of language. This is very different from the unexpectedness and the affluence which give character and excite admiration in the sermons of Donne and Jeremy Taylor. Here they are no trick of style, meant to make up for thin and poor thoughts by attempts to astonish and dazzle. These great preachers take us by surprise, because they have really seen deeper and wider than we have, or seen something which we recognize at once, though we had never before been able consciously to master what it was. And if they pour forth their wealth of images and words, adding at each step tones and shades and lights to what they put before us, it is but the reflection of that living and working imagination within them which receives impressions with the faithfulness and detail of a photograph, and remoulds and new-creates what it receives with the purpose and power of genius and knowledge. When we say that these sermons remind us of the style of thinking and writing with which we are familiar in Donne and Taylor, we do not mean to pay a compliment, or to imply that they are above strict and even severe criticism. But, like those of the great seventeenth-century preachers, they do attempt to connect theology, and the theology of the pulpit, with the widest range of human thought and feeling and experience, of which the pulpit usually ignores so much, and which it deals with so conventionally; and, like those preachers, they bring to the uses of the pulpit the ardour and the riches of a far-ranging imagination and a genuine poetic temperament and manner of looking at things.

Before we go further we will cite one or two passages, which seem to us characteristic of Mr. Scott Holland's manner of treating his subjects. We have said that this manner brought them before us in an unexpected way. This is an example. He is preaching on the well-worn text about the 'Powers that be.' We all know how that text has been interpreted and applied; how endless and barren controversies about civil obedience and political resistance have raged about it; how one party after another, reckless of consistency, have thrown it at the heads of their opponents as each found law, or at least power, on their side; how the Apostolic words, grand and simple as they are, have actually

become tiresome and irritating by repeated misquotation and by cool identification of them with some huge *petitio principii*. Mr. Scott Holland hears in them something wider and more elevated—something more, indeed, than was present to the mind of the Apostle when he wrote them with application to the immediate duties of the moment. The preacher takes the liberty which we all take in using deep and pregnant words—words which have power to suggest more than their original application. In this case ‘the powers that be’ are not merely the Crown, or the democracy, or the law court which claims, and yet may try severely, the loyalty of those on whom its will or its laws bear hardly ; the ‘powers that be’ are all the great varying political and social forces which have operated throughout the history of mankind, like the forces, and the embodiments of those forces, which have made the natural and material world what it is. ‘The powers that be’ are not merely the authorities—ecclesiastical, civil, or military, legitimate or usurping—of the moment, but all that, under the control of God’s providence, has brought about the great organizations and movements and revolutions of human history ; all the ruling and shaping influences which showed themselves in the changes and progress of the chosen race ; all that created the great empires of the world, and manifested themselves in them, alike in their civilization and in their overthrow and ruin.

‘For each He had an office ; for each He had appointed a beginning and an end. One by one they rose in orderly succession, those stupendous kingdoms of the East. Babylonian and Persian, Egyptian and Greek, God had required their armies ; He had lain His hand upon their captains ; Assyria was His hammer, Cyrus was His shepherd, Egypt was His garden, Tyre was His jewel ; everywhere He was felt ; everywhere the Divine destiny directed and controlled ; and far from the especial revelation of Himself, which He concentrated upon the Jews, being severed sharply and decisively from these large social growths, it interlaced itself most closely and intricately with their motions ; it mixed its story with theirs ; it is round it they turn. The shuttle of God passes in and out, weaving into its web a thousand threads of natural human life. All history is put to the uses of God’s holier manifestation ; He works under the pressure laid upon Him by the wants and necessities of social and political progress.’

He turns the great idea, that the political and social order of the world is part of God’s own power and rule, against the objection of the unbeliever that the Church was indebted for its success to its use of Roman civilization :—

'We, indeed, may insist, with unshaken force, that the power so to put Rome to use could hardly proceed from Rome herself, as our puzzled critic is inclined to suggest ; while yet we admit with ready glee that the Church found in Roman organization, in Roman skill, in Roman order, in Roman obedience, that which had for her an overflowing suggestiveness, and won from her a free and delighted adaptation.

"The powers that be are ordained of God." So cries S. Paul ; this great empire is His voice, His call to us, His symbol ; in it He invites us, He welcomes us, He holds out hands of greeting. It is the response from without to our mission from above ; the mercy and peace that look down from heaven encounter a righteousness that springeth up from earth ; they meet together and embrace. So it was, as we know well, that the vision of the vast Christian kingdom, whose citizens should break down all partitions between Greek or barbarian, bond or free, male or female, draws its imagery and wins its intelligibility from that wide fabric of Roman law which spread its marvellous dominion from the prison-house of Paul on the Palatine, over the wide forests of Germany and Gaul, over the shores of the Mediterranean twinkling with towns, over the sweeps of African land, and the wealth and wonder of Syria. The Church never ceased to praise and admire, even where it slew her, the imperial justice of Rome ; her apologists, even when pleading before it for their lives, turn to it as to a friend ; they appeal to it from the blind fury of the mob, with the proud assurance that it cannot, if it be true to itself, be against them. They are as convinced as S. Paul himself that the law was bound only to be a terror to evildoers, and a praise to them that do well ; they recognize, with all their hearts, the nobility of the Roman ideal of a law that stood over all personal distinction, all local enmities ; and when it fell to the Church to organize her own dominion and ministrations, she used, wherever she could, the model of that civil order which Rome had perfected, and followed Rome's lines for her diocesan divisions, for her parishes and her provinces, for the summoning of her assemblies, and the fashion of her appeals. Rome was to her a perpetual suggestion of the form and direction which her Divine work should assume ; and the Church of Revelation was in no sense afraid to use and follow the fashions of human civilization.'

And he goes on to see the 'powers that be' in the latest growths of modern society, which are often looked upon as the blind results of irresistible but ill-understood and perilous tendencies, in the huge concentrations of human life and strength and activity in the great cities of modern times ; and he hears in the words of the Apostle the counsel to the Church to adapt itself to these 'powers,' with the same qualifications, of course, which must attend all such general precepts :—

"The powers that be are ordained of God." Round and about us those same powers are, moving ; they are breaking up, and re-

shaping the old-world order to new issues ; and if we were asked what was most peculiar and predominant in their working at this hour, we should answer, I think, the tendency to fashion vast cities. The powers that belong to immense masses, the powers that lie in concentrated efforts, the powers that create and move into being these huge combinations of human skill and human interest, with all their infinite multiplicity, their intricate variety, their untold complexity, their splendid range of massive achievements, their silent transformations, their noisy turmoil of business, their struggle, and pressure, and competition ; their rises and falls, so swift and yet so slow, so sure yet so unforeseen, so regular yet so arbitrary, so steady yet so blind ; their push, and press, and insistent strife ; their endless steps, and degrees, and grades, circle within circle, their changes and chances, their wealth and poverty, their shocks and convulsions, their ebbs and flows, their heavings and subsidences, their network of influences, their growth of involved habits, their intricate co-operations—yes, and their restless anxieties, their constant strain, their quickened brains, their unknown agonies, their unlooked-for cruelties, their enormous disasters, their boundless pains ; these, these are the powers that are shaping human history under our eyes ; these are the powers that hold the future in their grasp ; these are the powers that govern our immediate destiny ; these are the powers put into action by that Divine impulsion which underlies all social movements ; these are “the powers that be.”

‘And these, therefore, I would beseech you to believe, are “the powers ordained of God.” Here, in London, we stand at the very centre of this new working, at the very point where the pressure of the incoming energies is most strongly felt. Never before has society attempted so complete or so gigantic a combination ; never before have men succeeded in so extending their efforts ; and all the ingenuity of human invention is spent in rendering this union of manifold interests more intimate and more intense. Here, then, in London, more than anywhere, do we see the suggestions of God ; here, more than anywhere, we understand the task that is before us. Christianity may not pick and choose its own field of work, nor dream of some favourite and congenial society, where its creed would find itself more easily at home. It is bound to undertake the task God sets before it ; it is bound to follow His invitation, to encounter His challenge. God in each successive fashion of civilization challenges His Church ; He challenges it to measure its strength with His, to wrestle with Him as Jacob wrestled, until the dawn broke over the hills of Mahanaim.

‘Come ! He cries, here is My new offer ; here is the new stuff from out of which you must shape for Me garments of beauty ; here are the new stones out of which you must build My Holy Temple ; here is the new food which you must gather in to be transformed into the Body of My dear Son.

‘The Church fails herself, if she fails to be adequate to the needs of this invitation ; she is faithless to her hope, if she falls below the standard of mankind’s historic progress, if she has no answer to his

problems, no interpretation to give to his movements. These great cities into which the life of humanity is throwing all its endeavours, and which have in them the seed of the days to come, must be as welcome to the Church as was ever that ancient Roman empire ; she has to learn to apply herself to them, as she applied herself of old to Rome ; she has to see in them the finger of God preparing her the way ; she has to listen for their tones and assimilate their experiences. The Church of the Fathers would have been doomed if she had fallen short of the largeness, the width, the dignity, the universality of Roman imperialism ; if the citizenship she offered had been a narrower and pettier thing than that lordly freedom to which S. Paul was proud to lay claim, even under the shadows of the Temple. She triumphed because she was brave and strong enough to give a yet nobler response to those wide and splendid cravings after equal justice and a common-hearted brotherhood, which Rome set moving, but failed to content. And we have, then, a like task, in which we shall fail at our peril ! It is our task to be equal to those thousand influences that vast cities foster and increase ; it is our task to prove that the Church has it in her to deal with these new powers, to measure herself with their aspirations, to be large and full, and strong, and masterful, and immense as they. If they exhibit the enormous scale which combination makes possible, she, too, will show that she knows how to combine ; she, too, will prove her power of concentrating efforts, of doing things in the mass ; it will never do for her to be puny and small in the face of a vastness like that of London ; it will not do to be content with securing the safety of our own little corner of the world, in the face of an immense system of co-operation.'

To take another example of the power shown in these sermons—the power of transforming the commonplace into the most vivid and penetrating force of representation. It is a sermon on the two-sidedness of all high Christian character ; on the essential necessity of the strong and heroic virtues for its perfection, as well as those of the gentler and more yielding sort. It is not an unfamiliar thought : but the treatment of it in Mr. Scott Holland's sermon, 'The Sword of S. Michael,' must have pierced and startled the candidates for ordination who heard it. He begins by boldly and clearly asserting the place and the necessity of *paradox* in our human statements of such wide and inexhaustible truths as those belonging to a divine revelation ; and he carries it on equally to an attempt to realize the fulness of Christian character :—

'The very exhaustiveness of the Gospel of Christ constitutes its chief peril. Its reach and scope are so large, that the lines of connection, which hold it fast into consistent unity, lose themselves, vanish, outspan our sight. We cannot follow them home, and are thus thrown back upon the one refuge for the baffled brain—the use

of paradox. Paradox is the expedient by which our thought expresses its sense, its intuition, its anticipation, of an underlying unity which it cannot thoroughly master or unravel. It detects the action of a single principle throughout a mass of dissimilar incidents. It sees too little to be able to exhibit the singleness of the principle amid all its variable and intricate transformations ; but it sees enough to be sure, by some touch of living instinct, of the profound and dominant unity which all this intricacy makes manifest. And in order to give force and insistence to a truth which it cannot adequately express, it summons in the imagination to its aid—it seizes on the two most extreme and contradictory of all the manifestations,—and, by the very act of placing them in startling neighbourhood the one to the other, it emphasizes their real, yet hidden similarity.

‘Thus it is that the Christian faith revels in paradox. It delights in binding together in one statements apparently intense in their mutual opposition. The further it pushed its intellectual conquests, the more vivid and extreme became its sense of the power that lies in the recognition of paradox—the more secure its confidence in the reconciliation of contradictions. Its deepest heart throbbed in response to the reverberant counter-song of the Creed of Athanasius : “Three who are Lord, yet but one Lord ; three who are God, yet one God ; three Almighty, yet one Almighty ;” its whole soul rose to the great repudiation of Pelagius, as it cried, with the strong voice of S. Paul, “I live ; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me ;” for, indeed, in the pronouncement of these far-reaching oppositions, it felt itself in possession of that infinite truth which holdeth all in one, and stretcheth from end to end, and is never broken. It knew its power, and its triumphant glee could not conceal its victory, as it broke out in creed, or collect, or hymn : The Word of the Lord is a double-edged sword ; it turneth this way and that.

‘But this double character has its natural danger. At the slightest weakening of the high tension which paradox expresses, we slide into the easier and lazier course of contenting ourselves with one or other of the opposing sides of our truth. This has been familiar enough in the history of heresy ; perhaps it is hardly so familiar in the moral domain. Yet that paradoxical character of the Christian Creed, which has left its mark so forcibly upon its theology, is no less remarkable in its moral aspirations and development. There, too, Christ revealed, as embraced within the compass of a single principle, actions and effects of intensely opposite tendency : “Blessed are the hungry ; they shall be filled.” “Blessed are the meek ; they shall inherit the earth.” “He that loseth his life shall save it.” “He that saveth his life shall lose it.” So ran the startling message ; and as men stood bewildered with vague awe at words so double-sided, they found themselves uplifted to the level of their solution by the impulse of a compelling faith in Him in Whom paradox attains its climax of astounding surprise, yet attains it without extravagance, without strain, without effort, without violence, in the perfect peace of assured fulfilment, in the ease and the quiet of a natural, an irresistible reconciliation. For, indeed, where was

there to be found one trace of discordant contradiction in Him Who was at once absolute Lord and absolute Servant of all ; of Him Who lived that He might die, and died that He might live ; of Him Who claimed the entire control and possession of our whole will, and heart, and soul, on the ground that He, and no one else, was meek and lowly and submissive ; of Him Who obtained and demanded all glory because He sought not His own glory ; and could do all things that the Father doeth, because He could of His own self do nothing ; of Him, in one phrase, Who was Son of God because He was the Son of Man ?

'There are two opposing sides, then, to the moral character instilled by the graces of Christ, just as much as there is a double-sided opposition in the intellectual expression of the Godhead revealed in Christ ; and morally, as well as intellectually, therefore, we have to guard against any one-sided development, against any jealous exaltation of a single factor of the opposition. Such partiality would be a moral heresy, however true its actual aim, however pure its aspiration ; just as any attempt to ignore the counter-side of a theological position becomes intellectual heresy, however exact and genuine the actual statement itself may be. It is heretical not because it is wrong, but because it is partial, because it is deficient. Let us try to recall the double and Divine aspects of the Christian's spiritual manifestation, that so we may know more surely whether we stand at all in peril of such moral partiality, such moral heresy.'

This is forcibly put ; yet we cannot but observe that it is itself an illustration of the very dangers of which Mr. Holland speaks. For one of these dangers is that the sense of paradox may lead a man to overstrain paradox. And surely paradox is overstrained in such a phrase as that our Lord 'was Son of God, because He was the Son of Man.' Mr. Holland, we doubt not, has a meaning in it, and a reasonable and true one ; but it cannot be said that such a meaning is obvious, and it is perilous to be carried away by a keen perception of the reality of hidden unity in apparently opposite statements into unexplained and incautious language on such a subject as this. But the sermon goes on. After dwelling with that affluence of suggestion and imagery of which he is a master on the more hidden and unseen side of moral perfectness, on its roots and foundations and secret springs, in the depths where temptations are fought and conquered unseen, and where love and humility and self-sacrifice grow and work in the shade, the side represented by the Divine seclusion at Nazareth, he goes on to the other side ; and it is like the passage in a musical composition from the sweet and gentle *adagio* to a movement of fiery and impetuous storm :—

'But here begins the moral paradox. This very same character has another aspect, takes an entirely different form. There are

counter-pictures given us to that of the leaven. There is a world of imagery taken from light, from fire, from salt, from the sword, from the wedding, from things that flash and glitter and smite and sting ; and here to-day, while still we stand within the light of Michaelmas, I cannot but single out that one supreme expression of this counter-ideal, which we yesterday commemorated. If we want to express the warrior-aspect of our spiritual life, we know no nobler, no more inspiring image than that of S. Michael, captain of the great hosts of the God of Sabaoth.

‘S. Michael ! Prince of the Most High ! Ah ! our life—meek, gentle, hidden, as it may rightly be—has something in it of another fashion. It is not all secret, all mild, all subdued and submissive. This it is ; but with this it has something more, something utterly different. It has in it a touch of fire, a scent of flame. It has in it the tingling of loud trumpets, the ring of keen and quivering swords. The breath of S. Michael is astir within its heart, and his glory kindles upon its head. S. Michael ! how strangely changed is our ideal from that on which we dwelt under the image of the leaven or the mustard-seed ! S. Michael, Prince and Captain ! he it is now who leads and shapes our moral history. After him we follow. In his name we stand enrolled. S. Michael ! how he flashes as he moves ! how swift the lightning of his flight ! how terrible the shining of his eyes, and his sword, that leapeth as a living flame ! Like the wind, he springs down from on high ! he hurls his glory from the heights of heaven ! He follows hard after him who fell as a star. He shoots along the sky ; he smites like a thunderbolt ; he pierces, he slays with every motion of his glittering spear ! Who does not know him, hung as Raphael saw him, above the foe, whom with one stroke of his passing wings—with one flying look of awful scorn—with one touch of his pointed steel, he has smitten into writhing and powerless ruin ? Or who, indeed, can forbear to remember him whom Perugino painted with a deeper mind, him who stands, young, ruddy, strong, triumphant, girt with shining armour, belted and greaved ; yet swift, ready, and at ease, with free, uncovered face, and the wind moving in his hair, as he waits with his hand upon sword and shield, in the pause between task and task, poised at rest in the evening stillness, before another day dawn, and his labours begin anew ? How invincible the beauty of his mouth ! how large and enduring the patience in his eyes ! how quick, how generous, how radiant, how untiring his glorious service ! He has done much ; he has fought and won ; but not yet is he weary. He looks round, after all his long labour, to see if there be not yet some deliverance that he might work before the night come. Call upon him, even now, and he will answer. Summon him, and he will save.

‘Such is S. Michael, Captain and Deliverer, swift, sudden, irresistible ; and in the light of his indarted splendour—in the glory of his coming—*evil* reveals the full horror of its naked and disgusting deformity. It no longer drapes itself in fair veils, nor pours round itself a concealing vapour of soft and melting delight. It is no longer that mixed, indefinite thing, of changing shape and shifting

hues, which is so intricately intermingled with all that is good, and pure, and holy, that we know not where to lay our finger on it, or where to denounce it, or what to purge and uproot, and burn and destroy. No; it is driven, by that swift insight of the warrior angel, out of all shape and disguise. It knows the touch of that penetrating steel; it tumbles down into hideous confusion under the mastery of his eye. It creeps, and crawls, and writhes at his feet in its bare reality, a vile, brutal, base, and hateful thing—a thing at which our gorge rises—grotesque as Dante saw it, sickening, ugly, repulsive.'

The eloquence of the pulpit, to be real and refined eloquence, has not often been more daring, and we must add, more successful in its audacities. And he goes on to drive home the thought in its application to the past short-comings, and the present obligations, of the ministers of the English Church:—

'I want you to consider whether we of the Anglican ministry have been loyal to the full ideal of this double-sided character of Christ. One side, indeed, we probably have already, by prayer and aspiration, set before our souls, to be desired of God. The ideal of the heaven has never, in spite of all our terrible falls, failed to work and to gather in examples of its wondrous loveliness, in our English Church. Always there have been those whose ministry was found to possess that hidden force which works from within the secret chambers of the soul, and subtly penetrates on the right hand and on the left, in the dark night when no eye sees; that force which creeps like a tide, with noiseless motion, with unceasing advance, until men wake up astonished to find themselves encompassed by the wide waters of Divine and mysterious love. Meek, holy, pure, gentle, sacred souls, whose patience has had its reward, whose labour has hallowed the earth in God's Name, blessed are your lives, your services, your prayers! Blessed are ye, the salt of the Church! the light of all our day, the comfort of our eyes through dark hours, and dusty ways, and weary years of distress! So good, so true, so enticing has their high example been, that I need not stay to express what they have so richly taught. But we have still to ask ourselves the further question, we have yet to remember the counter-side of the Christian paradox: Have we, as a Ministry—have we, as individual ministers—had enough of the spirit of S. Michael in our moral life? in our moral ideal? I want you to ask yourselves this question, each in the way he knows best. Have we, as a priesthood, in the history behind us, shone in upon the dark and cruel habitations of this world with the sudden glory of deliverance? Have we flashed in, with the splendour of the warrior angel, to succour the oppressed? to bid the captive go free? We have spoken of peace—well enough; but have we sold our coat to buy a sword? Have we avenged the heathen, and rebuked the people? Have we bound their kings in chains, or their nobles with links of iron? The praises of God have been in our mouths; but has there been a two-edged sword of the Spirit in our hands? Where has been the Helm of

salvation? where the spear of S. Michael? We have toiled for the relief of the poor and the unhappy; but have we toiled for their release, for their deliverance, for their enfranchisement? We have comforted; but have we set free? Have we broken bonds in sunder? Have we thrown open the cruel gates of brass? We have pleaded; but have we denounced? We have listened in the secret chambers; but have we proclaimed upon the housetops? We have moved with the still secrecy of the wind; but have we leaped with the power of the flame? We have refreshed with cool waters; but have we run and kindled, as a fire? And yet, if not, why not? Has there been no need? Is there no need *now*? Ah, my friends, we know too well to our bitter shame what it is in the midst of which we stand!—we who have seen and touched, however briefly, the wild life that rages up and down the crowded and reeking streets of our vast cities—the cruelties, the brutalities that rend and tear; the wicked selfishness, the heartless indifference, that deaden, and corrupt, and blind: the sensuality that devours; the gambling that maddens; the pride that tramples; the ambition that slaughters; the violence that tyrannizes; the covetousness that feeds on blood; the loathsome diseases of the soul, that sicken, and debase, and kill. We know it but too well. . . . No need for S. Michael! Oh, when was the need more sore? when was the cry for help more loud and dreadful? The Church has her task clear and decisive before her—the task not only to work within the heart of all this trouble in the gracious activities of consolation; but more than this—in complete consistency with this inward work—to come down from above as a deliverer; to break in as the day-spring from on high. Men who lie, bound with chains, between soldiers, ought to feel her shine in their prison as an angel, as she smites them on the side, and raises them up, bidding them rise up quickly, so that the chains fall off from their hands. The Church has her high task of emancipation. But how has she fulfilled it? Do men, who lie in sore need, in oppression, in social degradation, look to the Church—look to us, her priests, to be to them as their S. Michael—to save and deliver? Do men, in the pride of selfish power—in the lust of reckless success—fear the Church or fear her priests? Do they hear her loud judgments—her swift denunciations? Do they feel her victorious spear, as Satan feels the onset of S. Michael? Does her sword smite? Are the vast sins of society seen, and detected, and condemned by the glory of her eyes? Are they devoured by the flame of her wrath?

‘My brethren, these are no idle questions. They search, they pierce; they may not be gainsaid. I know not whether, at this hour of England’s life, there are to be found for us ministers of the Church questions more urgent or more imperative.’

It is clear that the possession of a power, such as that which we have seen in exercise in these specimens, rare and wonderful as it is, yet involves considerable dangers. There is the danger of overlaying truth and fact with luxuriant and

confusing overgrowths of illustration and analogy. There is the danger, the fatal danger, of exaggeration, of exceeding due measure and proportion, of bringing down the Nemesis of incredibility by pushing a successful argument too far, and exposing it to the shock of a returning tide of adverse and instinctive convictions. There is the danger attending all fresh and vehement spontaneity—spontaneity which leaps out like a spring from its source, and which seems to be its own warrant by being so free from conventionality and artifice. For all power needs restraint; and power is always rebelling and straining against compression and limits. But it is, nevertheless, the one condition of its usefulness, that it should submit itself to a discipline and a bondage as strong as its own efforts. The greatest impelling force in the engine would be in vain without a corresponding strength of resistance: it wastes itself in the air when the resistance ceases. In this volume there is power of the highest order and finest promise, both of thought and expression. But that does not forbid us from saying that, if it is to do all that it may do, it wants conscientious watching, and deliberate, perhaps troublesome, holding in. Those who are most sensible of it will yet feel, in these pages, a too frequent sense of oppression from the infinite breaking up of things into their details; from the headlong rush and pouring forth of all the shapes, and aspects, and accessories, and consequences of an idea; from the breathless, inexhaustible enumeration of all its parts and constituents. It is not merely that such profusion is prodigal and wasteful. By being spread broadcast everywhere, its effort is impaired where it is specially wanted and in place. It throws on a book, certainly not wanting in clear and sharply-cut statement, as it is full of strong and original thinking, a provoking cloud of luminous mistiness, provoking because it need not exist, and because a little resolute pruning of word and thought that 'swell and throng' too obtrusively would remove it.

We dwell upon this necessity, because Mr. Holland is apparently inclined to excuse himself from it, for reasons which experience will, we hope, incline him to modify. He apologizes for publishing a volume of sermons instead of a book—sermons, he says, written under the spur of some question or idea which was at the moment uppermost in his mind. That hardly needs an apology. Bishop Butler's sermons were probably written in the same way. But Mr. Holland seems to think that a collection of sermons, which show him to have been following one certain direction of theological thought, 'just as the molehills tell the lines of the

'burrowing mole,' needs some explanation. He has got something to say, but he must write his book 'practically in bits.' We do not know why he should not; but we are suspicious of the reason which he assigns for the necessity. 'We cannot,' he says, 'store our material; such thinking as is possible to us, manifests itself, step by step, under the pressure of immediate demands;' and then the question is asked,—is it by some friend, or by Mr. Holland's own instinct?—'Are we to recast it all?' Perhaps not; but we must frankly say that we do not like his objection to this process. It is that the 'recasting' would be an 'irksome and unhealthy task;' that in the meantime 'we have moved on, we are occupied with other conditions of the problem, we cannot easily revive the old ardour with which we expressed our first impression of this or that intuition of things.' So the result of rewriting would be an 'inevitable deadening of all the work.' 'We should rewrite it wearied and bored,' and 'what was written wearily would be read wearily.' 'It might gain in arrangement, in unity, in completeness; it would lose in everything else.' Might it not also gain in accuracy, in clearness, in proportion, in truth, and therefore in lasting force and deep impressiveness? But this manner of viewing the subject seems to us to indicate that Mr. Holland has not yet learned, what a man at once so able and so serious is sure at last to learn, the price which must be paid for the best work. If a man is to work up to his full power—that is, is to make 'full proof of his ministry'—he must not shrink from what 'wearies and bores' him. 'Irksome' tasks are not all 'unhealthy' ones. The labour of reconsidering, rewriting, 'recasting,' is very different in zest and interest from the labour of a first creation. But if it does not come in at first, it must come in at last, if the work is to answer its end.

Thus, we should say that the first sermon in the book would be the better for 'recasting.' 'Logic and Life' is a powerful and deeply felt sermon on that complex and baffling problem, the grounds of moral and religious conviction, which has occupied and, as it seems to most people, eluded the efforts of subtle thinkers on both sides in our own times—the author of the *Grammar of Assent*, and writers of the school of Mill and Herbert Spencer. Mr. Holland introduces it by pointing to what he considers the vast and characteristic transformation of modern ideas both as to nature and morality. Nature used to be thought fixed and immutable. Morality used to be thought something definite and unchangeable for all the world. Now all nature is understood

to be, according to the famous doctrine of Heraclitus, one ceaseless, universal change—'that image of rigid and unchanging law' has been 'broken up,' and 'felt the sway and swing of motion.' 'The very rocks have we detected in their growth and silent changes.' From hour to hour, nature and the world 'ceases to be what once it was, and passes on to new arrangements and novel combinations.' And so with the moral world. 'Here, too, the light of criticism detects movement in all that seemed most fixed; it exhibits growth and change in the mind itself, forming its first intuitions, building up its premises, shaping its gradual action.' Even the very emotions, the 'primary efforts of sensation at the root of all our being,' have known the processes of growth and transformation. 'Man does not feel as he once felt, any more than he thinks as he once thought.' 'All things are undergoing a process of shift or change. Within as well as without a deep and silent movement is everywhere at work, altering, transposing, correcting, enlarging.' On which we observe, that forcible as this statement is, every word of it requires a balancing or supplemental one to make it completely true; and that it is a doubtful proceeding to lay the foundation of an argumentative discourse in a generalization which affects universality, and which takes no account of a huge mass of opposite facts: for surely there are things which *do not* change, and their permanence is as undeniable and remarkable a certainty as the certainty of change. From this Mr. Holland goes on to notice the 'change which we all observe in the nature of modern argument.' He describes the change in something the same way as it was pointed out in some very striking paragraphs in Mr. Lecky's Preface to his *History of Rationalism* :—

'Men nowadays dislike deduction; they distrust all positive reasoning; they are not overcome by logical proof; and naturally. For it was one thing to argue, when reason was regarded as possessed of a scheme of abiding and irresistible rules, without which it could not act, and with which it advanced to new ground by a certain process of its own—a process over which it possessed entire control, which it dominated from end to end, and by which it reached results which its own innate criticism could ascertain, test, overhaul, ratify: it was one thing for men to meet each other in the tournament of Dialectic, when each was supposed to possess the same identical weapon as any other, the same reasoning faculty, in the same condition of use, obeying the same stipulations, wielded with perfectly equal facility. But argument becomes quite another thing when the means of argument is not so much a tool as an organ, a function, the constitution of which is no necessary and unalterable scheme, with

certain uses and characteristics of its own from all eternity, but rather a living formation, moulded by long and slow efforts, determined more or less by experience and habit, susceptible of a thousand influences from external conditions, itself a living, fluid, moving substance, capable of infinite variety, changing as the years change, possessed, it may be, of a peculiar unity and identity of type which it preserves throughout all its changes, but still for all that capable of a thousand different degrees of development, so that its action in one man may differ indefinitely from its action in another, its force and effectiveness depending always on the stage of development attained. This is reason, this the mind, as many men now fancy it ; and if so, they naturally and instinctively reject all possibility of an infallible and universal logic, to the convincing necessities of which all must bow. Such logic only represents the present momentary structure that your mind has taken at this particular stage of human history. It has force to you to-day ; but once it would have been a sheer impossibility, and to-morrow will already have affected its validity, and have begun to turn it into idle antiquarianism.'

The result of this change is seen in all departments of human thought. It is seen in the nature of our reasonings in politics. Political institutions, political arguments, depend on tempers and circumstances, and will not bow to mere logical consistency. It is so in science. 'Science by its emphasis on experience trains men to a like indifference to abstract argument : it is almost as indifferent as common sense to logical consistency.' It is content with a philosophy, 'treacherous bedfellow' as it is, which 'denies the validity of all those palmary hypotheses on which science itself depends : ' it works universally on the assumption of 'permanent causality,' which its philosophy asserts to be an 'unverified' nay an 'absurd' supposition. And so in religion.

'From such a point of view as this (the exact accuracy or limitation of which I do not now propose to discuss), we do not depend for our position on positive argument, on producible proofs. These pass us by ; they sound thin and unreal ; we do not know what to make of them ; they may seem as convincing, as unanswerable, as ever, but we do not somehow care to take the trouble to answer them ; we do not believe in them ; a syllogism, a dilemma, all the old apparatus, is accepted with respectful attention, but it does not persuade, it does not really move or influence ; it has lost its compelling force.

'Men do not care much for logical proofs of the being of God, or of the possibility of miracle. Reason may assert, perhaps unanswerably, the intellectual necessity for the existence of a single Supreme Creator ; it may exhibit irresistibly that any logic, based on mere empiricism, is powerless to demonstrate the necessity of irreversible laws in Nature. Still men remain as doubting, as uneasy, as

before ; still the pressure of Science continues to drive steadily against the miraculous ; still the creeping tide slides in almost like some blind and enormous fate, that has no ears for our voice to enter, and moves by some impulsion, alien to our cries, untouched by our endeavours.

'We still carry on the war of argument ; but the results of the conflict seem too distant to be taken into much account ; and we have but little heart to throw into discussions which, endless themselves, yet have no distinct end to attain, and achieve so little, and convince so few.

'After all has been argued out, men throw over the argument ; for behind the intellectual battle lies the region of conviction, that mental condition which is sensitive to one appeal and not to another—that mental condition which cannot be gainsayed, cannot be upset or discomfited by any momentary difficulty ; that mental atmosphere which admits one impression and repels another by some instinctive method of its own ; that mental structure which the long years have laboriously built, and which nothing but the long years will ever unmake or refashion. What is the need of struggling over this or that logical detail ? At the end of it all, the man under attack will pass all argument by with a wave of his hand ; miracle, for instance he will say, cannot offer itself in any conceivable shape to my imagination ; it is no good proving to me that it ought to appear perfectly probable ; as a fact, its improbability increases every time I look at it.

Such is the state of things ; it exists as well for us as for those who differ from us ; we have the same sense as they of hollowness and insufficiency and remoteness, as we listen to old abstract argumentation, while it deals with the living things of spirit and of God. True, we may still believe that that high metaphysic has its place, has its office, has its reality ; but yet we seem to be standing for the time on some different levels to it ; and on these lower levels we hardly know what to say to it, or where to rely upon it ; we feel hazy and uncomfortable as it delivers its decrees ; we seem to have so little grip upon its method, the words may sound strong as ever, yet the tale has but little meaning for us ; it fails to make its entry good within the substance and fibres of our real life.'

All this is strongly put : but it would be infinitely stronger if a great and serious gap in the statement had been attended to and filled up. For, after all, has argument ceased to be a factor in the formation of opinions, in the choice of sides, in the conduct of life ? Have we ceased to use it, have we ceased to appeal to it, have we ceased to trust to it ? Surely we need only to glance on the books, journals, newspapers, which are lying on all our tables, to see what a part it plays. Yes, good arguments and bad, strong argument against weak, searching and silencing argument against unguarded and inconsistent argument, clear, convincing, irresistible trains of logical proof against unsound inferences

and plausible fallacies. Surely arguments, strict reasoning, logic with its long-tested rules and cautions and guidance against the slips and perils of thought and language, have as much to do as ever, when men are competent, or think themselves competent, to use them. Men's convictions, men's changes, men's acceptance of political, social, religious, philosophical, scientific doctrines, are affected, deeply affected, by forces and developments of argument which are brought into play. Conviction is different from argument, and depends on something besides, or in addition to, argument. But to say that the power of abstract argument has passed—that our age is not one which cares for logic, and is not greatly influenced by it—seems to us as much a mistake as the opposite and perhaps more common one, that argument alone governs the issues of the great questions which interest men. Mr. Holland, certainly, as his own book shows, is not guilty of it; but his representation of his case would be much more effective if he had shown that he had not forgotten a side of the case which yet it was not to his present purpose to dwell upon. No doubt it is perfectly true, that the kind of arguments which clever men used, or refuted, or thought unanswerable in the days of Thomas Aquinas, or of Bacon, or again in the days of Shaftesbury and Hobbes on one side, and Butler, Clarke, and Paley on the other, are as different from those which we care about, and which affect us, as cross-bows are from muskets, and as matchlocks and flint-locks are from our arms of precision. But—not to say that a great deal of all this old argument is not yet quite out of date—the difference is not in the severity of proof and the positiveness of conclusions, but in the material and range of the premisses: in the knowledge and belief and primary suppositions, from which the logical process started and on which its work turned. If the 'abstract argument' which satisfied our fathers does not satisfy us, it is not because it is 'abstract' and 'deductive,' and 'logical,' but because the premisses on which they argued, and which they thought so simple and intelligible, have become to us complex and intricate, and full of difficulties: because analysis has been pushed further, and real distinctions have been noticed and multiplied, and the demands for definiteness and precision have become more exacting. But all this affects the *materials* of argument, and we have not on this account lost our faith in argument or logic, in what is its proper function. And it would be a bad day for any cause connected in any way with human intelli-

gence, when it professed its indifference either to the dangers or to the help of argument.

Mr. Holland opposes 'reason' to 'abstract argument' and contrasts the one with the other. 'This modern way,' he says, 'of regarding things does not in reality suppose itself irrational because it distrusts abstract argument; rather it is the conception of reason which is changed.' Reason, he says, very truly, is not a mere engine, 'capable of doing a certain job when required;' it is a living process by which a man brings himself into intelligent relation with his surroundings and experience. He dwells on this conception of reason as something living and growing and acting, instead of a blind mechanical faculty beyond our control, tied to its groove of forms and syllogisms. It is the whole action of the intelligent man, seeking order and system all round him, patiently learning the true state of facts both about himself and all outside him, and learning also how to act upon himself and the world. He cannot rest content till he has got 'clearer and surer hold on the infinite intricacies that offer themselves to hand, and ear, and taste.'

'Continually he reshapes his anticipations, continually he corrects his judgments, continually he turns to new researches, continually he moulds and enlarges, and enriches, and fortifies, and advances, and improves the conceptions which he finds most cardinal and most effective. Undisturbed in his primary confidence that he has a rational hold upon the reality of the things which he feels and sees, he acts on the essential assumption that, in advancing the active effectiveness of his ideas, he is arriving at a more real apprehension of that world which he finds to move in increasing harmony with his own inner expectations. This effective and growing apprehension is what he calls his reason; and its final test lies in the actual harmony which is found to result from its better endeavours, between the life at work within and the life at work without. Reason is the slowly-formed power of harmonizing the world of facts; and its justification lies, not in its deductive certainty so much as in its capacity of *advance*. It proves its trustworthiness by its power to grow.

'In former days the working of thought was regarded as beyond our control: it was a separate faculty, endowed with laws, principles, schemes, methods of its own; its announcements proceeded by some infallible and necessary rules, identical everywhere, identical in all: we had no more to do with its ways and customs than we had with the arrangement of heart or brain. It was a tool that had one use and no other. But now it appears that we have to do, more or less, with the actual construction and nature of the reasoning organ itself. This construction is alive, and every instant sees it change: it is no isolated faculty where workings can continue, or be watched *in vacuo*, as we can watch the move-

ments of a machine even when it has no material to work upon. Rather is it to be held in unbroken connection with the facts on which it works, for only in relation to them is its success, its truth, obvious, or verifiable, or intelligible. Its force, its persuasive potency over the man in whom it acts, lies in the manner in which it offers to group, and arrange, and present a certain body of fact. If it can so order the various and manifold facts before the man as to make him feel them to be in harmony with the whole mass of his experience, so that he can move up and down the domain covered by his knowledge with ease, and regularity, and evenness, and fair consistency, then he accepts its work with secure and unhesitating peace. But, if so, everything depends on the character of the facts before him, and on the nature of his main experiences. The excellence of a piece of reasoning lies simply in its adaptive facility, in the response it evokes between those particular new impressions and the mass of older and habitual experiments. Change the facts, or the experience, and its excellence disappears—it becomes unintelligible.'

This is a very fine account of the way in which the living mind attempts to master realities around it, and to bring itself into a true relation with them, understanding them, and suiting itself, not to shadows and phantoms, but to solid facts; and he justly calls it the exercise of reason. But surely in this process, as manifold and subtle as we may consider it, if it is a sound and healthy one, argument has its place and work as much as intuition, and the power of turning words into things, and the grasp of what is real, and the inspiration of new ideas, and the watchfulness on habits of mind, and control of imagination, and all those things which quicken and animate and govern mind and soul in its efforts to feel after and apprehend the truth. Of course there is dull argument, which uses words like pieces in a game of chess; but there is also argument alive with the touch and grasp of reality. There is narrow argument, which starts from meagre or conventional premisses; but there is also argument which starts from large and comprehensive views of things, the result of wide observation and careful inquiry. Any one whose experience is at all like what Mr. Holland describes, who reflects on the mysterious and often ill-understood road by which he has come to his deepest convictions about the greatest subjects, and who feels that these convictions have been reached and depend at present on something besides set arguments and producible proofs, must yet be sensible how much and how often argument has had to do with them—argument in a man's own mind, argument carried on with a friend or opponent, argument surprising him and taking him by storm in some book with which he becomes acquainted for

the first time, argument bringing things to a crisis, and becoming a turning point in his intellectual history, or else opening his eyes to a sense of reality as strong and vivid as if it were the effect of intuition. Reason has various ways of working, deeper and more delicate than by open and producible argument alone, however refined and skilful; but argument fills too large and important a part in our moral and intellectual shaping to be left out or thrown into the background without great danger of leaving an inadequate and misleading impression behind. The sources of our thinking and believing lie often behind argument; but argument has more to do than would at first sight be gathered from Mr. Holland's representation, in correcting and correlating them, in preventing them from falling into confusion among themselves. Such an admission is required and is needed to supplement and complete the powerful and solemn statements of his sermon on our responsibilities for our convictions, on the close and inevitable connexion between what we are and have been, and what we work out in thought and belief.

'It is on our inner and actual life, then, that the action of our reasoning depends. Deep down in the long record of our past, far away in the ancient homes and habits of the soul, back, far back, in all that age-long experience which has nursed, and tended, and moulded the making of my manhood, lies the secret of that efficacy which reason exerts in me to-day. That efficacy has, through long pressure, become an imbedded habit, which, if I turn round upon it and suddenly inspect it, will appear to me inexplicable. Why this gigantic conclusion? Why this emphatic pronouncement? Why this array of dogmatic assumptions? I may take those assumptions up in my hands, and look them all over, and poke and probe them, and find no answer in them for their mysterious audacity. No, for they have no answer within themselves; their answer, their verification, their evidence, their very significance, can only be got by turning to and introducing all that vast sum of ever-gathering facts which the generations before me, under the weight of the moving centuries, pressed into these formulæ, ordered under these categories, wielded by the efficacy of these instruments, harmonized, mastered, controlled in obedience to these judgments—judgments which justified their reality and their power by the constant and unwavering welcome with which the advance of life unfailingly greeted their anticipations, and fulfilled their trust.

'The complexities of the physical world make it hard enough, without persistent experience of the facts, to understand the full force of the intellectual expressions in which Science sums them together. But here, in the spiritual world, the experience must be yet more attentive and persistent, if it is ever to appreciate the proclamations made about Soul and Spirit and God. For how far more intricate

is the matter with which these expressions deal ! How infinitely subtle ! How many-sided ? How quick and changing and complex ! How swiftly its phenomena enter and pass ! How multitudinous its operations ! How far-reaching its activities ! How profound its surprises ! How confusing and startling and dazzling and astounding all its sudden and rapid transitions ; all the fallings from us, vanishings, blank misgivings, all its high instincts, its first affections, its shadowy recollections ! Who is it that is going to pronounce, at a glance, on the value of the formulæ, by which men have brought under intelligible order this vast and overwhelming world of spiritual impressions ? No ! Only in intimate and undivided communion with the facts which they express, have the announcements of the reason, on any field of knowledge, any intelligible value ; and no one, therefore, who does not live and move and have his being in constant intercourse with this spirit-life can enter into the deep necessities of its laws, any more than an untrained savage would be sensitive to the potency which an experimental proof exercises over the disciplined intelligence of a scientific explorer. We must live in no casual contact with spirit, if we ever intend to understand it. For Reason tells us nothing trustworthy of itself. It is in its applicability to fact that its surest test lies ; it is by its sense of its steady advance in expressing the facts that it feels its true security ; it is by long and active familiarity with the facts that it appreciates their ultimate necessities. This, which is the rule under which Reason has laboriously built up the facts of natural experience into an ordered world, must be the rule also of all its dealings with that large mass of spiritual facts out of which it learns, by patient experience, the form and fashion of supernatural life. Slowly the significance and the harmony of those spiritual events grow luminous ; and their perspective reveals its steadier outlines. By touching, by handling, by tasting, by apprehending these spiritual facts, Reason forces its way along ; it compels them to exhibit order, it shifts and moves and crosses them from place to place ; it corrects, it extracts, it penetrates their significance, until the day breaks clearer and purer, and the strong powers that hold the spiritual fabric in adamant chains stand out with visible, with undeniable insistence, and the great vision opens, and the large spaces become light, and the sun leaps out, and the vast heavens are aglow, and all about and around him a fresh life spreads, lordlier than the natural, in ordered and abundant wealth of colour, and splendour, and peace. It is a new and supernatural world that now at last lies in broad and solid expanse under his spiritual eyes, and it does so, because he has fed his rational experience with unailing supplies of supernatural fact. This, and this alone, is the rule by which his reason can achieve its task or discover its justification ; this is the sole law of its highest endeavours. Yea, for, in so doing, it obeys the law of that Divine Reason in Whose image it is made—of that Word, of Whom it is said, “the Word was *with* God.”

All this, the central thought of the sermon, and of the

following one, is so deep, so true, so profoundly important, that, as we said at starting, we could wish to see it developed more guardedly and in a way less open to gainsaying. The contrast between the manner in which men profess and are conventionally supposed to form their opinions, and that which really is the work of the mind in forming them, has impressed the preacher so strongly that he has been carried away by his sense of the enormous interval between 'Logic' and 'Life'—the bare intellectual steps, and the vast complex result compounded of all—habits, passions, character, prepossessions, as well as dry thinking, which make up the living man. He has not said more than what is the real state of the case; but we think he may be misunderstood to underrate and make light of the value, as an element in the process by which we come to our conclusions, of strict and severe, and what people call abstract, thinking. This would be a misfortune. We are convinced that there is nothing that our time needs more than hard, solid, stiff argument on the great issues on which everything depends. We have too little of it, not too much. It is too laborious both to work out and construct, and to read and think about, for the mental habits of the day. The powers and capacities of severe argument for clearing the way to truth are limited; they are not so great and so certain as a shallow philosophy of human nature would represent them. But real severe argument cannot be dispensed with, unless a flabby subjectiveness is to become the arbiter and guide of conviction.

The same general idea of the grounds and working of religious belief—a process personal in the individual, but met, confirmed, corrected, by a harmony of things without him which is not of his making, and giving the proof of life by its capacity to advance and master its surrounding circumstances, is developed in the two following sermons on the *Venture of Reason* and the *Spirit and its Interpretation*; the last a singularly interesting discussion of M. Renan's epigram, that 'a man who could write the history of a religion must believe it no longer, but must have believed it once.' The high moral enthusiasm which raises the whole subject to its due and serious level, from a question of the methods of criticism to one involving the realities and hopes of human life, is a contrast to the sad confession and profound despair embodied in the neat French phrase. The remainder of the sermons are taken up with the moral aspects of the Christian Creed, both in itself and as regards the responsibilities and the temper of those who accept it. They are introduced by two of the finest in

the book, '*The Cost of Moral Movement*' and '*Christ, the Justification of a Suffering World*.' These sermons exhibit at the full the real greatness of Mr. Holland's power—his originality, his insight, his range of experience, observation and sympathies; and, above all, his never-failing elevation of spiritual feeling and judgment, speaking in language brilliant, forcible, copious, rising often to splendour and magnificence. Among all the many famous passages which have been written on the strange phenomena and powers of music, there is, perhaps, none finer than one in the sermon on the '*Spirit and its Interpretation*;' and it is followed by one on a national literature, which is even more unexpected in the subtlety and truth of its observation.

'We might example it again in the familiar instance of a people's literature. How huge is the effort there embodied! The very grammar itself of each separate tongue is a marvel of ingenious and manifold devices by which every shade of changing significance may find its expression. And yet this is but the beginning. That language, already in its barest grammatical form, a most intricate structure, is taken up, and turned and twisted this way and that, with a thousand thousand minutely different transpositions, into periods subtly varied, modulated by ever-shifting intonations, with unwearied persistence, with infinite pains, that at last it may succeed in giving some slight gradation of sentiment which no single expression had yet adequately conveyed. This or that feeling remains hidden and lost, restless and uneasy, until some tiny transference of phrases, some curious change, indescribable and unanticipated, in the sequence of the words, attains victorious utterance through some prophetic lips. We recognize it in an instant. That is what we waited for: that is the word; no other but that. A hundred poets had striven to say it; but no one till now could exactly seize what we felt and knew. So delicate are the balances, so minute the scales with which we test our inner life!'

And yet with all these marks of genius there is something which we wish for, which we venture to hope for in time to come. What these sermons want is, first of all, the visible exercise and proof of self-restraint. The writer is so possessed with a great and fruitful idea, and finds in his hand so ready and so apt an instrument for developing it in all its manifold bearings and results, that he seems sometimes swept away by the rushing torrent of thought and images. The flow and exuberance of language is often oppressive, is not seldom incorrect and obscure. In a whole string of sentences which aim at putting the matter in yet fresh and fresh light, one will be distinct and accurate, while side by side will be its fellow and parallel, misty, confused, perplexing.

The result is sometimes more than mere obscurity. It leads, as we have already pointed out, to language on matters of important theological doctrine which, as it stands, unexplained and unguarded, is only saved from being wrong by being unintelligible. And next, as we have already said, in the discussion of the difficult and complicated questions relating to religious conviction and belief, there is room for greater clearness, greater steadiness in following out a statement to what it ends in, greater abundance of illustration in concrete details and instances. Mr. Holland has himself shown in his preface, that he is what Montaigne called himself, *un esprit prim-saultier*.¹ He makes his vigorous and powerful spring. He is 'deadened,' 'bored,' disgusted if he has to do it a second time. But for the work which he has to do, this revision and reconsideration of what has already seemed so clear and certain, is simply a necessity. At all cost of irksomeness and disappointment it must be gone through. In so complicated and shifting and treacherous a subject as the working of the human mind in seeking and finding religious truth, if we want to satisfy others besides ourselves, we must not mind trouble. We must not shrink from the underground and non-apparent work of clearing up thoughts, making sure of our meaning, disentangling perplexed and perhaps obstinate confusions, cross-examining and testing in every way our generalizations and inferences. Mr. Holland is a man who is bound to aim at more than present and passing efforts. Something has been given him to leave behind him. But the saying of a keen man of the world is even more true of the finish and perfection of thoughts than, as he urged it, of the care and trouble necessary for the successful use of language. 'Once for all,' said Philip Francis to Edmund Burke, 'I wish you would let me teach you to write English. Why will you not allow yourself to be persuaded that *polish is material to preservation* ?'

¹ 'J'ay un esprit prim-saultier : ce que je ne veois de la première charge, je le veois moins en m'y obtenant.'—*Essais*, l. ii. c. x.

ART. II.—CONVOCATION UNDER QUEEN ANNE.

1. *Correspondence, etc. of Francis Atterbury, D.D., Bishop of Rochester.* (London, 1784.)
2. *Historical Additions to Life of Richard Baxter.* By EDMUND CALAMY. (London, 1713.)
3. *The Narrative of the Lower House vindicated.* A Reconciling Letter upon the late differences about Convocational Rights. (London, 1702.)
4. *The Complainer further reprov'd.* By EDMUND GIBSON. (London, 1705.)

IN a late article¹ we endeavoured to sketch the stormy proceedings in the Convocation of Canterbury during the latter days of King William III. We propose now to give some idea of how Bishops and Presbyters acted together in the days of Queen Anne. If the Presbyters ventured boldly to defy their superiors under a king whose sympathies were not with them, it may be expected that they will show no less resolution when a princess is on the throne whose sympathies are well known to be favourable to the High Churchmen. Accordingly we find, in the records of Convocational strife in this reign, a greater boldness in the action of the Lower House, and a weaker defence on the part of the Bishops. It is true that by the pretence of the Presbyters having impugned her supremacy the Queen is made to write a violent letter to them. But it is not likely that any of the clergy, who listened to this, mistook the language used in it as expressing the Queen's genuine sentiments, but put it down to its real authors, the Whig Ministry—greatly exasperated against the High Churchmen—and the peevishness of the Primate and Bishop Burnet, neither of whom was endowed with the most serene of tempers.

Though the Parliament continued sitting after the death of King William, by virtue of a special Act, it had been decided by the Judges that Convocation expired with the vacancy of the Crown. It did not meet again till October, when the new Parliament assembled. Atterbury had been occupied in the meantime in endeavouring to strengthen his position as to the parliamentary character of Convocation. He writes to Bishop Trelawny,—

¹ See *Church Quarterly Review*, No. 27, Art. iv.

‘I sent your lordship a book¹ on Thursday last, which I have just finished, and intend to publish some few days before the Convocation sits.’

In this book he endeavoured to lay the foundation for calling in a very efficient ally to the Lower House in their contest with the Bishops.

‘I cannot find,’ he writes, ‘that there is any tendency in the other side towards an agreement in Convocation, and fear we shall be upon the same foot at this meeting that we have been at all the others. For which reason (as your lordship will find in the book I sent) I have by precedents prepared the way for a separate application of the Lower House to the Queen or Parliament, for a determination of our difference, if our members shall think it advisable, or be driven to make such an application, the event of which I have no very promising apprehensions of as affairs stand. But if we can no other way come at peace, I believe your lordship will be of opinion that it must be ventured.’²

It is not easy to understand why Atterbury should have had ‘no promising apprehension’ of the reference to Parliament, inasmuch as the elections were everywhere going for the Tories, and the *High-flyer* Parliament, which was returned immediately, displayed a most hostile spirit to Nonconformists and Low Churchmen by repeatedly passing the Occasional Conformity Bill. But Atterbury’s somewhat desponding tone may have been due to the fact that but few of the Bishops, in the elections for Convocation, had ordered the returns to be made under the *Præmunientes* writ; for he had fully persuaded himself that this was the only secure foundation for Convocation. Had this been done, he thought, for the late Convocation, it could not have come to a premature end by the King’s death.

‘In one thing,’ he says to the clergy of Totnes, ‘they were fully justified by a late event (the King’s death) as to the reasonableness of what they offered for reviving the too long disused execution of the Bishops’ Parliamentary writ on the diocesan clergy concerned in it; which practice, had it been kept up in every diocese of the kingdom, as it was in this and some others, had prevented the late dissolution of the synod, and given the clergy a title to a parliamentary attendance upon the foot of the late statute, notwithstanding the death of his Majesty, by which that meeting alone determined which

¹ ‘The Parliamentary original and rights of the Lower House of Convocation cleared, and the evidences of its separation from the Upper House produced on several heads, particularly in the point of making separate applications (as a distinct body of men) to other bodies or persons, in pursuance of an argument for the power of the Lower House to adjourn itself.’ 1702.

² Atterbury to Trelawny.—*Correspondence*, iii. 75.

was called by the King's provincial writ to the Archbishop. Nor had we now seen such a thing, as our Constitution before was utterly a stranger to, the instance of a Parliament sitting without a concurrent Convocation of the clergy.¹

The party, of which Atterbury was the leader, were therefore by no means inclined to forego or moderate their claims for the independent status of the Lower House when Convocation met, and their very first measures served to show this in the strongest manner. Dr. Aldrich, Dean of Christ Church, had been chosen as Prolocutor, a divine who was quite of Atterbury's mind, and ready to uphold him in all his views, and the Lower House under this guidance voted an address to the Crown which at once and of necessity irritated the Bishops. 'The Lower House,' says Burnet, 'intended to cast some reflections on the former reign, in imitation of what the House of Commons had done, and these were worded so invidiously, that most of the Bishops were pointed at by them.'² As they could hardly suppose that the Bishops would agree to an address which 'reflected on' themselves, this must have been intended somewhat in the way of an insult, and as an indication of coming war. The address was sent back from the Upper House, when the objectionable expressions were withdrawn, and a moderate address agreed upon. But as if to show at once that submission was not intended by this, the Lower House immediately afterwards handed in a paper to their lordships, which Atterbury calls a 'humble application,' but which was in fact simply a demand that the Bishops should accede to the claims made in the last Convocation for separate sessions and adjournments. The Bishops were by no means inclined to concede the principle of the independence of the Lower House thus demanded, but they were not indisposed to make some concessions.

'The application was so reasonable,' says Atterbury, 'decent, and dutiful, that it could not but produce some advances on the side of their lordships, who, therefore, some time afterwards, made the two following proposals : That the Lower House might meet in committees to *prepare* business between the synodical prorogations. That *when* business *should be before* the Convocation the Archbishop *would* so order the prorogations that sufficient time *should be allowed* for the considering and finishing it.'³

But these concessions did not at all satisfy Atterbury and his party.

¹ Charge to Archdeaconry of Totnes.—*Correspondence*, ii. 218.

² *Own Time*, p. 726.

³ Charge to Archdeaconry of Totnes.—*Correspondence*, ii. 224.

'The clergy saw that, upon the foot of these proposals, their *acting* and very *being* would be entirely precarious, and that a compliance with them would be so far from bringing the dispute to a final determination (as they expressly desired), that it would not lay it asleep for one moment longer than the business they entered upon should be grateful to their superiors, in whose power it was left to suffer them to act or not to act as an House, as they should see occasion. They, therefore, once more earnestly besought their lordships that they would please to suggest such a method of accommodating this difference as would totally silence it for the future and put it out of the power of either House to *interrupt* the business of Convocation by reviving any disputes about the forms and rules of proceeding.'

It was no doubt evident to the Bishops that the only thing likely to *totally silence* the Presbyters was to concede to them their claims of independence. But this they were not prepared to do.

'Their lordships wholly declined this proposal, and instead of offering anything suitable to it transmitted to the Lower House a paper containing the reasons of their claim (reasons which they had often before urged, and which had been as often answered (?)), and of the necessity they were under of insisting upon it. The Lower House now thought it high time to make some proposal of this kind, since they were not likely to receive any, and did, therefore, lay before their lordships the following request.'¹

The request was that inasmuch as the Upper House could not be considered as impartial judges in their own cause, the matter might be referred to the Queen with a humble request that she would appoint some competent persons to be judges in the matter, and to give their decision.² It was now evident to Atterbury's party that they had nothing to fear from the lay power, but were certain of support as against the Bishops. Only a few days before this request (November 21), the House of Commons had voted, 'that the House of Commons would on all occasions assert the just rights and privileges of the Lower House of Convocation.' The appeal to the State power was therefore somewhat alarming to the Bishops. It was also in no small degree perplexing, as the Bishops, and the 'moderate' men who supported them, had so zealously written up the power of the Crown over Church synods. Consequently their lordships now found themselves thrown back upon Church principles as their only stay and resource.³ They dared not

¹ Atterbury's Charge to Archdeaconry of Totnes.—*Correspondence*, ii. 224.

² Calamy, *Historical Additions*, i. 636.

³ The Bishops considered 'that the rights which the constitution of

trust themselves to the props on which they had formerly leaned, but after ten days' consideration of the awkward request of the Presbyters replied—

'That they could yield no farther than they had done without manifest injury to their constitution as an Episcopal Church; that they did not admire their affecting to express themselves in a manner that sets the two Houses on such an equality, as was inconsistent with the episcopal authority and the presidency of the Archbishop; that they could not think it proper to trouble her Majesty with this controversy, and that it was not in their power to part with any of those rights with which they were intrusted by the constitution of the Church and the laws and customs of the realm.'¹

Aldrich, Atterbury, and the High Churchmen must have been filled with secret triumph when they saw their enemies thus delivered over into their hands. Did the Bishops appeal to Church principles? Did they censure them as unmindful of the duties of Presbyters towards their superiors, and as ignoring the very constitution of the Church? They would show them the contrary, and by the way in which they would show it to them they would cause them either to accept a position and a doctrine contrary to that which most of them had entertained, or to exhibit themselves as peevishly refusing to be satisfied on any terms, or even exhibit them as the patrons of Presbyterianism. They responded to the reply of the Bishops by voting a declaration, declaring the *Divine right of Episcopacy*,² and on the same day they sent up another address to the Upper House, desiring the Bishops to concur with them in settling the doctrine of Episcopacy, that it might be the standing rule of the Church. Here was a dilemma for Tenison, Burnet, and the other Bishops, who held merely Erastian views about the matter, and thought that one form of Church government was as permissible as another, so long

the Church and the law had vested in them were trusts lodged with them, which they were to convey to their successors as they had received them from their predecessors, and that it was not in their power to refer them.'—Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 726.

¹ Calamy, i. 637.

² 'That whereas they had been scandalously and maliciously represented to be favourers of Presbytery in opposition to Episcopacy, they now declared that they acknowledged the order of Bishops as superior to Presbyters, to be of divine apostolical institution, and that they claimed no rights but what they conceived necessary to the very being of the Lower House of Convocation.' Bishop Burnet says of this: 'The Lower House looked on what they did in this matter as a masterpiece; for if the Bishops concurred with them they reckoned they gained their point, and if they refused it they resolved to make them who would not come up to such a positive definition pass for secret favourers of Presbytery.'—*Own Time*, p. 727.

as it was accepted and enforced by the State. They by no means expected this awkward tribute of deference, when by way of humbling their opponents they accused them of having no regard to the Episcopal office. A way out of the difficulty suggested itself to some of the moderate party, or the Bishops' friends, in the Lower House. They also presented a declaration to the Bishops to the effect that while they did not object to the truth of the doctrine that the order of Bishops was by Divine Apostolical institution superior to Presbyters, yet they were apprehensive that to make any declaration on the subject would be equivalent to *making a Canon*, which could not be legally done without the Royal license.¹ The Bishops caught readily at this way of escape. The Lower House was informed that the question being one of importance, no answer could be given them till after Christmas, and when the answer was sent (January 20, 1703) it was to the effect that—

‘The Preface to the Form of Ordination contained a declaration of three orders of ministers from the Apostles' times by Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, to which they had subscribed; but that the Archbishop and his brethren conceived that without a Royal license they had not authority to attempt, enact, promulge, or execute any canon, by whatever name it might be called, which should concern either doctrine or discipline; and that this was the opinion of divers learned persons in their own House; but that they took notice of their zeal for the Episcopal order, and hoped they would act agreeably to it in their future proceedings.’²

The Bishops thus parried the blow, but the transparent subterfuge to which they had been reduced could not have raised them in the opinions of the clergy. For either such a declaration as to Episcopacy was no canon (which indeed is pretty evidently the case), or if it were to be regarded as a canon they might have easily had the Royal license for the asking. Atterbury, therefore, in his Charge to the clergy at Totnes, is able to make out a very plausible case against the Bishops and their supporters.

‘The men,’ he says, ‘who take pleasure in traducing their brethren have endeavoured to expose those of them who appeared steady in this cause under the invidious name of High Churchmen. What they mean by that word I cannot tell. But if an High Churchman be one who is for keeping up the present ecclesiastical constitution in all its parts, without making any illegal abatements in favour of such as either openly oppose or secretly undermine it; one who, though he lives peaceably with all men of different persuasions, and endeavours to win them over by methods of unity and kindness, yet

¹ Calamy, i. 638.

² *Ibid.*

is not charitable and moderate enough to depart from the Establishment (even while it stands fixed by a law), in order to meet them half way in their opinions and practices; one who thinks the canons and rubrics of the Church and the Acts of Parliament made in favour of it ought strictly to be observed and kept up to, till they shall, upon a prospect of a thorough compliance from those without (if such a case may be supposed) be released in any respect by a competent authority; I say if this be the character of an High Churchman (how odious a sound soever that name may carry), I see no reason why any man should be displeased with the title, because such an High Churchman is certainly a good Christian and a good Englishman. But to see the inconsistency of these men in their reproaches! At the same time that they have represented many of their brethren as too stiffly addicted to the rules and principles of this Church, they have ventured to asperse them also as no friends to the sacred order of Bishops, which is the corner stone and pillar of our Church fabric; and without a due regard for which it is impossible that presbyters here in England should be High Churchmen, or indeed any Churchmen at all. And so far was this absurd slander carried that the Lower House were reduced to a necessity of justifying themselves under their hands by declaring their opinion of the divine right of Episcopacy, and beseeching their lordships' concurrence in their declaration, which nevertheless they could not obtain.¹

But while Atterbury and his party in Convocation were thus perplexing the Bishops by their ingenious tactics, they also employed other weapons against them which were not so legitimate.² Presuming upon the favour which High Church views were known to enjoy with the Queen, and upon the countenance which had been shown to them in the House of Commons, the Lower House, though the Bishops had very fittingly refused to refer the matter in dispute about prorogations to the arbitration of the Crown, took upon themselves to do this on their own responsibility. They take the ground that, owing to the ten years' disuse of Convocation, many questions had arisen as to the relative position of the two Houses; that the Bishops had refused them a verbal conference, and had also refused to refer the matter to arbitration, wishing to force the Lower House to accept their ruling; they, therefore, fled for protection to her Majesty, &c. They were answered that the Queen would consider the matter and give them a reply. The Presbyters also were not inclined to

¹ Atterbury's Charge to Archdeaconry of Totnes.—*Correspondence*, ii. 227-9.

² 'It would have been a strange sight, very acceptable to the enemies of the Church, chiefly to Papists, to see the two Houses of Convocation pleading their authority and rights before a Committee of Council that was to determine the matter.'—Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 726.

let the Bishops have the last word as to the declaration on Episcopacy. On February 11 (1703) they voted a reply:—

‘That they wondered at their lordships’ caution, that they would not so much as satisfy the lower clergy that they did not dissent from them even in this point too. They took the freedom to tell their lordships that they mis-recited the Statute of 25 Henry VIII., and to signify to them that, declaring their sense concerning a truth in religion, speculatively only, and without requiring either assent or obedience, was not forbidden by that Act; and to intimate their sorrow that the reflections of ignorant and malicious men, of which they complained to their lordships, were rather likely to be confirmed by their lordships’ answer.’¹

The Session of Parliament and Convocation soon afterwards came to a close, and then the usual pamphlet war broke out again more fiercely than ever. Atterbury’s pamphlet, published in the previous October on the ‘Parliamentary Status of the Lower House,’ was the subject of violent attacks. It does not seem that any other writer fully supported Atterbury. Mr. Hill, who early in the dispute had written *Municipium Ecclesiasticum*, differed from him in many points. Dr. Hooper’s *Narrative* was in many places at variance with the ‘Rights and Powers,’ &c. Indeed, it is pointed out by the able author of *A Reconciling Letter*, published about this time, that Atterbury does not always agree with himself. In the two editions of his book are found many discrepancies, and his argument itself is contradictory; for while he strives to lessen the royal prerogative as regards the control of Convocation as against Dr. Wake, he, on the other hand, attributes all to the royal prerogative, ‘by making the synod purely subsist by the King’s writ, and rendering the Archbishop an instrument only of the King and only ministerial to him.’ At this time also appeared Gibson’s *Synodus Anglicana*, which learned, temperate, and able work may be said to have settled the controversy, so far as principle went, even before the appearance of Wake’s learned folio. Atterbury, indeed, in spite of his uncompromising partisanship, must have perceived that he was worsted as regards the historical and constitutional argument.² But none the less did he continue to contend for the rights and privileges of the Presbyters as against the

¹ Calamy, 639.

² He made a great attempt to induce the Irish Bishops to summon a Convocation on the ground of these writs. The clause *Præmunientes* had been omitted from their writs, and they petitioned to have it restored; but as no provincial writs were issued, they did not venture to found a Convocation upon the other, much to Atterbury’s annoyance.—See Atterbury to Trelawny, *Correspondence*, iii. 120.

Bishops. He was deserted by some of his former allies. Dr. Hooper, Dean of Canterbury, who had been Prolocutor in the Convocation of 1701, and a strong supporter of Atterbury's views, had now completely veered round, possibly with an eye to a bishopric. There was no great love left between him and Atterbury. The latter writes to Bishop Trelawny :—

‘ If the Dean of Canterbury be made Bishop with a design to give him the chief hand in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs, I am sure to be oppressed and kept under as much as if Archbishop Tillotson were alive and at the helm. However, let the Dean of Canterbury be as great as he will, I must take the liberty to say that it was my poor labours that made him so. For had not that book I wrote procured a Convocation, and given him by that means an opportunity of forming a strong body of the clergy, and placing himself at the head of them, he could not have made it necessary for the Crown to take notice of him, in order to bring things to a temper ; but would have continued Dean of Canterbury still. In return for this I know I am to be neglected and sacrificed as far as he is able to bring it about.’¹

The peevish tone observable in this letter was somewhat habitual to Atterbury, who, though he floated on in a continual stream of preferment, never seemed to be thoroughly satisfied with the appreciation of his merits. When Parliament and Convocation met again in the beginning of November he does not appear in a very good temper. The Lower House of the Convocation had again commenced the plan of having intermediate sessions, which they had practised at their last meeting. But at the first of these there seems to have been no enthusiasm and an inclination to let matters drift into conformity with the Upper House ; only Atterbury's uncompromising spirit prevented this. He writes :—

‘ We met in the Lower House this morning, about fifteen or sixteen of us, all of one mind. The Archbishop's people had notice of the adjournment till Tuesday next and so absented, and perhaps they will leave us to ourselves altogether. The few of us that came were for adjourning immediately as soon as prayers were over ; and it was as much as ever I could do to prevail with the Prolocutor to name his assessors, and to have the orders of the day read over. I take it for granted, therefore, that it is resolved by our own leader that we shall do nothing. . . . I fear I shall have little Convocation news to report this winter.’²

The Bishops, however, were not becoming more popular either with the clergy or the House of Commons. For this was the time of the bitter contentions as to the Bill against

¹ Atterbury to Trelawny, *Correspondence*, iii. 97. ² *Ibid.* iii. 132.

Occasional Conformity, which was constantly passed in the Commons and defeated in the Lords, mainly by the votes and speeches of the Whig Bishops. Sir John Pakington, a strong High Church member, proposed in the House of Commons to bring in a Bill for the toleration of Episcopacy, as the prelates seemed so anxious to ruin themselves. Atterbury is desirous to 'put a little more life into affairs of Convocation,'¹ but he finds great difficulty in rousing his friends. On November 26, 1703, he writes :

'We did nothing in Convocation yesterday, but only getting a day to be appointed for the sitting of our two committees of books and grievances. We who met were but few ; about fifteen on our side and two or three on the other ; all dispirited, and staring one upon another ; not a man from Oxford, but the Prolocutor alone. Our old dispute about the claim of our right—we cannot move a step in ; having by the admirable conduct of our leader lodged that safely in a hand from whence no man will think it decent to withdraw it.² And while we are so few in number and the Bishops and we are on such terms of opposition, it is impossible to think of proceeding to business.'³

At this moment Atterbury's somewhat desponding tone was a little cheered by a promise from his friend Bishop Trelawny to confer on him the Chancellorship of Exeter Cathedral on the death of Dr. Jane, which was hourly expected. He writes in effusive gratitude, which, however, was somewhat premature, as Dr. Jane perversely recovered and held the office for some ten years longer.

But in the midst of this general apathy Atterbury did not for a moment slacken his exertions to procure for the Lower House of Convocation the power to transact business independently after the manner of the House of Commons. During the Christmas recess a committee of the Lower House was actively employed in drawing up a representation of the various matters connected with the

¹ *Correspondence*, iii. 139.

² This of course alludes to the appeal to the Queen, of which it will therefore be seen that Atterbury did not approve. Burnet, however, gives quite a different account of the reason why no answer was sent. It seems that the Judges being consulted were all in favour of the Archbishop's powers. Upon finding this, the Queen made no answer. 'It was believed that the reason of this was because the answer, according to the opinions of the lawyers, must have been contrary to what they expected, and therefore the Ministers chose rather to give no answer, and that it should seem to be forgotten, than that such an one should be given as should put an end to the debate.'—*Own Time*, p. 727.

³ Atterbury to Trelawny.—*Correspondence*, iii. 141.

Church which needed special attention.¹ As their labours proceeded, Atterbury becomes more sanguine. On January 22, 1704, he writes :

‘ At our intermediate session yesterday we had long and earnest debates relating to the report which the committee of grievances had laid before the House. Great art was used to render that report useless, and to make it impossible to send it up to the Lords on February 4, the synodical day. Whether we shall be able to do that yet, I cannot tell ; but we got all the particular points we struggled for ; and particularly procured two instructions to be given us for drawing two articles relating to the non-execution of the *Pramunientes* clause, and the omission for the mandate to the diocese of Bangor, by which we have pinned the House down to the report on these heads whenever it shall be drawn in, and done more to engage them to assert the parliamentary clause than hath been suffered to be done in the four years wherein we have been sitting. . . . Our grievances relate to several useful canons ; I hope there is none of them that will give the least offence to any of my lords the bishops who wish well to us, They were brought in, several of them, by other members of the committee, and I took care only that they should be expressed as decently and inoffensively as could be.’²

This remonstrance, in Atterbury’s view so very mild and impossible to offend, was not perhaps quite so gentle in the estimation of the Bishops. It complained of a general neglect by the clergy of the canons of the Church, of negligence and deficiencies in reading the Church services, of the practice of administering Baptism in private houses, of a want of decency in the administration of the other Sacrament, of irreverence in churches, many not even uncovering their heads ; that orders were conferred without proper testimonials, or fitting titles, or a sufficient examination ; that clandestine marriages were frequent ; that there were great abuses as to the commutation of Penance ; as to allowing unlicensed persons to instruct the young ; in the judges of Church courts not being persons who had taken degrees at the Universities ; in the presentments of churchwardens, which were generally defective ; in some of the practices of Registrars ; that gross errors were allowed to exist in the printed copies of the Bible and the Prayer Book, and that the immorality of the stage was

¹ Atterbury attributes the strongest opposition to the action of the Lower House to Bishop Hooper, once their Prolocutor and leader. He writes : ‘ It is not to be expressed what an uneasiness our quondam leader shows at these steps ; for he is to the utmost averse to our entering on anything that may do either us or the Church service, or indeed towards our doing anything besides fighting his battles.—*Correspondence*, iii. 156.

² Atterbury to Trelawny.—*Correspondence*, iii. 164.

grievous.¹ The Bishops, whose special work was in so many ways touched by this representation, could scarcely avoid thinking it, to use Burnet's phrase, as an 'injurious and reflecting address.' But the Archbishop and the Bishops seem to have thought that in the present state of things their best policy was to say as little as possible. They merely replied that they would attend to these matters and bring them before their clergy at their visitations. But in addition to this general representation as to scandals tolerated by the Bishops, the Lower House also presented, on March 10 (1704), a paper asserting their right to be summoned as often as a new Parliament was called, and that according to the tenor of the clause *Præmunientes*, as well as by virtue of the Royal writ and archiepiscopal mandate. They complained that in many dioceses (? most) the *Præmunientes* clause had been disregarded, and that in one (Bangor) the Royal writ and the Archbishop's mandate had not been executed. They also assert their right to have a Prolocutor chosen and admitted as often as that office should be vacant by death or promotion, and to be allowed an actuary, a convenient place for meeting, and the power of disposing of the time intermediate between the sessions as they pleased.² No doubt both these papers were extremely galling to the Bishops. They had so often denied the rights claimed, and the fallacy of basing Convocation on the *Præmunientes* clause had now been so often and completely exposed, that to re-assert these things without taking any notice of the objections to them seemed nothing less than an intentional insult. How bitterly they felt the representation as to scandals may be inferred from Burnet's words of almost savage recrimination :—

'They drew up a representation of some abuses in the ecclesiastical discipline, and in the consistorial courts ; but took care to mention none of those greater ones, of which many of themselves were eminently guilty, such as pluralities, non-residence, the neglect of their cures, and the irregularities in the lives of the clergy, which were too visible.'³

Yet though Tenison had perhaps little love in his heart for these disturbers of episcopal peace, he yet dismissed the Convocation with a moderate speech and without much complaint of the irregularities of the Lower House. In fact, his speech may be regarded as a sort of apology for the Bishops, who, he said, promoted schools for the poor, the propagation

¹ Calamy, i. 655.

² *Ibid.* 657.

³ *Own Time*, p. 761.

of the Gospel in the Colonies,¹ and the frequent catechizing of youth. Never, said the Primate, were visitations and confirmations more frequent; never was more care taken in examinations for orders. It is evident that the proud, daring, and unscrupulous spirit of Atterbury, supported as he was now by the sympathy of a majority in the House of Commons, and presumably by the favour of the Queen, had somewhat cowed the Primate. The mild, apologetical tone of the Archbishop might well have availed to hinder the next move in this internecine war between Bishops and Presbyters. But Atterbury was not a man to hesitate at any measures to uphold the cause which he was favouring, and it was doubtless by his influence that after the rising of Convocation the Representation was published, with a preface strongly reflecting on the Bishops. Atterbury's uneasy and discontented spirit was indeed somewhat soothed during this summer (1704) by the gift of two pieces of preferment. He was made Canon Residentiary of Exeter on the presentation of Bishop Trelawny in May, and in July he received a message from Mr. Secretary Hedges acquainting him that the Queen had nominated him Dean of Carlisle. Singularly enough, by these two appointments, he was brought face to face with the two men against whom he had written most bitterly. Dr. Wake was Dean of Exeter, and Dr. Nicolson was Bishop of Carlisle. As regards Wake, Atterbury promised Bishop Trelawny that he would keep the peace with him. 'I assure your lordship that I am firmly resolved ever to behave myself towards the Dean with the respect that is due to his station, and that it shall not be my fault if a fair and civil correspondence be not always kept up between us.'² And, in fact, all seems to have gone on comfortably at Exeter, Atterbury having been soon after thanked by the Chapter for his 'disinterested regard for the peace and honour of the society.'³ But as regards his public conduct as a leading member of Convocation, there was no softening or relaxing in Atterbury's spirit. On the contrary, during the course of the year 1704 many things had happened to exasperate and embitter it. The Occasional Conformity Bill had been for a second time rejected. Tory statesmen were being gradually replaced in the Queen's councils by Whigs. The influence of the Marlboroughs was carrying all before it. There was great fear lest the Queen should be alienated from the High Churchmen. The clergy met in

¹ This was somewhat recent, the Society having been founded in 1701.

² Atterbury to Trelawny.—*Correspondence*, iii. 190.

³ Nichols, *Narrative*, p. xxiii.

Convocation in October (1704) in a very discontented spirit. The temper of the Lower House of Canterbury was shown by its choice of Prolocutor. Passing by the comparatively mild Dean Aldrich, the clergy chose Dr. Binkes, Dean of Lichfield, known as the extremest of High Churchmen. The Dean had been censured by the House of Lords for a sermon preached before the Commons on January 30, which had contained almost blasphemous expressions in honour of Charles I. He was a man likely to lend himself heartily to every aggressive proceeding of the presbyters. The strife accordingly quickly commenced. On December 1, the Lower House presented a paper to the Upper reiterating their former complaints, implying that the Upper House had all along been the great obstacle to any useful action of Convocation, and speaking bitterly of the hardship to which the clergy were exposed of being obliged to administer the Lord's Supper to notorious schismatics, to qualify them for office. This was intended as a severe reflection upon the Bishops who had opposed the Occasional Conformity Bill. It is probable that this attempt to aid the high party in the Commons was due to Atterbury, to whom it had been suggested by Bishop Trelawny. He writes on November 7 :—

‘After that matter is at an end, I hope we shall fall to something which may be called business, and particularly the trying of the Bishops upon that article your lordship mentions, in which I will not lay behind the foremost. But it is, I think, for our interest and honour not to attempt that point but in company with others which we are equally concerned in, that what we do in that case may not seem done only out of a pique, but with a true design of preserving the constitution and giving life to the discipline of the Church in every respect which hath been so neglected.’¹

The Bishops drew up a full answer to this paper, in which there are many bitter reflections on the conduct of the Lower House. But thinking their dignity would be impaired by communicating this answer to the Presbyters, they merely ordered it to be entered on the register, with directions to their officer to allow any member of the Lower House who desired it to read it. The Presbyters, who were not thus easily to be put down, simply ignore the answer altogether. On February 14 (1705) they present another paper of complaints to the Bishops, the principal topic in which was the increase of unlicensed Dissenting meeting-houses and schools; and in yet another they return to the charge against their old

¹ Atterbury to Trelawny.—*Correspondence*, iii. 254.

enemy, Bishop Burnet, who was charged as having represented the authors of the Representation in his Visitation Charge to be the enemies of the Bishops, the Queen, and the nation. They complain also that to their paper presented on December 1, they had received *no reply*.¹ These attacks were, no doubt, sufficiently exasperating to the Bishops, especially as they knew that a majority in the House of Commons sympathized with them. The prelate, however, who is specially aimed at, affects a contemptuous tone. Convocation, he says,—

‘was then so little considered that scarcely any notice was taken of them, and they deserved that no mention should be made of them. The Lower House continued to proceed with much indecent violence; they still held their intermediate sessions, and brought up injurious and reflecting addresses to the Upper House, which gave a very large exercise to the patience and forbearance of the Archbishop and Bishops.’²

But though he affects to write in this tone, the Bishop was none the less furiously indignant. He, together with the Archbishop and others, was exercising his utmost ingenuity in devising means to crush the audacious Presbyters. It was determined to try the effect of an ecclesiastical monition. Accordingly, on February 14 (1705), the Prolocutor was summoned, and asked if the Lower House had held any intermediate session since the last synodical day. The Prolocutor replied that they had done so. Upon this the Primate pronounced such conduct to be irregular, and *admonished* the Prolocutor not to allow it to be repeated. This was a bold stroke; but the House in which Atterbury was the leading spirit was little likely to be daunted even by such a grave censure as this. After a stormy debate in the Lower House the Prolocutor was sent back to the Archbishop to inform him that the Lower House did not consider that it had been guilty of any irregularity; that if the admonition was intended as judicial, they protested against it as null and void, and not deserving of obedience; and they desired their protest might be entered by the register among the acts of Convocation.³ But if the Archbishop could not govern these fractious clergy, at any rate he could scold them; and this he did to his heart's content, when on March 15 he declared the Convocation prorogued.

He then reviewed all the contumacious proceedings of the Lower House from an episcopal point of view. Their paper of December 1 was extremely *undutiful*; but the Bishops

¹ Calamy, i. 662–667.

² *Own Time*, p. 771.

³ Calamy, i. 668.

had condescended to make observations upon it, which observations had been duly entered in their 'register.' It was absurd for the Lower House to talk of *adjournments*. Every one knew that Convocation did not adjourn, but was *pro-rogued*. The Bishop of Salisbury had been treated by them very badly. They had objected against his doctrine, without substantiating their objections; now they complained against him merely on some floating rumours.¹ Their lordships would strictly obey the law as they had done hitherto, and if the Lower House desired the character of Convocation to be respected, the remedy was in their own hands. Thus, with the advantage of having the last word, the Archbishop dismissed the Convocation, and intimated that he trusted the new one, when it assembled, would behave itself better. If Tenison indeed expected what these latter words implied, he was destined to be grievously disappointed, and to be quickly undeceived when the next session began, October 25, 1705. For, in truth, the new Convocation met in a far worse temper than that which had preceded it. The summer of the year 1705 was a troublous time in England for Churchmen. Many seriously believed, still more perhaps affected to believe, that the 'Church was in danger.' The Queen, who had been held to be so heartily devoted to its interests, seemed to be wavering. All the Ministers who favoured the claims of the Church had been removed from her counsels. The Marlboroughs were in absolute ascendance. The High Churchmen were excited beyond measure. Anyone who ventured to use the word *moderation* was denounced as an enemy to the Church. They held that the Whigs

'had encouraged or connived at an intemperance of speech and virulence of pen in the worst and most prostitute of their party; that they had maintained such a perpetual clamour against the ambition, the implacable temper, and the covetousness of the priesthood; such a cant of High Church, and persecution, and being priest-ridden; so many reproaches about narrow principles and terms of communion, that it was natural for those who had the care of religion and education to apprehend some general design of altering the constitution of both.'²

This general apprehension was embodied and expressed in the famous brochure of Dr. Drake called *The Memorial of the Church of England*. In this the writer declares that, in spite of fair appearances, 'there is a hectic fever working in

¹ They had complained that Burnet had spoken severely of them in a Visitation Charge.

² Swift's *Sentiments of a Church of England Man*, ii. 211.

the bowels of the Church which, if not timely cured, will infect all the humours, and at length destroy the very being of it.' He says of the Bishops that,

'being not warmed themselves with zeal for the Church, by preaching indifference to the interests of it under the suspicious deceitful name of moderation, they have very much damped and in a measure extinguished that noble spirit which their predecessors had infused into the inferior clergy.'

That these were the sentiments of Atterbury and the great body of the clergy is evident. 'The clergy,' says Burnet, 'were generally soured, even with relation to the Queen herself, beyond what could be considered possible.'¹ The new Convocation consisted of almost the same members as the old one, and immediately that it met the strife began. Dr. Stanhope, a *moderate*, preached the sermon, but Dr. Binkes, the late Prolocutor, an *ultra* man, was re-elected. The address of the Upper House to the Queen, which disclaimed the notion of the Church being in danger, was rejected by the Lower House. They voted an address of their own, which declared the Church to be in danger, though not from her, but implied that it had been in danger from her predecessor, and would be from her successor. This address was of course rejected by the Bishops. The Presbyters were called upon to agree to the Bishops' address, or to give their reasons in writing. The 'reason' which they returned was

'that they were invested with an unquestionable right of dissenting from anything proposed to them by "the Upper House" without specifying the reasons of their dissent; that their lordships' demand of such special exceptions after they had declared a general dissent was contrary to the known methods of proceeding of assemblies which consisted of two houses.'²

To this the Bishops replied that Convocation was *not* an assembly consisting of *two bodies*, that the Presbyters were the Council of the Bishops. The Presbyters, however, thought otherwise; and, ceasing to dispute about the matter, they quietly assumed the status of a separate house, held their sessions and prorogued themselves without any reference to the Archbishop.³ This flat rebellion was, of course, distasteful to many of the members of the Lower House. On December 16 the Dean of Peterborough protested formally against their proceedings. On February 25 (1706) the Queen

¹ Burnet, *Own Time*, p. 778.

² Atterbury, *Correspondence*, iii. 272.

³ *Proceedings in present Convocation* (Kennett). Calamy, i. 690.

addressed a letter to the Convocation, expressing her concern at the differences which prevailed, declaring that she would have a care for all the privileges of the clergy, but that she required Presbyters to be in subordination to the Bishops, and she was resolved to maintain her supremacy. This royal lecture, which of course the Lower House attributed to the Archbishop, would not probably have moved them much, had it not been accompanied with something of a more pungent character. The clergy had been summoned before the Archbishop's Commissary to hear it read. When this was done, the Commissary produced another document, the appearance of which did not commend itself to the sharp eyes of Atterbury. He seized the Prolocutor, and tried to drag him away. 'This is no place for us,' he exclaimed. On the other hand, Burnet, springing to his feet, shouted that if the Prolocutor did not stay, it would be at his peril. While Dr. Binkes hesitated, the Archbishop's Commissary began to read the sentence of prorogation. When it became clear to all what the paper contained, a general stampede of the Lower House took place. The members returned to their own House, and proceeded to hold a session, but quickly adjourned themselves. Ultimately, they elected to submit to the prorogation.

The sessions of the synod were now suspended for nearly a year, and when it again met the all-engrossing subject of the union with Scotland was occupying men's minds. Naturally, the clergy had a good deal to say as to the position contemplated for the Scotch Church, and the admission of Presbyterians into Parliament, but the Whig Ministry had determined upon that policy of muzzling the clergy which afterwards cost their party so dear. Sir John Pakington moved, in the House of Commons, that the clergy in Convocation should be consulted. He said—

'that the Church of England being established *jure divino*, and the Scots pretending that their Kirk was also *jure divino*, he could not tell how two nations that clashed in so essential a point could unite, and therefore he thought it very proper to consult the Convocation about this critical point.'¹

The Ministers, however, did not take the same view of the functions of Convocation as Sir J. Pakington, and Convocation was not consulted. More than that. Especial care was taken that the opinions of the clerical representatives should not be given unasked. Convocation was prorogued for three weeks, until the Scotch Bill had got through Parliament.

¹ Tindal's *Continuation of Rapin*, iv. 359.

We may fancy Atterbury's exasperation at this, which he doubtless held to be a mean and cowardly way of stifling discussion and masking one of the estates of the realm at a critical moment. It was determined in the counsels of him and his friends that the Bishops, who had no doubt been parties to this policy, should at any rate hear a plain opinion expressed about it on behalf of the clergy, and when the House met again (March 19, 1707), a *representation*, which had been previously drawn up, was voted and sent up to the Upper House. Without doubt there was a good deal of excuse for the exasperation under which the clergy now laboured; but, equally without doubt, the facts with which they assailed the Bishops were somewhat strained. For in their representation they declared that

'ever since the submission of the clergy in the time of Henry VIII., for a space of 173 years, no such Prorogation had been ordered during the sitting of Parliament, and they besought the Bishops that from the conscientious regard which they doubted not they had for the welfare of the Church they would use their utmost endeavours that they might still enjoy those usages of which they were possessed, and which they had never misemployed; with this they brought up a schedule containing, as they said, all the dates of the prorogations, both of Parliament and Convocation, and to make good their assertion, and to cover this seeming complaint and the Queen's proceedings, they passed a vote that they did not intend to enter into any debate concerning the validity of the late prorogation, to which they had humbly submitted.'¹

The hand of Atterbury may be very plainly seen in this representation. The hasty treatment of historical facts, which certainly would not bear out the assertion about prorogations,² the bold hit at the supremacy, thinly veiled by the revelation about the *late* prorogation, the tone of the whole document, betray its author. Tenison, who was by no means deficient in sharp-sighted craftiness, saw in a moment the advantage which such a protest gave him. The Queen was a weak woman, very well disposed to favour and

¹ Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 306.

² The Bishops found that 'seven or eight prorogations had been ordered during the sitting of Parliament, and there were about thirty or forty more (?), by which it appeared that the Convocation sat sometimes before and sometimes after a session of Parliament, and sat sometimes even when the Parliament was dissolved.'—Burnet. Atterbury appears to have resembled some great literary luminaries of the present era in that he first formed his theories and then hastily snatched up a bundle of historical facts (so-called) to establish them. This was evidently the case with Lord Macaulay and Dean Stanley.

support the Church, but easily led, and extremely tenacious as to her royal prerogatives. It was represented to her that here was a plain attack upon her supremacy, upon her right and power to order a prorogation of Convocation, an attempt to set the Church above the State. The Ministers, no doubt, cordially seconded the Archbishop's representations, and between them a royal letter was concocted for the benefit of the Lower House, which gave them a very severe lecture. In this letter the clergy are reproached for not having taken the lesson given to them in her former letter, and the Queen

'understands that not only the former illegal practices are continued, but also, by the proceedings laid before us, that the late prorogation, made by our command, has been, by divers of the clergy of the said Convocation, reflected on as unprecedented and contrary to the ancient and constant usage of the Convocation. We are satisfied that assertion is untrue in point of fact, and amounts to a plain invasion of our royal supremacy, which is reposed in us by the law and constitution of the Church of England, and that their subsequent declaration, being evasive¹ and contrary to what they had before done, has rather aggravated than lessened the guilt of so dangerous an attempt. As our repeated admonitions do sufficiently show our tenderness for the clergy, so our firm resolution to preserve the constitution of the Church of England, as by law established, and our rightful supremacy (if anything of the like nature be attempted for the future) will make it necessary for us (how unwilling soever we are to proceed to those measures) to use such means for punishing offences of this nature as warranted by law—all which we require you (the Archbishop) to communicate to the Bishops and clergy of your province in Convocation assembled.'²

No one can suppose that the Queen's real mind was expressed in this heated document. Probably, she was angry with the clergy for what was represented to her as an invasion of her supremacy. But she never would, of her own mind, have lectured and threatened in this style the body with which her sympathies really were. No doubt Bishop Burnet had something to say to the composition, and it was almost impossible for him to lay aside the language of a heated partisan. Tenison acted also as a partisan in the matter, not only by forcing the clergy to hear the letter read, but also by the wholly unnecessary step of publishing it in a circular letter to the Bishops of his province. When the Lower House was brought together for the destined scolding, Dr. Binkes, the Prolocutor, was absent. There was, perhaps, a design in

¹ That is, the declaration that they did not intend to reflect on the late prorogation.

² Wilkins' *Concilia*, iv. 635.

this, as it might afterwards be represented that the House, not having its head, was not actually present, or perhaps it was meant merely as a counter move of defiance. But Binkes had not the spirit of Atterbury. He was pronounced contumacious. He came and submitted, and received his lecture accordingly. The 'moderates' seemed to have got the upper hand, and in order to keep it they would not allow any session of Convocation, or even the choice of a Prolocutor, during the whole of the next session of Parliament. War had been declared against the High Church clergy. They had been not obscurely threatened with prosecutions and punishments. It was thought to repress them by terror. But this proved not quite so easy as was anticipated. There was, at any rate, one man among them who could not be repressed. The war began. Both sides marshalled their forces, and lo! the clergy proved victorious, and the moderates were routed all along the line.

ART. III.—SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF WALES.

Report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the Condition of Intermediate and Higher Education in Wales, with Minutes of Evidence and Appendices. Vol. I., Report. Vol. II., Minutes of Evidence and Appendices. 1881.

THE Principality of Wales, though its eastern border may be reached in a few hours from the Euston or Paddington Stations, is in some respects little better known to the majority of Englishmen than it would be if it were a foreign land. With its picturesque scenery, its lofty mountains and beautiful valleys, very many of them are no doubt well acquainted, but with the realities of its social and religious condition they may be said for the most part to have no acquaintance at all.

The writer of a recent article in the *Contemporary Review*, himself an eminent Welshman, has very forcibly and most truly pointed out the extent of this ignorance, and also explained the probable causes of this remarkable fact :—

'Nothing,' he says, 'more widely different can be imagined than the comparative condition of England and Wales, in almost all essential points. England is a rich country; Wales is a poor one. . . . In Wales the upper classes and the upper middle classes speak one language,

the rest of the people another. . . . That the people are in many important respects as far removed from the people of England as if the Straits of Dover ran between them and the English border, does not occur to him' [viz. to the ordinary Englishman who visits it], 'nor, indeed, can you convince him of it.'¹

Circumstances, however, have recently occurred that will inevitably have the effect of ere long bringing the *social and religious condition of Wales* prominently before public attention. A feeling has been for some time entertained—rightly or wrongly, it is not our intention to inquire—that, with respect to the means and facilities of obtaining what is called Intermediate and Higher Education, the inhabitants of Wales have not hitherto been so well provided as their fellow-subjects in England, Scotland, and Ireland; that for want of these advantages Welshmen have not had an equal chance with others of rising to distinction and reaping the ordinary rewards of professional or commercial life; and that the deficiency is owing to something peculiar in its condition, which demands investigation and possibly legislative interference.

One practical issue from this feeling has been the establishment of a college bearing the title of 'The University College at Aberystwyth,' which took place in 1872. Since then the feeling referred to has been fanned into a flame by newspaper correspondence and discussion respecting the appropriation of the endowments of Jesus College, Oxford; an expectation being entertained at the time of some action being taken in reference to them and to this subject in general by the Commissioners appointed for the purposes of the Oxford and Cambridge Act of 1877.

The question of Welsh education was submitted to the consideration of Lord Beaconsfield's Government. In July 1880, it was the subject of a debate in the House of Commons, and in August of that year Her Majesty's present Government, in fulfilment of the promise made by the Prime Minister in that debate, appointed a Committee to inquire into 'the present condition of Intermediate and Higher Education in Wales, and to recommend the measures which they may think desirable for improving and supplementing the provision that is now, or might be made, available for such education in the Principality.' The Committee, over which Lord Aberdare presided, was constituted as follows: Viscount Emlyn, M.P.; the Rev. Prebendary Robinson; H. Richard, Esq., M.P.; Professor Rhys, of Oxford; Lewis Morris, Esq. After a

¹ Lewis Morris, Esq., *Contemporary Review*, April 1882, p. 657.

lengthened and minute inquiry conducted in London and all parts of Wales, the Commission in 1881 presented to Parliament a first Report, which was followed by a bulky volume containing the evidence it had received upon the subject; and it has been officially announced¹ that it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to bring in a Bill, framed on the lines of the Report, for its consideration.

Our object in introducing this matter to our readers is not that we may call in question the present low condition of education, in those parts at least of Wales where Welsh is the commonly spoken language of the people, nor the want of more efficient means of raising it to a higher standard. For upon those points it is impossible that there can be two opinions. The necessity is obvious and most urgent. Neither is it to comment in detail upon the particular measures which are recommended by the Commissioners, but rather to inquire into the validity of the reasons which they have given for their recommendations. Unless we are greatly mistaken, the Report itself and much of the evidence which accompanies it are calculated to create certain erroneous impressions on the minds of those who have had no opportunities from personal observation of forming an independent judgment upon the elements of the case, and who are therefore to that extent disqualified from judging correctly as to the conclusions at which the Commissioners have arrived.

The recommendations of the Commissioners are based upon what they regard as the exceptional position and particular circumstances of Wales.² The wisdom and propriety of laying this foundation for the measures to be adopted every one will admit. For nothing but special circumstances can justify special legislation in favour of any class of the community, apart from its other members.

The circumstances on which they insist as distinguishing Wales from other parts of the kingdom are as follows:— (1) The distinct nationality which it has of its own; (2) the existence and prevalence of the Welsh language; (3) the great preponderance of Nonconformity amongst its people; (4) the desire that exists among them for a better education; (5) the comparative poverty of the country; and (6) its disadvantage, as compared with England, owing to the relative deficiency of its educational and other charitable endowments.

¹ By Mr. Mundella in the House of Commons, April 24. This step, however, perhaps through the pressure of business, was not taken in the late Session.

² *Report*, chap. iv. p. li.

Upon every one of these topics there is much that might be said. But in fact they mainly resolve themselves into the two elements just referred to, viz. the *social* and *religious* condition of the country; and it may fairly be asked, in reference to the conclusions which the Commissioners have drawn from their own premisses, and from the evidence that was submitted to them, whether their estimate of the weight to be attached to these national characteristics, assuming them to be such, is in due proportion to their several importance, and whether there are not certain other considerations also that ought to have been taken into account in conjunction with them. Upon some of the points on which they strongly insist, we cannot but think that there is an exaggeration of statement; that too much regard has been paid to the unsupported assertions of interested parties; and that the balance of evidence has not always been adjusted with sufficient care for the interests of truth.

We commenced our remarks with an expression of opinion that Englishmen in general did not understand the actual circumstances of Wales. With respect to *its social condition*, the idea perhaps has never entered their minds, that in a portion of their own island there lacks, to a very considerable degree, that multiplicity of intermediate gradations between the highest and lowest ranks of society, which in England exercises so beneficial an influence both on the high and the low; knitting them together by mutual sympathies in one well-compacted body; every link in the chain having its own interests to protect, and its several duties to perform, at the same time contributing something to the welfare of those above and below it, and finding its own prosperity and happiness in the reciprocal advantages which it derives from *them*.

With regard to *its religious condition*, Englishmen have heard so much of the universal prevalence of Dissent that they probably look upon the Church of England in Wales as having little more than a nominal existence. Even good Churchmen, if they believe all that is so stoutly affirmed and so perseveringly repeated, may begin to suspect that perhaps, after all, Nonconformity may be the better way; for such, they may imagine, has been the influence of its teaching that, if all is true that is told of it, the Principality may almost be regarded as a paradise, enjoying a happy freedom from vice and immorality. To leave good alone may therefore possibly in this instance be the best policy.

To these two points, then, the *social* and *religious* condition of Wales, we purpose to call attention in connexion with the

Commissioners' Report. As respects the first of them, we believe that the social condition of the Welsh-speaking portion of Wales is quite sufficient to explain the deficiency that is complained of in the now existing means for promoting intermediate and higher education, and the low standard of attainment which at present prevails. In reference to the second of the two, we believe that, even if all were conceded which is affirmed or implied in the Report and evidence respecting it, it would have little to do with the real question at issue. But we cannot persuade ourselves that the representation *is* in real conformity with the facts of the case. Our conviction is that although the Commissioners have attached much importance to the first, they have not attached enough; and that to the second they have given an importance which it neither can claim nor deserves.

The Commissioners, with one exception, were not Englishmen. They cannot, therefore, be supposed to have performed their task with erroneous conceptions as to the social condition of Wales, neither do we for one moment imply that their Report was drawn up with any intention to throw a false colouring over the picture which they knew they would have to present. But what we have to consider is what influence their representations are likely to exercise upon the minds of others occupied, as we believe the majority of those who will read their Report will probably be, with such preconceptions as we have spoken of. Our observations, we are aware, must be made under all the disadvantage of our appearing to call in question the knowledge and impartiality of a body so constituted as this Commission. But without the presumption of an insufficient acquaintance with facts, or the imputation of unworthy motives to noblemen and gentlemen of high distinction, we cannot be ignorant that early education, or present religious convictions, or the unconscious influence of patriotic or national sentiment, may possibly give a bias to the thoughts and feelings even of men who have a public duty to perform and are really anxious to do their best for the discharge of it. While, however, we gladly make this acknowledgment, we do feel bound to say, though we do it with the utmost reluctance, that the leading questions put by one of the members of the Commission, evidently suggesting the answer that was desired, do not appear to us to be in harmony with the impartiality rigidly observed by his colleagues. To this we may have occasion hereafter more particularly to refer.

For the furtherance of our particular object we must ask the reader's attention to a few passages of the Report—

‘When the wishes of the people of Wales,’ say the Commissioners, ‘and their exceptional position, as made known through this inquiry, come to be clearly understood, those with whom the final settlement of the question rests will arbitrate wisely and fairly between *the views and requirements* of the nation, and *the representatives of a traditional system*, which time and change have made unsuitable and, indeed, for any useful end, practically impossible.’ p. li.

The things here supposed to be in antagonism one with the other—the national wishes and position, on the one hand, and a traditional system, on the other—cannot possibly be mistaken: for in the next page they observe that—

‘In the first place, if the schools are to have the confidence of the people, and to be freely resorted to by the classes for whose use they are intended, it is essential that they should have no sectarian or denominational character. . . . The Welsh grammar schools,’ they say, . . . ‘while legally and nominally undenominational, are, with few exceptions, practically in the hands of one religious body, which constitutes what is comparatively a small minority of the population. . . . We recommend that in schemes for Welsh schools, other than schools of a denominational character, any provisions made for religious instruction . . . shall not include instruction in the doctrines or formularies of any Church, sect, or denomination.’

With the key in our hands which these extracts supply, there can be no doubt as to the interpretation of the words of the Commissioners. Their meaning must be that the intermediate education of Wales must no longer be subject to the influence of the Church.

I. To enter, then, upon the first branch of our inquiry, viz. the social condition of Wales; that it has a nationality of its own cannot be more strikingly illustrated than by a reference to the steps that have been taken to enkindle or stimulate that ardent desire for higher education which of late years has been said to be so prevalent in the Principality, and which, as we before observed, is mentioned by the Commissioners as one of its distinguishing characteristics. We quote from the Cardiff *Western Mail* of June 13, 1880, the following portion of ‘An Appeal to the Welsh Nation’ upon the subject:—

‘It is not without reason that I want to rouse the middle and lower classes of Wales. If they allow apathy to paralyse their action now, and will not take the trouble to spend a penny piece in sending me authority to attach their names to the petition,¹ it is all over with them. . . . We are equal to the occasion, and if between

¹ Viz., a petition to the Oxford Commissioners which was then in circulation.

this and the end of next week they will send me a thousand [*i.e.* signatures] a day, I think we shall manage it, and retain for poor Welsh boys the treasures which good Sir Leoline Jenkins and good Dr. Meyrick intended to be theirs so long as Snowdon should lift his head high above the mountains.¹ Now then, *shopkeepers, farmers, tradesmen, engineers, drivers, colliers, miners, sailors, shoemakers, cobblers, potters, people of low and of the lowest degree*, all of Wales, will you suffer the Principal and Fellows of Jesus to carry that scheme? &c.

The allusion is to certain proposals that had been made respecting the future appropriation of the endowments of Jesus College, Oxford.

This appeal is signed 'John Griffith, Rector of Merthyr,' a name associated with many outspoken utterances of warm patriotic feeling. What would be thought in England if this fervent appeal connected with the question of national education should appear in the *Times*? Would not its readers imagine that some centuries had been blotted out of our history, and that, much to their astonishment, they were yet living in a period when elementary, and not higher, education was the great desideratum? What could the people enumerated in the catalogue really know about the subject submitted to them? Of what possible value could their petition be? The appeal may well remind us of Bishop Thirlwall's allusion to the figures on the right-hand side of the decimal point. To an English mind it may furnish an apt illustration of national character, of the manner in which an impulsive people are stimulated to action for the attainment of a supposed national object, but nothing more.

The Dean of Bangor, by birth a native of North Wales, and by his professional engagements in earlier life well acquainted with the South, full perhaps to overflowing of national sentiment—a man of distinguished talent, and one who has enjoyed the advantages both of an English public school and of an Oxford education—cannot but be deemed, by his countrymen at least, an unexceptionable witness upon the point which we are now endeavouring to place correctly before our readers. In a paper read in August 1876 at a Church Congress at Bangor, and published in the same year as a pamphlet, on *The Calling and Education of Clergy for the Church in Wales*, he expressed himself as follows upon the subject:—

'I shall briefly dwell upon some points in the social condition of Wales. In a country comparatively poor, a country of hills and

¹ Sir Leoline Jenkins and Dr. Meyrick were persons who bequeathed considerable property to the college for its use or in trust.

valleys, the highest class is comparatively small. *The upper middle class* is also, I imagine, less numerous in proportion than in England. The great mass of the people of Wales belong to the classes known as *the lower middle and working classes*, composed of the small farmers, small shopkeepers, artisans, quarrymen, colliers, miners, shepherds, and labourers.'

Similar testimony is given by Mr. Lewis Morris in his article in the *Contemporary Review* before referred to :—

'Wales,' he says, 'is distinctly a poorer country than England, in many respects. Of the greater part of the country, consisting as it does of bleak and barren hillsides and moors, . . . this is sufficiently obvious to require no argument. . . . Great communities, like Merthyr Tydfil, are distinguished by *the almost entire absence of a middle class*. There is no one between the artisan who works at the forge or the mine, and the great manufacturer. . . . Certainly, therefore, Wales is a poor country.'

It will be noticed that the Dean of Bangor specially mentions the class of small farmers as one of the component parts of the great mass of the people. The difference in the social condition of our English cultivators of the soil from that of the farmers in the Welsh-speaking portion of the country is one which a stranger to it can hardly imagine. There can be no doubt whatever that in their case no less than in that of the other persons enumerated by the Dean, the *res angusta domi*, and consequently their inability to bear the expense of intermediate education, has been the main *if not the sole cause* of their not sending their children to the schools of the country in the same proportion as is done in the family of the English farmer.

From their examination of the condition of *the existing schools*, the Commissioners came to the conclusion that there is 'a great and deplorable difference between the numbers who ought to be receiving intermediate education and the number who are in receipt of it' (p. xvi); and in explanation of this deficiency they enumerate four reasons which appear to them to account for it. To the fourth of these reasons we shall hereafter call particular attention. Of the others the first is the distance of the existing schools from any centre of population sufficient to furnish an adequate supply of pupils, and the inability of the people to bear the expense of a distant boarding school. The second is the want of suitableness in some of the schools—they do not say in all of them, but in some of the schools—as respects organization and the instruction given, to the wants of the district they are intended to serve. The third is the imperfect esti-

mate on the part of the parents of what constitutes a good education and of the time and outlay which are necessary to provide for it. Every one of these reasons is illustrative of the social condition of the country. But, exceptional as they may be (p. li), we fail altogether in our endeavour to see what support they give to the theory that the so-called 'traditional system' should be annihilated at one blow in order to substitute in its room throughout the Principality one universal system of undenominational education.

With respect to Howell's School and Betton's Charity the Church has perhaps little or no cause to complain. It was by Parliament that it was put in possession of these charities, and that only a few years ago. The authority that gave, it may be said, if there be good reason for so doing, must have the right to take away. But for the disendowment of the twenty-seven endowed grammar schools in Wales and Monmouthshire, the aggregate endowments of which amount to 12,788*l.* (*Report*, p. vi), there is no such excuse to plead. And what if the Church has no right to complain though the income of the schools at Denbigh and Llandaff should henceforth be appropriated solely to the extension of female education? It may well be questioned, considering the social condition of Wales, whether it is expedient, with a view to its 'service,' that their 'distinctive character *as orphanages* should be done away,' and that they should be reconstituted as middle-class boarding and day schools for girls, as the Commissioners recommend (*Report*, p. lxii). Christian charity certainly cannot be appealed to in favour of this abstraction. The same question may well be asked also respecting Madam Bevan's charity.

The Commissioners, we think, would have done well to take into account, more than they appear to have done, the number of the higher and middle-class children who are sent to England for education, and the fact, recorded by themselves, that many persons are availing themselves of the ample provision now made in Wales for elementary education, whose circumstances would well enable them to give an intermediate education to their children, if they were so disposed, at their own expense.

We have referred to these alleged reasons, not because we deprecate Parliamentary assistance for those who really need it, but because they are all resolvable, as it appears to us, into what may fairly be called the social condition of the country. Why should the grammar schools bear the blame, and be rudely treated for what is no fault of theirs? For the vast

majority of the people who are now represented, correctly or incorrectly, as calling out for intermediate and higher education, elementary education is the thing that is rather needed; and *that* is already, or by the existing law might be, amply provided in every parish, within the reach, too, of the people, and not demanding an outlay beyond their means. In such schools talent and industry have or would have abundant opportunity of exhibiting themselves. Where these qualities are exhibited in the elementary schools, let means be provided by the State, if necessary, for 'enabling talented scholars from a distance to board on economical terms' at one of the existing grammar schools, or at some one or more hereafter to be provided, with such suitableness in their organization, whether old or new, as the circumstances or the times demand; but why should national money be expended in providing intermediate education for those who do not want it, or for those who desire it but are too stingy and mean-spirited to pay for it at their own cost, when they are able to do so?¹

But the Commissioners are not satisfied with the three reasons just referred to. They mention also a fourth: that the grammar schools are regarded as institutions in which Church influence predominates, and which are therefore distrusted by a population consisting mainly of Nonconformists.

It was repeatedly stated, they observe, alluding to the evidence that was submitted to them, 'that the Nonconformists had hitherto been unwilling to avail themselves to any extent of the grammar schools, because these schools were regarded as Church institutions' (*Report*, p. xxviii). Though no proof is given that Church influence has been unduly exercised, nevertheless, if the recommendations of the Commissioners are to be carried out, these schools—with the exception of two or three which the terms of the foundation rescue from such an alienation of their endowments—are to be deprived of that special relation to the Church, whatever it may have been, which they have hitherto possessed, in order to provide for what is called an unsectarian or undenominational education.

That strong prejudices should exist in such a country and community as we have shown Wales to be, could antecedently

¹ The Committee for Education in the month of August most wisely called the attention of the Welsh School Boards by a circular to the letter of Mr. Hanson, which is printed in the *Commissioners' Report*, p. cxiii. The eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth clauses of that letter show how by the assistance of exhibitions children of poor parents might be enabled to pass from ordinary elementary schools to others of a higher grade.

occasion no surprise. And anyone who has an acquaintance with Wales must know full well how many things are laid to the charge of the Church of which she is perfectly innocent, and are believed by an uneducated and impulsive people, too ready to give implicit credit to what they are confidently told. Neither can we wonder that the Commissioners repeatedly heard of suspicions of the undue exercise of Church influence, when we consider the many pointed questions that were put to the witnesses, apparently for the very purpose of eliciting the expression of it. Happily the force of these replies was not unfrequently neutralized by subsequent more impartial questions and explanations. It is due to the memory of the late Canon Robinson to say that such was obviously the purpose more than once of the questions which he put to the witnesses.

If it be true, as it is asserted in the Report (p. lii), that of all the endowed schools of Wales and Monmouthshire, there are only two, or perhaps three, which do not come under the 17th section of the Endowed Schools Act, 1869, and therefore, as respects their *legal* status, are undenominational, it follows, as a matter of course, that, without further legislation, in all cases in which a new scheme is of necessity demanded, so long as that Act is in force, that particular school can only expect to be treated according to its enactments.

But it does seem to us, we confess, a very arbitrary and unjust proceeding that a suspicion, originating probably in misrepresentation, and not to any appreciable degree justified by the evidence given to the Commissioners, should be invoked as an argument for forcing upon the grammar schools a wholesale scheme of government at variance with the principles upon which they have hitherto been conducted. If it can be shown that the governors of any particular school have been unfaithful to their trust, let them by all means be dealt with as they deserve. Or if any school is practically useless, its course of education having become unsuitable by reason of the altered circumstances of the times, let its organization and instruction be adapted to the educational requirements of its particular locality. But that the guiltless should be punished with the guilty, on the ground of a popular prejudice, does not seem to us to be *summum jus*, but *summa injuria*, and contrary to all commonly received and sound public principle.

With regard to the matter of fact, whether anything has occurred to justify the complaints and suspicions of Noncon-

formists, the *onus probandi* must certainly rest upon the complainants. It cannot be expected that the accused parties should prove a negative. Possibly there may have been here or there an instance of unwise administration by lay or clerical governors of the grammar schools. But the evidence goes very little way to prove that their want of success is attributable to undue enforcement of Church principles. The condition of the country sufficiently accounts for the paucity of scholars. A few exhibitions judiciously distributed would increase their number, without having recourse to extreme measures. If the Endowed Schools Act of 1869 has altered the *legal* status of these schools, the alienation must be borne with submission; but patient submission to a law must not be construed into an acknowledgment that the children of Nonconformists have really been kept away from the schools, either by undue pressure being actually put upon them, or from the apprehension on the part of the parents that such would be the case.

The Commissioner to whom we before referred must have thought that he had discovered a glaring instance of unfairness when he put the question—

‘Has any instance ever come within your knowledge, where Nonconformists have applied for masterships in some of those grammar schools, who were thought to be qualified men, graduates of the Universities, and so on, and who were rejected on the ground of their being Nonconformists?’ (2522).

But the reply of the Dean of Bangor speedily showed him that it was but a mare’s nest.

‘I have never known such an instance. In the election here the man elected had taken the highest degree. He was a layman, and his qualification was certainly the highest, and he was elected on his merits. The Nonconformist was a third-class man; the man whom we elected was a first-class man. The Nonconformist was a fair man: he had done well in Moderations, but . . . he was inferior in general culture.’

The evidence of the Dean on the general question probably represents the real state of the case. He candidly admits that ‘there are a large number of Nonconformists, who are, perhaps, imperfectly informed upon the subject, who have a certain amount of prejudice against the old schools’ (2345). But he distinctly asserts his firm conviction, that ‘the Nonconformist parents, as a rule, do not find anything objectionable in the schools as constituted at present.’ He is ‘firmly convinced that after the establishment of the new school

suggested' (viz. by Mr. Hugh Owen, 2433), 'they would still continue to send their sons to that which they considered the best school.' The chief objection to sending boys to a grammar school arises, he says, 'from what I may call the Nonconformist leaders' (2434, 2435). 'As I have said, the objection, in my opinion, to the existing grammar schools exists in the minds, possibly, of a certain number of Nonconformist local leaders, who wish to have in their own hands a power which they are not qualified by education to exercise' (2438). The Bishop of S. Asaph, who has been familiar with Wales and Welshmen from his childhood, 'has never known a single instance of a Nonconformist parent objecting to send his son to Ruthin, or *any other grammar school, if he had the means*' (3685). Such is the testimony of two well-educated men, both of them intimately acquainted with both North and South Wales.

But they are both clergymen, and in the opinion of some persons this may perhaps throw suspicion upon their statements. We do not, however, rely solely upon clerical testimony. The Rev. Richard Thomas, a Baptist minister at Holyhead, being asked 'Are you aware of any unfair dealing in any way towards the children of Dissenters in that' (viz. Beaumaris Grammar) 'School?' replies 'No, I could not mention any instance at all; only I understood there were some such restrictions or tests . . . which might with advantage be done away with' (2101). 'Has it fallen within your knowledge that any Nonconformist has applied for the post of assistant master and been rejected?' 'Not a single instance.' Owen Roberts, Esq., a barrister-at-law, acquainted with Anglesey and Carnarvonshire, never 'heard of an instance of a Nonconformist not sending his son to Friars School because he thought the tendency of the place was Episcopalian' (8264). The head-master of the Grammar School at Beaumaris, Mr. S. D. Orme, M.A., of Trinity College, Dublin, imagines that the feeling of its being a Church of England school 'used to be rather strong,' but for what reason he does not know. He has not seen anything since he has been there to account for it. He 'knows that it is dying away very fast' (1855, 1856). And so no doubt it will elsewhere, even if its existence at present has any real practical influence. Lord Powis must be supposed to know something of Wales, and of his own tenantry in particular. He thinks 'when a school is good, persons avail themselves of it without raising any religious objection,' and is 'not aware of any particular school, with regard to which the feeling or

their having too much the stamp of Church schools exists' (8573, 8574).¹

The Commissioners, as was before mentioned, refer to the question of language as having an important bearing on the matter of their inquiry. This also must be regarded as one element of the social condition of the country. Undoubtedly it has greatly augmented its difficulties in respect to higher education. But it should be carefully borne in mind that it is the *Welsh-speaking people of Wales* whose necessities have specially to be considered when a demand is made for legislative interference, and perhaps for a Parliamentary grant in aid. There are many parts of Wales for which on the score of language, pecuniary assistance is no more needed than for our English counties. With the exception of two parishes, Radnorshire may be regarded as an English-speaking county; and the same may be said of a portion of Glamorganshire and of the greater part of the county of Pembroke. And as regards the *Welsh language*, though it may be perfectly true that the number of Welsh-speaking persons is not less than it was a few years ago, it is indisputable that the number of persons who are acquainted with English is vastly increased, and is rapidly increasing every day. Of this there can be no greater proof than the necessity which is now felt by the Nonconformists of providing English services in their chapels. Upon this point we shall content ourselves with referring to a speech by the Rev. Benjamin Williams at a meeting of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, held at Cardiff in October 1879:—

'I simply recognize the fact,' he says, 'which is patent to all observing men, that the English language gains ground rapidly in the Principality. . . . I therefore ask myself the question, *and the question has been asked thousands of times during the last twenty years, How are we Welsh people to deal with this state of affairs? Are we to make no provision for religious worship in the only intelligible language to the English people who settle amongst us, as well as to those children of ours who simply know the English language?*'

The speaker then mentioned a society that had been formed

¹ A very striking illustration of the extent to which prejudice or party feeling has been indulged in reference to this matter may be found in the evidence (7284) of B. T. Williams, Esq., Q.C., and then M.P., at this time a County Court judge, respecting Llandovery School, and a subsequent correspondence between that gentleman and the Principal of the school, published by the latter in the Cardiff *Western Mail* with the title, 'An Appeal from the Advocate to the Judge.'

under his own auspices in furtherance of this object, and went on to say :—

‘ There is now in Wales a strong, healthy, emphatic opinion amongst Congregationalists in favour of providing places of worship for the English rising generation. . . . There are at the present moment in South Wales over forty English Congregationalist Churches that have been established mainly through the influence of this society,’ &c.

If this be the case in one portion of Wales, and with respect to one denomination of Dissenters, it is but reasonable to conclude that the same causes have been producing the same effects upon other bodies and in other places. In so far, then, as the spread of the English language is making progress, precisely in the same degree must the special difficulties which have hitherto been an impediment in the way of the Welsh-speaking youth of the Principality be waning away. No doubt they have operated, and still in many instances do operate, greatly to his disadvantage. It is, however, a satisfaction to know that without Parliamentary interference, by the mere course of events, they are diminishing from day to day. This fact should surely be taken into consideration in connexion with the other specialties of the case.

We have already mentioned the University College at Aberystwyth—of which the noble lord who was chairman of the Commissioners is the president—the primary object of which is stated to be ‘ advanced instruction apart from professional study or training.’ Though intended for the promotion of higher rather than intermediate education, its history is not irrelevant to our present purpose of showing that it is the social condition of Wales, and not the prejudice which we have been speaking of, that has hitherto prevented the inhabitants of Wales from freely availing themselves of the grammar schools which are within their reach. The project of establishing such a college may, in the opinion of the Commissioners, ‘ properly be called a national movement, the fruit of patriotic enterprise and voluntary effort.’ For seven years the movement was going on, during which 51,131*l.* were collected on its behalf from voluntary donors. It is described as having been altogether unsectarian, the subscribers belonging to all classes, some of them in very humble circumstances. Its instruction is given by a large and able staff of professors. The tuition fee is 10*l.* per annum. The poorer students may provide their own lodgings in the town, and can pass through the college for from 30*l.* to 40*l.* a year. Such is the account given of it in the Report (p. xvii). It is impossible not to

admire the energy which led to these results. No doubt the success that attended the effort was owing in a measure to the strong feeling and agitation which have been before mentioned. We must not, however, on that account withhold the tribute of our praise from the members of a poor community, who could not have collected this large sum without much self-denial, any more than we do from the poor clergy of South Wales who for some years so nobly supported Bishop Burgess in his effort to provide for the establishment of S. David's College.

But what has been, up to this time at least, the practical issue of this self-sacrifice? At the time when the Commissioners published their Report, in 1881, they were obliged to say of it,

‘It must be admitted that the College has disappointed the hopes of its promoters. It has failed to attract students in sufficient numbers to entitle it to be regarded as a successful institution. From North Wales it has drawn very few pupils : fewer still have come to it from the populous county of Glamorgan, with its varied industries.’ (*Report*, p. xviii.)

Here, then, is an institution framed to the hearts’ content of the Commissioners, or at least of one of them (see note on p. 222).

‘There is no just reason,’ they say, ‘why the progress of the institution should be materially affected by sectarian differences. It is conducted altogether as a secular college. There are no divinity lectures or lessons on religious subjects ; and so far as the College authorities are concerned, the students are left entirely to their own discretion in the matter of attendance or non-attendance at any form of religious worship. . . . At present the University College is maintained at a cost to its supporters of at least 2,500*l.*, and increasing difficulty is felt in obtaining the necessary subscriptions ; and it was stated that without Government assistance the Institution must collapse.’

We blame nobody for this comparative failure, and hope that it may be only temporary. The history of the college hitherto is but a repetition of that of S. David's College in its infancy. Those who were acquainted with the early years of the older institution must have anticipated that the younger would have to struggle with the same difficulties that had well nigh overwhelmed it, notwithstanding that the Government in those trying years did make it a grant of 400*l.* per annum. The mention of this grant may perhaps help the University College in obtaining the assistance it requires, for it will at least show that there is a precedent. It was

not till Bishop Burgess set the noble example, which has been generously followed, of founding certain scholarships at S. David's College, that it began to feel itself on *terra firma*. And here we may perhaps be pardoned for relating an anecdote respecting Mr. Canning in connexion with this matter. It was during his short administration that Bishop Jenkinson applied for a Royal gift, mentioning 2,000*l.* as the sum which he hoped to obtain from the Privy Purse. Mr. Canning very soon replied that the King had graciously accorded 1,000*l.*, and that on the principle *bis dat, qui cito dat*, the Bishop had secured all that he had asked.

'Various reasons,' say the Commissioners, 'were given'—*i.e.* in the course of their inquiries—'for this comparative failure.' We are surprised that the suggestion did not lead them to the conclusion that it was not national prejudice and suspicion that had interfered with the success of the grammar schools, but that the social condition of the people was the real cause in both instances—nipping the youthful institution in the bud, just as it had prevented the schools from enjoying a green old age. The want of a definite system of religious instruction had not saved the one from the danger of collapse. If the others in their lengthened course have not been so successful as could have been desired, we must look to some other cause than to their having been the upholders of a traditional system for their want of prosperity. The cause, as we have before said, has been the social condition of the country.

There is yet one more distinctive circumstance, and a most important one it is (though not noticed either by the Dean of Bangor, or Mr. Morris, or the Commissioners), which cannot be overlooked by anyone who would understand that condition, so far as concerns those of its inhabitants who have hitherto only been familiar with their national language. Most important we venture to affirm it to be, not only in reference to the general questions, Why is intermediate education so backward in Wales? and What is to be done in order to promote it? but also because of its bearing upon what is perhaps the strongest argument put forward by the Commissioners in support of their scheme for the establishment of one general system of undenominational education.

We commenced our remarks with the statement that Englishmen in general have little acquaintance with the special circumstances of Wales. It may be said on the other hand, that the Welsh-speaking Welshmen know little or nothing of England, of English habits or customs, of English thoughts and feelings, of its modes of popular amusement,

and the topics which generally interest its population. This isolation has of necessity exercised very great influence upon the formation of the national character. It has added very greatly to the hindrances occasioned by the poverty and other circumstances of social life as to the matter of intellectual progress, and—which is our special motive for bringing it into prominent notice—it has had a very great deal to do with its *religious condition*.

Among the Welsh periodicals there is no one of greater value than the *Traethodydd*, a quarterly magazine conducted with considerable ability, and connected more or less, we believe, with the Calvinistic Methodists. We cheerfully recognize the fact that since the year 1852 a great deal has been done to break down the wall of partition between England and Wales; and, no doubt, in the natural course of events, to which we before referred, the work of demolition will proceed more and more rapidly every day. We shall eventually become one people as we now live under one government. But in that year, 1852, a writer in the pages of that publication thus expressed his opinions upon the subject of which we speak:—

‘We are at present, as a nation, one great ear, that is never satisfied with hearing. We listen from the beginning of the year to the end of it without ever saying “Enough.” Speeches, sermons, and lectures—it matters little to many what it be, if only they have something to hear. To give threepence for a book would appear extravagant to many a one who will give a shilling without murmuring to hear a lecture. Our only public building, with very few exceptions, is the chapel. The theatre and its accompaniments do not belong to our mountains. And the Welshman comes to the chapel to seek for that which the Englishman goes to the playhouse to look for. In the sermon, the lecture, and the speech, we seek that excitement, so gratifying to our nature, which our neighbours seek in the theatre and opera. And the fact of our going to the chapel for excitement in the place of instruction has an effect upon our teachers, and causes them also often to aim more at exciting the congregation than instructing them. There is a certain number of our teachers who have the gift of doing the two things; their lips keep knowledge, and their words light up a fire in the congregation.’

II. The Commissioners, it will be remembered, amongst what they considered the distinctive peculiarities of the Welsh people, called attention to the subject of religion.

‘In the absence,’ they say, ‘of an authoritative census of religious opinions, it is impossible to frame any estimate of the comparative numbers of the various denominations. . . . but there can be no

doubt . . . the Nonconformists constitute a very large majority of the population of Wales and Monmouthshire.'—(*Report*, p. xlviii.)

In a memorandum of Mr. H. Richard, subjoined to the Report (p. lxxi) that gentleman observes, in illustration of the religious condition of his countrymen, that

'In a country where the doctrines and observances of religion are held in such high and universal estimation as they are in Wales, there would be no danger that the religious instruction of children would be neglected if it were left to the care of parents and their pastors.'

Dissent, if we are to accept these statements, is the religion of a very large majority of the people, and such is the religious condition of the country—in consequence, we suppose Mr. Richard to imply, of its beneficial influence upon them—that the eulogy of the Psalmist may well be pronounced over it—'Happy are the people that are in such a case; yea, blessed are the people who have the Lord for their God.'

That the Nonconformists in Wales constitute a very large proportion of the people is a point which we readily admit. But that they can claim to be a very large majority—'three-fourths of the population according to some estimates, and a larger proportion according to others' (*Report*, xiv)—is an assertion, so far as we know, destitute of proof. Strong individual opinions, we are aware, were expressed in evidence before the Commissioners (see 17,843-4-5, and elsewhere). But it will be observed that the Commissioners themselves admit the 'absence of an authoritative census of religious opinions'—*i.e.*, we suppose, of the several denominations. Neither do we find that they appeal to any such census in support of their assertion as to the aggregate being a very large majority. But it is very well known that when such a census was taken, in 1851, the accuracy of its results was denied in the strongest terms. It was believed at the time that great pressure was exercised in order to swell the number of attendants at the chapels, and that, in not a few cases, the same people were calculated more than once in consequence of their presence.¹

Mr. H. Richard, in a lecture on 'Nonconformity in Wales' (printed in the *Nonconformist and Independent*, February 16, 1882), appeals with very great satisfaction to the number of Dissenting chapels in Wales; and the Commissioners also remind us that 'the Welsh . . . have reared their chapels

¹ See some remarks upon the Census of 1851 in the *Quarterly Review*, April 1870, p. 409.

everywhere . . . and by this means, and through their Sunday Schools . . . an universal interest in religious questions is maintained.' So far as the number of chapels is really 'the outward expression of deep-seated religious convictions among the people' (*Report*, p. xlviii), we greatly honour them for it. It must, as the Commissioners say, involve a large annual cost voluntarily incurred. But unhappily there is another aspect of the case, and it ought not to be overlooked. Truths are sometimes told in the Welsh language which a Welshman would be very sorry to proclaim in English upon the housetop. In Welsh publications it is candidly avowed that the multiplication of their chapels not unfrequently proceeds from unworthy motives, and is a mischief rather than a blessing to their own cause. In the *Drysorfa*, for instance (a monthly magazine belonging to the Calvinistic Methodists) for October, 1852, p. 353, Azariah Fab Oded writes a letter, in which he says, 'I have looked upon this for years, and seen the evil that is increasing amongst us.' He goes on to describe the spirit of pride and high-mindedness which often dictates the building of small and would-be independent chapels 'on the lonely hillside' to gratify the conceit and personal feeling of some ten or twelve members; and—after quoting Milton's words, 'Better to reign in Hell than serve in Heaven,' he says—

'The language of the conduct of some men is "Better is it to reign over a society where there are only five members, than to serve in a Church which has three hundred. Better is it for us to get a place where we may use the gift we ourselves possess, than to partake of the fruit of the best gifts."'

Such is the testimony of Dissent itself.¹ We have said, and say again with pleasure and sincerity, that we honour the religious feeling that will prompt a man to do a religious act at the cost of a self-sacrifice. But when chapels are built on borrowed money, and the debt left to be paid by a future generation, we see no such merit in the act. To ourselves, it seems rather to indicate an indulgence of party spirit, the desire to promote the *cause*, in the Welsh sense of the phrase, than simply to promote the cause of Christ by the honest dedication of the money which He has given us to His own service. If newspaper statements on this matter are to be believed, the amount of debt is enormous. It appears from

¹ Complaints of a similar character in the magazines of other bodies are loud and numberless. For example, see an article in the *Dwygyiwr* (a publication of the Independents), entitled 'Addoldai Cymru a'u dyled,' January 1852, p. 13.

the *Dyddiadau Methodistiaid* (a publication of the Calvinistic Methodists) that the debt upon the chapels of that body alone at this time amounts to 335,000*l.*, and that a Committee, a short time ago, was formed in the Rhondda valley of Glamorgan for devising means for relieving the members of the Welsh Independent chapels of the heavy burdens they have incurred.—(Cardiff *Western Mail*, April 17, 1882.)

But is it true that 'Nonconformity in Wales' is *only* to be regarded as 'the outward expression of deep-seated religious convictions among the people,' and therefore that its wide extent affords a solid basis for the conclusion at which the Commissioners have arrived respecting the justice of its demands?

It can excite no surprise if, as the extract we made above from the *Traethodydd* so plainly asserts, other motives than deep religious convictions may have something to do with the multiplicity of chapels and crowds of chapel-goers. Railroads, National schools, and Board schools, have already done much to facilitate communication, and by promoting elementary education have helped to furnish the excitement so gratifying to our nature, to which the *Traethodydd* ascribes them. As time rolls on and further progress is made in the same direction, we shall see whether the chapel retains its hold upon the classes that now frequent it. Until the Church is enabled duly to provide for the spiritual instruction of the people, *which at present it does not, and cannot do*, we had much rather that the chapel should continue to do so than that Welshmen of low degree should follow the example of the multitudes of Englishmen of the same class, who are living apparently without God in the world.

It may be said, perhaps, if the craving for mental excitement is a motive that takes so many persons to chapel, why does not the same motive take them to church? This would be a tempting subject to enter upon, and we think we could find a good deal to say upon it in reply. The Church has of late years been growing marvellously in public respect, and we trust that by God's help it will continue deservedly to do so. If its clergy take heed to the ministry which they have received of the Lord, and faithfully and zealously discharge its duties; if its lay members, rich and poor, according to their several ability, aided too by their fellow-Churchmen in other parts of the kingdom which are not overborne by the same necessities, exert themselves to make provision for those who would willingly rejoin her communion, provided she were

prepared to receive them ; and if her services were made more suitable to the feelings and character of the people, we have a strong impression that very many would thankfully return to her fold. 'We shall never recover the Dissenters till we have a more simple service,' were the words of an excellent and laborious clergyman in Wales to the writer of this article not long ago.

But before we dismiss the question of the supposed 'very large majority' of Dissenters, we must repeat the observation before made, that we do not see how the statement, even if assumed to be true, really affects the main object of the Commissioners' inquiry, 'the condition of intermediate and higher education in Wales,' which their Report assumes to include Monmouthshire also. Making every allowance for the upper stratum of the 'great mass of the people,' and of the intelligent and aspiring parents and sons of the working class, who must in comparison be but few, it is obvious that an enormous proportion of 'the very large majority' spoken of by the Commissioners as Nonconformists must require *elementary* rather than intermediate and higher education ; and therefore should have been left out of the account when they were considering the evidence that was laid before them.

But the statement for which Mr. Richard alone is responsible relates to a far more important matter than the comparative *number* of Churchmen and Dissenters. We refer to his words respecting the religious life of Wales. The eulogistic terms in which he describes it must involuntarily carry the minds of his readers to the pure and primitive times, very different from our own, when the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul, and continued steadfastly in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship. And no doubt it is to the influence of Dissent that he intends this unparalleled condition of doctrinal and practical religion to be ascribed ; for in his lecture on Nonconformity before mentioned he says :—

'With regard to the *practical points of Nonconformity* we may, I think, refer with pride to the social and moral condition of the Principality. In filling the chapels we have emptied the gaols. In some parts of Wales serious crime can hardly be said to exist. Hardly any assize passes without, in one or two counties at least, the judge being presented with a pair of white gloves, as a symbol of its being a maiden assize, without a single prisoner to try. Indeed, some of the judges are beginning to question the necessity of being sent to Wales at all.'

It is true that in some counties of Wales there is an absence of serious crimes. These it would be natural rather to expect

in the midst of densely-peopled towns and districts than in 'a country of hills and valleys.' We do not doubt that there is a great amount of personal piety in many Nonconformist families, known only to the Searcher of Hearts. Where devils are cast out by God's blessing on them who follow not with us, and the fruits of the Spirit are manifested under their teaching, it is not for us to judge harshly of them. But those facts do not justify the belief that Mr. Richard has drawn a faithful picture, either of the general condition of Wales, or of the moral and religious influences of Dissent upon its people.

Far from us be the wish to bring an indictment of irreligion or immorality against the people of Wales, whose many good qualities we highly appreciate. But if a wrong, or an act of doubtful policy, is about to be committed—inasmuch as one of the arguments by which the provisions of the Commissioners' Report are recommended for adoption is 'the deep-seated religious convictions' of Welsh Nonconformists, constituting 'a very large majority of the population' (p. xlviii); and when, in addition to this, one member of the Commission, a Welshman, speaks in the terms we have before quoted of the pre-eminent religious knowledge and practice of the people—those who cannot cordially accept the recommendations of the Commissioners may certainly be excused if they make some inquiry into the facts of the case, and state the results of their inquiry. If the Commission had confined itself to the question how the lamentable deficiency of intermediate education, which all acknowledge and regret, could without injustice to others be provided for boys of the middle and lower classes, in order to give them a fair chance in the race of life; or if it had gone into the subject of higher education, the desirableness of provincial colleges, or of a Welsh University, we should have had no necessity to do this violence to our own feelings. But if the grammar schools of Wales, with the exception perhaps of two or three, are to be divorced from the 'traditional system'—in other words, from Church influence—'time and change having rendered that . . . system useless and practically impossible,' and a system of *undenominational* education is to be established in their stead, Welsh Dissent having, it is argued, produced such marvellous effects that religion need no longer be taught in our schools,¹ are we then to acquiesce without

¹ Mr. Richard goes beyond his colleagues, and recommends 'that in schools receiving grants from public sources the instruction should be *confined to secular elements*' (*Report*, p. lxxi): an opinion adopted at a Diocesan meeting of Churchmen held in the Chapter Room at Bangor.

protest in this assumption, and let judgment go against us by default? We cannot think that we are. If we inquire into this matter, it is a necessity that is forced upon us by others, and most unwillingly obeyed.

We totally deny the assumption, and think we shall be able to show, mainly, if not entirely, on Welsh testimony, that we are fully justified in denying it, as destitute of any solid foundation; our object—we repeat it for the express purpose of guarding ourselves against misrepresentation—not being to bring any malevolent accusation against the people of Wales, but to prevent an injury being inflicted on one portion of its inhabitants in consequence of exaggerated statements being made respecting the virtues, and therefore the claims, of the other.

The statements of Dissenters respecting their own internal condition may be true or false—upon that we pronounce no opinion—but if an impression is to be created on the English mind by the number of chapels, and the supposed religious motives which have led to the erection of them, by means of these highly-coloured pictures, it is at least desirable that Englishmen should know what some Welsh writers have thought and honestly said of themselves, in reference to these matters.

We flatter ourselves that we have clearly shown from Dissenting testimony the fallacy of supposing *the number* of chapels to be a real test of the religious condition of Wales. We will proceed to cite from the *Drysorfa*, the *Dywygiwr*, and the *Seren Gomer*, which are respectively connected with the Calvinistic Methodists, the Congregationalists, and the Baptists—the three leading denominations in Wales—a few out of many of their own statements; for obvious reasons abstaining from looking into the pages of the Church magazines—the *Cymro*, the *Haul*, and others—in order that our readers may be enabled to judge for themselves what was the real influence of Welsh Dissent a few years ago, and, unless the contrary can be proved, may be presumed to be its condition at present also.¹ We would not say its *results*, probable or necessary, for that is beyond the scope of our inquiry. We content ourselves with dealing with the question whether

Cathedral. If, as a nation, we can no longer train up a child in the way he should go, may it not suggest even to a pious Dissenter the serious inquiry, Whence come schisms and divisions among you? And to what do they tend?

¹ It will be understood that as these statements were originally written, so are they quoted by us, in reference to the Welsh-speaking portion of the inhabitants of Wales, and of them alone.

the Principality of Wales has been and is, in consequence of the special exertions of Dissent, in that happy state of moral and religious perfection which is ascribed to it ; that it is 'a country where the doctrines and observances of religion are held in such high and universal estimation that there would be no danger that the religious instruction would be neglected' if the traditional system were swept away, and a system 'wholly unsectarian' (p. liii)—which in plain English means *without any teaching at all of the doctrines of Christianity*—were established in its room. Supposing that the national character had attained this lofty elevation, it would still, in our opinion, not be a legitimate inference from the fact were it also supposed to be due *exclusively* to the salutary operation of Dissent. For other causes might have contributed to that result. But upon that matter we shall say no more.

What, then, are the facts of the case? The writer of a learned article in the *Traethodydd* (see above, p. 62), April 1852, p. 454, must certainly have formed a different opinion from that of Mr. Richard as to the influence which the doctrines and observances of religion were exercising at that time upon the hearts and affections of his countrymen, when he wrote as follows :—

'There are other enemies to the truth besides Popery—enemies from which *Wales especially, on account of the religious teaching under which it has been*' (intending, no doubt, its religious privileges under Dissenting teaching), 'and the Scriptural knowledge that is so common in it, is in very much greater danger. . . . In our familiarity with the Scriptures, and estrangement from their authority, our acquaintance with what they insist upon without experience of their power, that which appears to us to be our greatest danger as a nation, in these days, is that we are beginning to doubt whether there is anything divine belonging to them ; that we shall gradually reject their authority, and fall at last into utter unbelief. We fear that there are powerful elements at work amongst us, which expose us in a special manner to the assaults of this spirit, and that we are also up to this time very ill protected against it.'

In the *Dywygiwr* of June 1851, p. 176, we find the same acknowledgment coupled with an admission of the inability of Dissenting agencies to cope with the mischief :—

'*As Nonconformists in Wales* we have cause to lament, humble ourselves, and repent speedily before God, on account of the sleepy and useless condition of *the Churches amongst us*, on account of the darkness and ignorance of the land in general. There is no room to boast and take comfort—rather to be ashamed, to bewail, and greatly

to fear. Notwithstanding all the places of worship, schools, ministers, preachers, deacons, teachers of schools, all the hundreds of numerous congregations, and thousands of communicants or professors of religion, still many are seen turning to Popery ; and worse, or still viler than the Papists, are the Mormons . . . I understand that hundreds of Welshmen have embraced Mormonism, to their temporal and eternal destruction,' &c., &c.—Letter signed 'Eta Delta.'

In the same magazine of March 1852, pp. 69–73, there is an article, written by a Dissenting minister, with a great deal of good sense and religious feeling in it, upon the Sunday School, of which Mr. Richard also speaks as capable of so much benefit to Wales. The writer, after speaking of its advantages, which we ourselves have no wish to disparage or deny, goes on to say :—

'After treating of the powerful effects and salutary influence of the Sabbath School upon the morals and condition of our nation, a stranger might suppose that the Sabbath School is about to turn our country into a Christian paradise, but I am sorry to say, however suited in its form and order to increase Scriptural knowledge, it is at present, according to my judgment, causing evil as well as assuring us of good.'

Our extract would be too long were we to enumerate the particular reasons given for this opinion, but we cannot forbear from quoting the following remarkable words :—

'The thing I refer to is, that we have lost our taste for godly meditation, for personal, family, and social prayer, and, on account of this deficiency, that one of the essential elements of religion is in part wanting. Its life and power is departing, and if this degeneracy goes on, many of our Churches in a few years will be like the dry bones in Ezekiel's vision, without glory, without beauty, without life belonging to them. Death will spread over them, until they have no feeling of their existence.'

'The complaint on account of the unsuccessfulness of religion,' says the *Seren Gomer* of September 1854, p. 424, 'is a common complaint through *all our Churches*, and great anxiety is felt by many that the condition of things is so heartless as respects it. All must be persuaded to feel that so it is, that all may be stirred up to lay hold of their work, and come out seriously against sin, the ungodlinesses of ungodly men, and the corrupt practices of the age. Then, with self-consistency, prayers can be offered up to God for success, and it may confidently be expected to take place.'

'If our fathers went too far towards the torrid zone, there is a danger of our going too far towards the frigid zone.'—(*Id.* February 1854, p. 53.)

The cause of temperance has, we believe, been making progress in Wales, as it has elsewhere, through the manifold

agencies that have been at work for the furtherance of it. We need not remind our readers that in 1881 an Act of Parliament was passed enacting that 'In the Principality of Wales,' *i.e.* in the whole of its twelve counties, 'all premises in which intoxicating liquors are exposed for sale by retail, should be closed during the whole of Sunday.' Whether the voluntary movement which led to this result originated in a consciousness that such a measure was especially needed for Wales, or from a sympathy with the efforts that were being made elsewhere, we do not venture to decide. But we think that the following remarks from an article upon the Sunday Closing Act by John Coke Fowler, Esq., the excellent Stipendiary Magistrate for Swansea, will not a little surprise our readers:—

'In the month of November last a calculation was made in the following manner : Seven licensed houses were selected in the two large towns of Swansea and Merthyr Tydfil,¹ and the number of persons visiting them between half-past eight and half-past nine on a Sunday evening was ascertained. The houses were, as nearly as possible, fair samples of the whole with reference to size, custom, and situation. The seven public-houses in Swansea were visited by 329 persons, giving an average of forty-seven. The seven Merthyr public-houses were visited by 264 persons, giving an average of nearly thirty-eight. Now, in Swansea there are 390 houses, and, assuming the average of forty-seven to be approximately correct, the astonishing result is that in that one hour about 18,000 persons visited them for one purpose or another. These figures extend over one hour only of the four open hours of trade. If the inquiry had extended over the four, it may be safely assumed that some thousands might be added to these figures. Extend the calculation to the whole county, and it would probably be found that 100,000 persons, at least, spent part of Sunday evening in our 2,400 public-houses. What a picture do these figures convey of homes deserted and money wasted !'²

It does not, of course, follow that every one of these persons went to the public-house for the purpose of indulging to excess. But Swansea and Merthyr are places in which Dissenting influence is especially powerful, and certainly the picture here presented of the Sunday evening of so many of its inhabitants will to most persons not appear confirmatory of the assertion that the observances of religion are held in high and universal estimation in Wales. But the Dissenting

¹ Merthyr is decidedly a Welsh-speaking town. In Swansea English is much more prevalent. The note on page 68 must not therefore be applied to Mr. Fowler's words.

² Extracted from the *Red Dragon*, Cardiff, February 1882.

magazines also are loud in their denunciation against this vice among their countrymen, so that we need not have appealed to English testimony:—

‘The drunkenness of Wales, the more the pity,’ says the *Drysorfa*, December 1853, p. 398, ‘is on the increase. Thousands of our young men go so far as to make a joke of temptation and to play with the serpent whose deadly bite they will feel to eternity.’

The *Seren Gomer*, March 1852, p. 106, utters the same complaint:—

‘Perhaps there is no sin that has kept its hold, in the face of the Gospel, among the Welsh people more than drunkenness. . . . Drunkenness is a thing very common in town and country, the world and the Church’—including, of course, Dissenters under that name.

There is another special sin upon which, reluctant as we are to say a word, truthfulness prevents us from being silent. Mr. Richard, in his lecture on Nonconformity says he ‘must denounce the grossly exaggerated representations that have been made respecting it as groundless and calumnious.’ We should be most unwilling to exaggerate or malign, but again we must say that his estimate of the amount of the evil alluded to is not borne out by the testimonies of others. About thirty years ago, an association was formed in Anglesey for the reformation of morals, in consequence of ‘the deadly sin of incontinence,’ which, it says in the preamble of its rules, was at that time ‘very prevalent amongst the lower classes in that county, *in common with other parts of Wales*, whereby that portion of the population has become generally demoralized.’ Its members bound themselves to ‘use their best endeavours to check and finally to eradicate’ a certain ‘odious custom’ which was practised ‘under the most indelicate and polluting circumstances.’ A late Chancellor of Bangor, the Rev. J. W. Trevor, was a zealous promoter of this association. In a letter of his now lying before us he says—and we are glad to quote his words, as highly creditable to the Dissenting ministers of that day and locality:—‘I did not hesitate to invite the assistance of the Dissenters, and am happy to say that they give it most zealously and effectually, and, what is remarkable, they are quite willing that the Church should continue to take the lead in this movement.’ We abstain from quoting the four rules of the association, from an unwillingness to dwell upon this hateful topic; and for the same reasons we let the veil of an unknown tongue hide from our readers the candid and

humiliating confessions of the Welsh Dissenting magazines upon the subject. But we may refer the Welsh reader to an article in the *Dywygiwr* of June 1851, pp. 170-174, entitled 'Anlladrwydd neu Buteindra,' which is not more painful than it is explicit and minute. A national appeal from that article may, however, be quoted without offence.

'Considering the things above mentioned, is it not full time for us to come out in preaching, counselling, conversing, lecturing, writing, and forming associations to save the world from the clutches of this vice? Let ministers of the word, then, deacons of churches, the whole body of religious members of every denomination, teachers of Sunday Schools and children, heads of families, one and all, awake, and then this plague will be driven away from the country.'

Is it possible to suppose that such an appeal would have been launched forth, unless it was a monstrous evil that had to be cured? Nor let it be supposed that this was a solitary cry in the wilderness. But it is sufficient for our purpose.¹

Mr. Richard asserts 'that he has elsewhere proved that, with all the shortcomings of Wales, it will compare advantageously with any part of England.' Be that as it may. We will not dispute the point, nor ask for his proofs. We may well be ashamed of English vices, and pray God to avert the punishment of them. But he must allow us to say that this comfortable conviction as to the comparative morality of his countrymen will go very little way towards the establishment of his statement as to their *high and universal* estimation of the doctrines and observances of religion, which we have just quoted from his Memorandum subjoined to the Report.

It is quite possible that objection may be taken to the testimonies we have quoted from Welsh writers, on the ground

¹ See for instance the *Seren Gomer*, June 1854, p. 245; August, pp. 355-356. Mr. Lewis Morris in his article in the *Contemporary Review* of April last, speaking of the members of a former Commission of Inquiry into the condition of Wales—viz., that of 1846—makes the following remark, 'The haste and flippancy of which the critics [*i.e.* the Commissioners] have no doubt long since been heartily ashamed, still rankle in the hearts of the Welsh people, and after the lapse of thirty-six years are still widely known among them as "Brad y llyfrau gleision," "*The Treason of the Blue Books.*"' It is worthy of notice that the writer in the *Seren Gomer*, p. 356, speaking on this very subject of Welsh morality, and having this self-same reproachful epithet in his mind, makes the remark, 'The TREACHEROUS ASSERTIONS OF BLUE BOOKS are not all true, though *there is too much* truth in them, and that we freely confess.' Mr. Morris will do well to bear this candid confession in mind, when he again refers to the critics whose repentance he speaks of so confidently.

that so many years have elapsed since they were written. It is true that they are extracted from magazines of the years 1851–56. We shall greatly rejoice if evidence can be adduced that the moral and religious condition of the Principality has greatly improved since that period. But there were giants in those days: and if such was its condition in the time of John Elias, Christmas Evans, and others whose names are held in honourable remembrance to this day, we know no reason why the influence of Dissent should be more salutary now. A remarkable confession very recently made on Dissenting authority certainly does not favour that supposition.

Mr. Richard himself in his lecture records the fact, for the purpose of 'giving some idea of the marvellous growth of Voluntary Christianity' among his countrymen, that 'whereas in 1816 there were only 993 Nonconformist places of worship in Wales, in 1851, the year of the religious census'—*i.e. at the very time when these revelations of the inner workings of Dissent were made by Dissenting writers*—'there were 2,826.' If the reference to that date is good for his purpose, it must be equally good for our own. If Voluntary Christianity had erected 2,826 chapels in Wales in 1851, surely the religious influence of its teaching should stand the test of actual experience during the interval between 1851 and 1856. He may perhaps have forgotten that an eminent barrister, who lately retired from the position of a county court judge in South Wales, in the year 1865 or 1866¹ publicly denounced the practice referred to as a scandal to Wales. But he must be aware that *only about five years ago* a writer in the *Golenad*, another organ of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists, reiterated these charges in the strongest possible terms—affirming of the inhabitants of one thoroughly Welsh-speaking county that they are *rotting in immorality*, and that the system of Church government which 'has been in force in that county for at least two generations is,' according to his belief, 'in a great degree responsible for the reversion of the great laws of morality, from the influence of which the character of the population so plainly suffers.' We know the loud outcry which this article evoked, and the terms in which both its language and its author were denounced. It is not our business to justify it, except so far as to say that it is certainly not out of harmony with the outspoken confessions of thirty years ago, nor with the results of the inquiries which we our-

¹ J. Falconer, Esq. We have failed to discover in which of those years. But the *ipsissima verba* were published in the newspapers of the day.

selves have subsequently made as to the present operation of this odious custom in that county. The author of the article, whose name is a profound secret, in a palinode published in the same magazine (*Golenad*, July 2, 1881), does his best to explain his imprudence in supposing that the inspired exhortation, 'Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet,' had imposed this obligation upon him. Some of his readers will be inclined to think that his recantation is due rather to 'the cudgelling,' which he admits himself to have received from his official brethren and others, who had been greatly pained by his remarks, than to the validity of his arguments.

As we have referred more than once to one member of the Commission in terms which we wish we had had no occasion to employ, it is a pleasure to us to say that in his lecture he generously admits that it would be 'a kind of injustice to suppose that the shortcomings of the Established Church in past ages reflect dishonour or reproach upon its members in these days.' Many of them, he allows, are working earnestly 'to make amends for the past, and to recover the ground lost through the apathy and forgetfulness' of their predecessors. Without conceding all that Mr. Richard probably implies by these expressions, we do not conceal our opinion that if the Church in Wales in the last century had lived up to its own principles, those who are now arrayed against it would probably have been in comparison but few in number—Nonconformists, perhaps, but not Dissenters, in the proper sense of the terms—followers, in some time of excitement, of some spirit-stirring and popular leader, but gradually reabsorbed into its body, not laying the foundation of permanent and antagonistic communities. But while we do admit and regret the shortcomings of past times, we cannot accept the insinuation of Mr. Richard—for the sentiment is rather insinuated than avowed—that the reawakened zeal of the Church has come too late, neither can we sympathize with his regret that under existing circumstances she has not a better field, less occupied and cultivated already, on which to expend her energies. We rather adopt another sentiment, to which he had just before given utterance, that the Dissenters of the present day 'have no right to clothe themselves in the virtues of their ancestors,' and would ask him to consider how far they are treading in the steps of the good men whose hearts in the early part of the last century burned within them because in many cases the multitudes were as sheep scattered abroad without a shepherd, and who, under the impulse of that feeling were induced to take steps which ended in

separation. In our own days most probably they would have been guided by wise and fatherly counsel, and, through God's blessing, their zeal and energy might have been overruled to the strengthening of the Church against the infidelity and wickedness of the age, instead of exposing her—we speak of the Church now in the widest sense, as comprehending all who love our Lord Jesus Christ and desire the promotion of His kingdom—to the scoffs of her enemies, as a house divided against itself, and therefore the less able to resist their rude assaults.

The clergy of Wales do not regard their field of labour as giving such evidence of cultivation and fruitfulness under the hands of their rivals as to make their own services superabundant and unnecessary. They are thankful for Mr. Richard's commiseration, but regret and are astonished at his prejudices. Instead of their groaning under 'the galling and intolerable yoke of State patronage and control,' or valuing their freedom 'merely for the slight but invidious social and political superiority over other Christian communities, which it secures to them,' as he supposes them to do, the great body of them are thankful for the liberty which they enjoy, in comparison with the bondage which they know too often falls to the lot of ministers elsewhere. For the most part, they contentedly recognize the principle that in every well-ordered society there must be a certain abridgment of personal liberty for the public good; and as to their social position, they value it as an evidence of our national Christianity, but above and beyond *that*, as a most important means of enabling them to execute their commission amongst all ranks and conditions of men. Mr. Richard assures us that when the clergy shall throw off this yoke, and enter with him and his associates into the enjoyment of the perfect law of liberty (!), he can ensure for them a glad and cordial welcome. We consider his picture of the liberty enjoyed under the rule of Nonconformity as unreal, with respect to the condition of its preachers and pastors, as we have before proved his estimate of the religious and moral condition of his countrymen to be. 'You,' said an eminent clergyman of a former generation, 'are the independent people, but we are the independent ministers.' Instead of that abandonment of principle which he bids us to contemplate with the prospect of so much satisfaction, we would humbly but heartily pray that the time may speedily come in Wales, as elsewhere, when all who profess and call themselves Christians may be one body, animated by one spirit, that the

world may believe, what it never will believe while the Church is harassed within by the heart-burnings of party spirit, and without by the rending of the Body of Christ through schisms and divisions, that the Father sent the Son for the salvation of mankind.

ART. IV.—THE PAPAL MONARCHY IN THE SIXTH CENTURY.

1. *Petri Privilegium. Three Pastoral Letters to the Clergy of the Diocese of Westminster.* By HENRY EDWARD MANNING, D.D. (London, 1871.)
2. *The See of S. Peter.* By T. W. ALLIES, M.A. (London, 1850.)
3. *Conciliengeschichte.* Von C. J. HEFELE. Second Edition. (Freiburg, 1871–1877.)
4. *Cathedra Petri. A Political History of the Great Latin Patriarchate.* By THOMAS GREENWOOD, M.A. (London, 1856.)
5. *History of the Popes.* By ARCHIBALD BOWER, Esq. Edited by S. C. Cox. (Philadelphia, 1844.)

IT is a commonplace of history that the removal of the seat of empire from Rome to Constantinople had a considerable share in establishing the sway of the Popes over Western Europe. Not only was the rival of greatest power and dignity withdrawn to a distance, instead of being actually or potentially upon the spot, and the occupant of the Papal chair forced, even had he been unwilling, into the position of arbiter and guide in the troublous anarchy of the two centuries which followed the irruption of the Barbarians, but it was impossible for Constantine the Great to transfer the unequalled prestige and august memories of the 'Eternal City' to the shores of the Bosphorus along with the Government offices and the shadowy Senate. All that remained behind was inherited by the dignitary whose possession of the ancient mistress of the world wore, almost from the moment of this change, the semblance of actual sovereignty; though it was not for some centuries longer that the Pope was even in theory King of Rome, or more than the Emperor's chief vassal within its walls.

But there is another, and in some respects more powerful, factor in the rapid development of Papal power during the

period between the sixth and eighth centuries which has perhaps not attracted like notice from historians. It is this: the Empire was older than the Church, far more perfectly organized as an administrative system until a long time had elapsed, and covered for centuries a far wider area. It was in many respects a consummate piece of statecraft, it had all the arts of two civilizations at its back, and it had watched the growth and progress of the Church with a fear and suspicion which took shape, as all students know, in ten persecutions. This fear and suspicion were very far from disappearing with the conversion of the Empire, though their manifestation was then different from the rough methods of Valerian or Diocletian. It was still the care of statesmen to prevent the Church from becoming too powerful, from any *imperium in imperio* disturbing the symmetry of Government. And the traditions of a statecraft sharpened and polished by long centuries of political experience proved stronger in the East than the tentative and undeveloped priestcraft of the ecclesiastics who tried at any time to match themselves against it. But in the West, after the break-up of the Empire, all these conditions of the struggle between Church and State were precisely reversed. To understand the situation there is nothing more helpful than to compare the map of Europe as it was at the close of the fourth century with its aspect in the sixth. At the former date the whole of what we now call Turkey, Greece, Roumania, Servia, Hungary, Germany south of the Danube, Italy, Switzerland, France, Spain, Portugal, and England, formed integral parts of a single realm, ruled by one monarch, or at most by two, who were viewed as colleagues rather than as rivals, and with one system of law current throughout. At the latter epoch this vast territory is broken up into a number of petty States under the rule of Gepidæ, Ostro-Goths, Suevi, Mæso-Goths, Franks, Burgundians, Alemanni, Huns, Thuringians, West-Goths, Longobards, Saxons, Heruli, and various minor tribes, owning some undefined submission to their more powerful neighbours, and suffered to share their spoils on those terms. Except for the general similarity of tribal customs amongst races of the same stock, there is little to represent uniformity of law, scarcely so much as the notion of international comity is noticeable, and each petty monarch takes the sword as the one principle of statecraft, whether for external defence or internal administration. Save in the one case of England, where the Teutonic invaders made a war of extirpation on the polity, ecclesiastical and civil, which they found there,

deliberately wasting the cities and substituting a rude paganism for Christianity, the conquerors of the Empire were powerfully impressed by the strange civilization with which they came in contact, and, though inevitably destroying much of it, yet retained such fragments as they were able to understand and assimilate. But as they naturally displaced the provincial officers, setting up their own governors, judges, &c., in their stead, the civil tradition was thoroughly broken, yet the ecclesiastical body, being little, if at all, interfered with, continued to represent and transmit all that survived of the elder culture and law. The Church was everywhere similarly organized, with the powerful See of Rome as a common centre of appeal and assistance, and the clergy, however low their intellectual development may appear when tried by either an earlier or a later standard, were far more than a match, in all diplomacy, for their untutored victors, who had no conception of the contest in which they were engaged, being unfamiliar with any kind of power save that of open force with the strong hand. Consequently, when any fresh attempt at extending the authority of the Roman See over some Western Church was made, there was no such co-operation of the civil power in defence of the threatened liberties as always had to be reckoned with in schemes of aggression upon the East, for the barbarian kinglets neither comprehended the issues involved, nor, even had this been otherwise, could they have held their own for a moment against the trained diplomacy and the world-wide organization of the Roman Curia. And one most noteworthy result of this comparative weakness and superlative ignorance on the part of the lay authority everywhere in the West was that the hierarchy was no longer content, as it had previously been, and as it has never ceased to be in Oriental Christendom, with dominion in the strictly spiritual sphere, but aimed steadily thenceforward at temporal supremacy also, at the subjugation of the laity to ecclesiastical law, to the extent of regarding even emperors and kings as but the chief civil officers of the Church, deriving their commission from her consecration, and removable at her pleasure for any failure in submissiveness.

It is this new departure which differentiates the fifth century from its predecessor, for, as we have seen, every claim afterwards put forward for the supreme authority of the Roman Chair over the whole Catholic Church in spiritual matters had been already formulated then in the most precise terms. But Gelasius I., the very Pontiff whose demands on

behalf of his See were so high and far-reaching, had admitted in the clearest language the duty of submission on the part of the clergy to the lay power in civil matters.¹ And this is all the more noticeable because of the explicitness of his demands for the submission of the civil power in its turn to the clergy in all matters of religious doctrine.²

The fifth century came to a close while the two great bodies which composed the Catholic Church were divided by the schism due, in the first instance, to the ambition of Felix III., and more than persevered in by Gelasius I. The Pope who next succeeded, Anastatius II., was a man of milder and more equitable temper than either of his predecessors, and would gladly have made reasonable concessions to Constantinople, with the view of restoring unity. This retraction of the Leonine policy, already the accepted programme of the Roman Church, has proved so distasteful that great obscurity hangs over the whole abortive negotiation, and all that is certainly known is that the Pope sent a legation to the Emperor, consisting of two distinguished Bishops, Cresconius of Todi and Germanus of Capua, entrusted with a letter wherein—albeit the claims of the Roman Chair to sovereign rank in the Church in virtue of the Petrine privilege are stated in the opening paragraphs according to the fashion set by Leo the Great—phrases stand which imply at least a doubt of the finality of a Papal sentence, as necessarily binding in the other world. The Pope says :—

‘Our predecessor Pope Felix and Acacius are both doubtless in that place where no one can fail to receive the meed of his deserts from so great a Judge. . . . The blessed Apostle counsels us not to venture to pass judgment on matters touching which none can judge better or more truly than God ; lest any should take on himself to act rashly in this respect ; and on that account the unity and peace of the Church might be destroyed. . . . We therefore beseech your Clemency that the name of Acacius may be specially passed over

¹ ‘Si enim quantum ad ordinem pertinet disciplinæ, cognoscentes Imperium tibi superna dispositione collatum, legibus tuis ipsis quoque parent religionis antistites, ne vel in rebus mundanis exclusæ videantur obviare sententiæ ; quo, rogo, te decet affectu eis obedire, qui pro erogandis venerabilibus sunt attributi mysteriis?’ (Gelas. *Ep. ad Anastat. Imp.* ap. Baron. *Ann.*, 494, iv.).

² ‘Nosti etenim, fili clementissime, quod licet præsideas humano generi dignitate, rerum tamen præsulibus divinarum devotus colla submittis, atque ab eis causas tuæ salutis expetis ; inque sumendis cælestibus sacramentis, eisque (ut competit) disponendis, subdi te debere cognoscis religionis ordine, potius quam præesse. Nosti itaque inter hæc, ex illorum te pendere iudicio, non illos ad tuam redigi velle voluntatem’ (*Ibid.* iii.).

in silence, and seeing that he caused offence and scandal for many reasons to the Church, let him be passed over in compliance with this special appeal: since, as we have said, the deserts of each member of the whole priestly body can in no wise escape that Judge who knows what should be meted out to each according to the account of his stewardship of his gifts, and to whom alone the thoughts are open.¹

This is something very different from the earlier demand that the name of Acacius should be publicly erased from the diptychs of Constantinople, as a sinner of whose fate no doubt could be entertained, since lying under the Pontifical anathema. Nor did the placability of Anastatius stop here. The *Liber Pontificalis* tells us further that he consented to hold communion with Photinus, a deacon of Thessalonica who had never broken off communion with Acacius, and that he even purposed the restoration of that Patriarch's name to the Western diptychs. Its testimony on this head has been denied by Ultramontane writers, but there are some convincing proofs that, whether these special acts are truly ascribed to Anastatius or not, they do not overpass his actual concessions; for in the letter already cited he, in fact, revokes the most salient clause of his predecessor's sentence on Acacius by acknowledging the validity of the sacraments and orders conferred by him, and that too in a paragraph wherein he says that the Emperor, whom God has appointed 'His vicar on earth,' is bound to take cognizance of such matters.² Baronius, while affecting to discredit the charges of the *Liber Pontificalis*, shows his own belief and feeling by observing (much as Platina had done a century earlier):—

'But if anyone chooses to assert contentiously that Anastatius was too much inclined to restore the name of Acacius to the diptychs whence it had been erased, but was unable to accomplish it because anticipated by death; that is the very reason for admiring more and more God's providence towards the Roman Church, seeing that He withdrew from this life the stumbling Pontiff who presided over the Apostolic See, before he could carry out his designs, and that he was punished with death before he could be so much as tempted by Festus the envoy to sign the Henoticon of Zeno. For we know that it has often happened through the will of God, as the principal way whereby He is always wont to safeguard the integrity of the Catholic faith, that whoso was about to bring the Catholic purity of the Roman Church into peril has been cut off by a very sudden death.'³

Anastatius did, in fact, die on November 17, 498, having sat just a week short of two years. How persistent was the

¹ Baron. *Ann.* 497, iv.-v.

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² *Ibid.* x.

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³ *Ibid.* xxviii.

feeling aroused against him in the Roman Church for preferring the peace of Christendom to the authority of his See may be gathered from the fact that Dante, without doubt representing the accepted tradition of his own day, depicts Anastatius as entombed in hell, because of his connexion with Photinus.¹

The death of the Pope gave the signal for one of those sanguinary contests in the choice of a successor which had already stained the Roman annals. A hasty, but valid, election placed Coelius Symmachus, a convert from Paganism, and the candidate of the party which may be most easily defined as the Ultramontane one, in the Papal Chair, and he was duly installed in the Basilica of Constantine. But the Senator Festus, leader of the section which desired peace with the East, procured on the same day the election of the Archpriest Laurentius, who was enthroned in Sta. Maria Maggiore. Civil strife, attended with pillage and slaughter, whose guilt seems attributable equally to the rival factions, immediately broke out, and continued till both agreed to submit the election to the arbitration of the Arian sovereign of Italy, Theodoric the Ostrogoth. The party of Symmachus assented with much reluctance to this appeal before a civil authority, but had no other practical course open to it. However, Theodoric confined himself strictly to the single question of the voting, declining any examination into the personal merits of the competitors, and ascertaining that the election of Symmachus was not only prior in point of time, but that he had received the actual majority of votes, promptly decided in his favour: nevertheless requiring that some security should be given against any future breach of the public peace in the event of a disputed election to the Papacy. Accordingly, the king issued a precept for the convention of a Synod to draw up regulations for future elections, to insure their orderliness and tranquillity. This was not altogether an innovation on his part. Pope Simplicius, aware of the factious temper of his flock, had applied to Basilius, Prætorian Prefect under King Odoacer, not to allow the electoral body to proceed to the choice of a Pope on the next vacancy unless in the presence and under the control of the Prefect himself. But when Simplicius died, the electors paid no attention to this provision, and even went so far as to give no notice to the civil magistrate, contrary to the usual custom. Basilius hereupon attended the electoral assembly, and remonstrated against its conduct, on the very sufficient ground that the far from un-

¹ Dante, *Inferno*, Cant. xi. 4.

likely disturbances which might accompany the discussion would probably spread to the State as well as to the Church, and that it was consequently the business of the civil authority to take due precautions against rioting. Nor did he content himself with this remonstrance: for it seems certain that to his representations was due the remarkable law enacted by Odoacer, interfering for the first time with the management and control of Church property, which had till then been left absolutely in the hands of the clergy. It seems, however, that the diversion of these funds for the purposes of faction, and the consequent stirring up of public trouble, had become frequent and dangerous; so that the new law struck vigorously at the abuse by prohibiting all alienations of any kind of Church property, declaring all sales or contracts of the sort null and void, and the alienated property recoverable by the foundation to which it belonged, after any length of adverse possession. An anathema (it does not appear on what authority) was appended to the edict, which was received with much anger by those at whom it was levelled, but they were unable to make any effectual resistance so long as it continued in force.¹ The object of Theodoric was to abolish the evils of canvassing; and when the Synod assembled under the presidency of the new Pope, it consisted of seventy-three bishops, sixty-seven priests, and seven deacons. The following canons, proposed by the Pope, were enacted: (a) Any priest, deacon, or clerk, in the lifetime of a Pope, and without his assent, canvassing for the Papacy, making any promises, endeavouring to extort pledges, or joining in any caucuses, to secure an election, should be deposed and excommunicated. (b) Any one convicted of canvassing for the Papacy during the Pope's lifetime should be anathematized. (c) If the Pope should die too suddenly to allow of his personally making arrangements for the choice of his successor (*ut de sui electione successoris, ut supra placuit, non possit ante decernere*), the candidate with the majority of suffrages, if not disqualified by canvassing, should be consecrated. (d) Informers against violations of these canons, even if accomplices, should not only receive a free pardon, but be rewarded besides.² It is not unworthy of remark that the Anti-Pope Laurentius, accepting the decision of Theodoric, took his seat in this Synod, and withdrew at its close to the Bishopric of Nocera; so that no such doubt hangs over the claim of Symmachus to the Papacy as over that of Damasus or Boniface I.

¹ Baron. *Ann.* 483, x.-xv.² Bruns, *Canones*, ii. 289.

The hostility of the party which had promoted the election of Laurentius was, however, not appeased by his voluntary cession, and in the year 500 the Pope was impeached before King Theodoric for various crimes, and notably as the cause of the violent disorders which had again broken out in Rome. We have referred on a former occasion to the remarkable precedent set when a mere local Italian Synod was compelled, in spite of its reclamations, to sit in judgment on the Pope;¹ but there are some curious facts which merit notice here. First, the Senator Festus persuaded the king to repeat the precedent set by the Emperor Honorius at the time of the disputed election on the death of Pope Zosimus,² and to appoint an Episcopal Vicar as temporary administrator of the See of Rome, to the supersession of the Pope till he had been formally tried; and also to make the necessary preparations for the trial itself, besides performing all episcopal offices as though the See were vacant. Peter, Bishop of Altino, was accordingly nominated, with instructions, however, to exhibit all due respect to the Pope. Instead of doing so, Peter, on his arrival in Rome, at once suspended Symmachus from all his functions, without so much as granting him an interview, or hearing what defence he had to make. This misconduct greatly increased the disturbances at Rome, and obliged the king to come in person to appease the general discontent. It was then that Theodoric convened the Synod of 115 Italian Bishops which first assembled to try the Pope, who, in fact, personally called for the inquiry as the only effectual way of clearing himself. Theodoric withdrew to Ravenna, to make it clear that he did not intend to overawe the Synod, but absolutely refused the Pope's application for the dismissal of Peter of Altino from his office of sequestrator of the See, and for his own reinstatement before trial. The matter was not pressed after the king's refusal, and is thus a very weighty piece of evidence as to the degree of Papal authority at this date. Symmachus, however, took advantage of a riot, in which he was attacked by the bravos of the opposition party, to retract his consent to the jurisdiction of the Synod; and its members informed the king that the Pope had refused to comply with their summons, and that they did not know how to act, as there was no provision in ecclesiastical law for trying a Pope, especially before the Bishops under his own direct jurisdiction.³ The king told them to decide any way they chose, provided their decision

¹ *Church Quarterly Review*, April 1879, p. 13.

² Baron. *Ann.* 419, xxxiii. ³ Hardouin, *Conc.* ii. 974. —

should make for the restoration of peace ; and they availed themselves of his leniency to get rid of the whole difficulty by declaring themselves incompetent to decide the question at issue at all, further than by saying that in view of the rank and privileges of the See of S. Peter, the Pope must be declared free from all human responsibility, be restored to all his functions and honours, and, in respect of the charges against him, be left to the judgment of God alone.¹ This was, however, very far from being a unanimous decision. It emanated from only seventy-two Bishops, all known partisans of the Pope. The minority of forty-three Bishops lodged a formal protest against the acquittal pronounced by what they termed the 'Synod of the Incongruous Absolution' (*Contra Synodum Absolutionis Incongruæ*), on the threefold ground that the majority consisted of persons who had come with a predetermination to acquit Symmachus, whatever the evidence might be ; that his accusers had never been heard, so that no real trial had taken place which could justify an acquittal ; and that the Pope, having four times refused, under various pretexts, to appear before his judges, though duly cited, merited condemnation on that ground alone, according to the usual course of law. Remarkable as this protest is, because coming from a body of prelates belonging to the Roman Patriarchate, who might naturally be expected to be submissive to their unquestionable superior, there is a yet more singular document connected with this abortive trial, which emanated from the Papal party. It is the counter-allegation put forward by Ennodius, then deacon and secretary of Symmachus, and afterwards Bishop of Pavia, to the effect that a Pope can be tried only by his own consent, and that, in fact, there never could be any sufficient reason for indicting him with a view to a trial, because one of the chief privileges attached to the Chair of Peter is that of *hereditary innocence* ; so that every Pope is, in virtue of his office, a saint, and is either already pure and holy at the time of his election, or becomes so by reason of it. This bold proposition, revived some centuries later by Gregory VII., was far from passing unchallenged ; but it was read before a Roman Synod in 503, and embodied by it in its Acts.² The motive for holding that Synod was that the Churches of Gaul, thoroughly subjugated as they had been to the Papal Chair by the Edict of Valentinian III., were startled at the news that the Pope was to be put on his trial, and sent a remonstrance to the Italian Bishops through Avitus, Archbishop of Vienne, declaring

¹ Hardouin, *Conc.* ii. p. 970.² *Ibid.* pp. 983 ff.

their opinion to be that the Pope could not be brought to trial by his Bishops, as he was head and chief of the Church Catholic, and they his subjects and inferiors.¹ Such doctrine was far too acceptable and useful at Rome to be left in an informal shape, and Symmachus convened a Synod of 218 Italian Bishops, who, besides accepting the thesis of Ennodius, further enacted that the Pope, as supreme judge in all ecclesiastical and spiritual causes, was responsible to God alone, and—as a kind of corollary—that no Bishop, however blameworthy, could be called to account by his own flock, and should not be bound to make any answer, even to a synodal impeachment, until he had first been restored to all property, dignity, or privileges of which his accusers might have deprived him. These canons were enforced by sentences of deposition for the clergy and excommunication for all others. In the previous year, 502, another Roman Synod had professed to repeal the law of Odoacer, already mentioned, against the alienation of Church property, though immediately re-enacting it in almost identical terms, and had thus added a virtual claim of absolute superiority over the State in all the temporal accidents of the Church to the far-reaching spiritual privileges now heaped, so far as a local Synod could do it, upon the occupant of the Roman Chair. Thus, although there is abundant evidence that a powerful minority regarded all this as a dangerous and unwarrantable innovation, nevertheless the net result of the troubles under Symmachus was a great increase in the prestige of the Papacy.

Meanwhile, Eastern Christianity was becoming disintegrated more rapidly than that of the West was crystallizing, and the prospect of an accommodation between Rome and Constantinople, already faint, was destroyed by an open breach between Pope Symmachus and the Emperor Anastatius, in which each charged the other with abetting heresy (truly enough so far as the Emperor was concerned); and the interchange of violent discourtesies—on the one hand, inclusive of withholding the usual letters of congratulation on the accession of a new Pope; on the other, a scarcely-veiled sentence of excommunication on the Emperor, as virtually involved in the condemnation of Acacius—did much to embitter the relations of East and West, but, singularly enough, in so doing further advanced the Papal cause. The reasons are as follow. Although Symmachus was an object of distrust and suspicion to the whole moderate school at

¹ Hardouin, *Conc.* ii. p. 981.

Rome, and has never been cleared of some of the worst charges against him, notably that of selling holy orders,¹ nevertheless no doubt was seriously entertained of his adherence to the doctrinal decrees of Ephesus and Chalcedon. But his pontificate synchronized with a remarkable recrudescence of Eutychianism in the East, actively fostered by the Emperor Anastatius. He showed his hand first by sequestering the Patriarch Euphemius, a man of high character for devoutness and honesty, and then procuring his deposition by a packed Synod; in which he also caused the republication of the Henoticon of Zeno. Macedonius, the Patriarch appointed in the room of Euphemius, proved to be of like temper and, refusing to reject the Council of Chalcedon at the Emperor's bidding, was arrested and sent into exile, and though even the Emperor failed to persuade or compel any Synod to depose a man so highly esteemed, Timotheus, treasurer of the Great Church, a mere Court lackey, was intruded in his room, and at once renounced communion with the Catholic Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem, while sending letters of communion to the Eutychian Patriarch of Alexandria and other Bishops of that party. This precipitated the crisis, and the Catholics of Syria and Palestine, casting about for help in their peril, turned to Rome, known to be free from Monophysite leanings, and addressed a memorial to Pope Symmachus, imploring his assistance, having good reason to think that his personal quarrel with the Emperor would make him all the readier in supporting his own co-religionists. The wording of this memorial is very noteworthy, as showing, on the one hand, what language of deference was thought necessary for the propitiation of the Pope, and, on the other, what saving clauses are interwoven, in order not to make any such formal acknowledgment of Papal authority as might be inconveniently pressed at some future time. A few phrases will serve in illustration. First comes a preamble, in which they cite the parables of the lost sheep and the lost drachma, and remark that far greater interests are now imperilled, affecting 'three-fourths of the habitable world,' though purchased with the precious Blood of the Lamb, 'as the blessed Prince of the glorious Apostles, whose chair Christ, the Good Shepherd, hath entrusted to your Blessedness, hath taught.' Then, reminding the Pope of S. Paul's vision calling him over to Macedonia, they ask him to hasten in like manner, as an affectionate father, to his sons, perishing in the gainsaying of Acacius, and to deliver them—

¹ Hefele, *Conc.* xiii. 220.

‘ Since it is not the power of binding only which has been given you, but also that of loosing those long bound, after the pattern of your master. . . . For you are not ignorant of Satan’s craft, since you are daily taught by your holy teacher Peter to feed the flock of Christ throughout the whole world, committed to you not to be constrained by force, but voluntarily ; you who with the most learned Paul cry to us your inferiors (*subjectis*) and say : “ Not for that we have dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy.” ’

Next, defending themselves from the charge of heresy, and explaining the difficulties of their position, which made some intercourse with heretics inevitable, they claim his help as something which he is bound to give, not only on the general ground that only a hireling, and no true shepherd, would abandon sheep thus exposed to the wolf, but specially that he owed a debt of gratitude to the East, whence his own teachers, Peter and Paul, had been divinely sent. Then they say that if their calamity had been less serious, they would have come in person, instead of merely sending a letter. ‘ We would have hastened to our spiritual physician that we might venerate (*adoraremus*) the passions of those good physicians, that is, Christ’s glorious disciples, your teachers, and your own holy footsteps : that we might receive medicine for gainsaying, and loosing of bonds, and remission of sins from your holy mouth.’ A long profession of faith, in accordance with the decrees of Chalcedon, ends this dispirited appeal, markedly unlike any earlier document we possess.¹ No record has been preserved of the Pope’s reply, but his general policy in the East was that of rigid exaction of the hardest terms of communion, so that it may fairly be assumed that the Oriental Bishops took but little by their motion. A revolution of an unexpected nature did far more, however, for the Papal claims than even the submissiveness of the Eastern hierarchy. The Emperor, pushing his support of Eutychianism still further, deposed Flavian of Antioch, and intruded the heresiarch Severus in his place, speedily afterwards depriving Elias of Jerusalem also. The Catholic remnant in the East seemed about to be crushed in a hopeless struggle against the Court, when Vitalian, military governor of Moesia and Dardania, in the north of that great province of Eastern Illyricum which had always had close relations with Rome, raised the standard of revolt in the first of the religious wars which were to prove such a curse to Christendom, and

¹ Baron. *Ann.* 512, xlvi. – lxii. Baronius characteristically draws the conclusion that kissing the Pope’s feet was at this time the usual mark of respect paid by bishops admitted to an audience at Rome.

marched upon Constantinople at the head of a powerful army before the Emperor had time to prepare for defence. Alarmed at the havoc already wrought by the invaders, Anastatius hastened to submit to the demands of Vitalian, which (undoubtedly suggested from Rome) were the recall of Macedonius and Flavian to their Sees, the restoration of all the deprived anti-Eutychian bishops, public confession of the Creed of Chalcedon, and the convocation of an Œcumenical Council, to which the Pope was to be specially invited, to inquire into the legality of the imperial decrees against the Catholics.¹ Just at this crisis Pope Symmachus died, and, was succeeded in the Papal Chair by Hormisda; and little as the Emperor was inclined to fulfil his engagements, once the troops of Vitalian had withdrawn, he was obliged to open negotiations with the new Pope in order to keep up appearances. The letter, addressed 'to the most holy and most religious Archbishop and Patriarch Hormisda,' was despatched to Rome in January 515, and the envoy who bore it also carried letters to the Pope from Vitalian (now lost), and from Dorotheus of Thessalonica, the latter of whom besought the Pope not to lose such an opportunity of healing the divisions of the Church. The Emperor's missive was far from cordial or conciliatory. He lays the blame of the cessation of intercourse between himself and Rome to the 'stiffness' (*duritia*) of the late Pope, and curtly giving notice of his design to assemble a Council, invites Hormisda to attend in the character of a 'mediator.'² Dorotheus must have wounded Papal susceptibilities nearly as much by the address of his letter, wherein he styles Hormisda his 'fellow-minister,' and by at least implying, amidst deep professions of respect for the Chair of S. Peter, that Symmachus had been a mere intruder, and that only the regularity of the late election had availed to end the schism in the Roman Church itself.³

Hormisda was far from anxious to meet these advances, such as they were, and began with declining to give a definite answer till he should have more information, and with repeating the objection raised long before by Leo the Great, that there was no precedent for the presence of the Roman Pontiff at any Council outside Italy. But pressure from King Theodoric obliged him to give way in some degree, and on receipt of another letter from the Emperor, inviting him to a Council to be held at Heraclea, in Thrace, on July 15 that same year, he consented to send legates in his stead, not, however, to Heraclea itself, but to Constantinople. These legates were

¹ Baron. *Ann.* 514, xl. xli. ² *Ibid.* 515, iv. v. ³ *Ibid.* viii.-xi.

the Ultramontane Ennodius of Pavia, already named, Fortunatus of Todi, the priest Venantius, Vitalis, a deacon, and Hilarus, a notary. The instructions of the Pope to these envoys were very full, and aimed far more at increasing the prestige of his See amongst the Easterns than at healing the divisions of Christendom. He bids them to accept any offer of lodging made them by the Greek Bishops, but not to eat or drink with them, nor even receive gifts of provisions from them, or anything except means of transit, until after the public act of joint communion. They are provided with answers beforehand to almost every proposal or question likely to come from the Emperor; they are told not to communicate with him at the altar till he has publicly declared that his doctrine is not only that of Chalcedon and the Tome of S. Leo, but that he accepts all the ordinances and teachings of the Holy See; on which condition they may hold out hopes of the Pope's attendance at the coming Council. If any petitions are lodged against Bishops for having rejected the Council of Chalcedon and the Tome, they are to receive them, but to reserve the hearing of the cause for the judgment of the Apostolic See, 'that you may give hopes of a hearing, and yet our right of deciding the matter may be reserved.' They are to refuse all intercourse with the Patriarch Timothy, and are particularly instructed, every time they have occasion to name the Pope to the Emperor, to speak of him as 'your Father' giving his orders to a son bound to obedience.¹ To this document, of which only a few of the chief clauses are here cited, was added a schedule of the terms of peace to be imposed on the Emperor, now humbled by the sense of the insecurity of his throne because of the militant and insurgent temper of his Catholic subjects. These terms are as follow:—

1. The Emperor is to send a circular letter to all Bishops, declaring his acceptance of the Council of Chalcedon and of the Tome of S. Leo.
2. The Fathers of the Council are to sign a like declaration, and to anathematize, not only Nestorius and Eutyches, with their followers, but also Acacius.
3. All persons exiled for any ecclesiastical reason are to be referred to the hearing of the Apostolic See, which is to have full powers of inquiry and decision.
4. All persons expelled or exiled, who are known to have remained in communion with the Roman See, are to be at once restored as a matter of right.
5. All Bishops charged with the persecution of Catholics are to be reserved for the judgment of the Apostolic See.²

The legates were entrusted at the same time with a

¹ Baron. *Ann.* 515, xxiv.—xxxv.

² *Ibid.* xxxvi.—xxxviii.

letter from Hormisda to the Emperor, in which he says that though there is no precedent for a Pope complying with such an invitation to a Council as he had received, he is nevertheless not unwilling to take the matter into consideration, provided a pledge be given beforehand that the Council will decide in one specified way and no other.¹

Anastatius, placed as he was between two fires, was ready to accept nearly all of these exorbitant demands, but there was one point of more serious importance to him than the others, on which he felt obliged to make a stand, lest he should fatally incense the people of Constantinople. That point was the erasure of the name of Acacius from the diptychs, and the recognition of the validity of the Papal sentence against him. The legates pleaded their precise instructions, of which this was in truth the principal item, as it would be a fatal blow to the privileges of Constantinople; and the negotiations broke off, so far as they were concerned. But the Emperor addressed another letter to the Pope for them to transmit, wherein, after professing his acceptance of the doctrine of Chalcedon, he declares that he could not venture on the erasure of Acacius from the diptychs on his own responsibility without great risk of tumult and bloodshed, and that, for his own part, he did not think it right to drive living men out of the Church on account of dead ones; but that he was ready to leave this question to the Council for settlement.² He followed up this letter with an embassy in the next year, sending two laymen of high rank, Theopompus, Count of the Domestics, and Severianus, Count of the Imperial Consistory, with letters to the Pope and to the Roman Senate, in which he repeated his desire for peace, and asked that the question of Acacius might at least be postponed for the Council to decide. But his overtures were rejected with contumely by the Pope, partly, it would seem, on the pretext of the lay character of the ambassadors; and the original demands were repeated in all their stringency. But in the meanwhile, the Emperor's position had sensibly improved at home, by reason of the popularity he gained through standing firm in the matter of Acacius, and he had besides re-established his authority over Moesia and Dardania, and had superseded Vitalian himself, whose secret understanding with the Pope had been scarcely doubtful. Accordingly, he saw no use in prosecuting the scheme of a Council, but dismissed the bishops already assembled at Heraclea, and countermanded such as were still

¹ Baron. *Ann.* 515, xix.-xxiii.

² *Ibid.* 516, viii.-xi.

on their way ; whereupon the Roman legates withdrew from Constantinople.

The Pope was much blamed by all save his own immediate partisans for having thus made the hopes of reconciliation abortive, but a tactical error of the Emperor's gave him an excuse for making a fresh attempt on the liberties of the Eastern Churches. Anastatius determined to revenge himself on those Bishops of Illyricum who had abetted Vitalian's rising, and arrested four of them, including Alcyon of Nicopolis, Metropolitan of Epirus, who died in custody. His comprovincials immediately elected as his successor one John, an ardent partisan of Rome, who at once despatched a letter to the Pope, announcing his consecration, and declaring his adherence to all Papal teaching, including the condemnation of Acacius. A synodal letter from his comprovincials accompanied this private one, and Hormisda promptly replied, commending their zeal, warning them against any intercourse with heretics, and calling on them to redeem their professions of devotion to Rome by signing the document known as the Formulary of Hormisda, which shall be given a little later. And as Dorotheus of Thessalonica, Eparch of Eastern Illyricum, refused to break off communion with Constantinople, the Pope took a step in advance of any aggression on local rights yet essayed by Rome, by disregarding his official rank as Papal Vicar for that province, assuming in his stead direct metropolitical jurisdiction within its limits, ordaining Bishops to all vacant sees, and finally proceeding to excommunicate Dorotheus himself, exempting all his comprovincials from his authority, and even refusing them leave to hold official intercourse with him as their Primate, under pain of being themselves excommunicated.¹ But while thus punishing one whose sole offence had been tardiness in preferring Papal to Imperial commands, Hormisda re-opened negotiations with Anastatius, sending Ennodius of Pavia and Peregrinus of Misenum as legates in April 517 to Constantinople, ostensibly with public letters only, addressed to the Emperor, the Patriarch, and the Bishops, with exhortations to orthodoxy and unity ; but also with more private instructions to stir up cabals in the Roman interest at Constantinople, and to take measures in concert with the enemies of the Government, in case the Papal demands were not acceded to. The Court, which had private information throughout, allowed the legates to do as they pleased, and commit themselves fully to constructive treason, but then suddenly arrested and deported

¹ Baron. *Ann.* 516, xlv.-xlv.

them, while the Emperor terminated the abortive negotiations in a far from undignified letter to the Pope, contrasting his arrogant and implacable temper with the example of the Saviour, and ending with the significant words: 'We can bear with being insulted and made of no account; we cannot bear to receive orders.'¹

It seemed as if the Papal game had been played out in the East, but a fresh chance was given by the impolitic cruelties of Severus of Antioch, an anti-Catholic zealot, who fired the Catholic monasteries, and slaughtered as many as three hundred and fifty monks on a single occasion. An appeal to the Emperor against his own nominee, Severus, proved to be in vain, and accordingly the sufferers addressed themselves to the Pope and the Western Bishops in general for help and redress, undertaking on their part to anathematize all who had been condemned by the Apostolic See.² This document was signed by twenty-five Archimandrites, and one hundred and seventy priests and deacons. Hormisda, in his reply, tells them that all their sufferings are due to their having left the one true shepherd—namely, himself—but that affliction has brought them back to the decrees and mandates of the Apostolic See, though somewhat tardily, and that if they persevere in that course, and anathematize all whom Rome has condemned, he will extend his favour to them, and notably if they resist all commands of the secular authority in spiritual concerns, as the Temple priesthood did King Uzziah.³

The death of Anastatius in 518, and the accession of Justin I., an orthodox sovereign, changed the situation at Constantinople with much rapidity. The Patriarch and all the Court-prelates hastened to abjure Eutychianism, to revive the decrees of Chalcedon, and to restore the names of Euphemius, Macedonius, and Leo the Great to the diptychs. But although the doctrinal gulf between Rome and Constantinople was thus narrowed, the proceedings were not such as gave satisfaction to the former, for the Synod which assembled to ratify the change took no account whatever of Papal acts in its proceedings, and though restoring the name of Leo to the diptychs, placed it below those of Euphemius and Macedonius, both of whom had died excommunicated by the Pope for refusing to admit the validity of the sentence on Acacius. But the new Emperor was anxious to make peace with Rome, and Rome cared little for any restoration of

¹ Baron. *Ann.* 516, xlix. 'Injuriari et annullari sustinere possumus, juberi non possumus.'

² *Ibid.* liv.-lviii.

³ *Ibid.* *Ann.* 518, iii.-xii.

orthodox teaching which did not include submission to her demands. Accordingly, when the Patriarch sent formal notice to the Pope of the Synod which had just been held, and of the restoration of his name, as well as that of his predecessor Leo, to the Constantinopolitan diptychs, asking him to send envoys to conclude the peace now begun, the Emperor sent Count Gratus with a letter to the same effect, and, what is more important, that officer bore also a private letter to the Pope from the Emperor's nephew, the famous Justinian, broadly hinting that the question of Acacius was to be decided in the Pope's sense, and asking him to come in person to Constantinople, or at least to send legates clothed with plenipotentiary powers, on that understanding.¹ A victory for the Papal Chair was thus a foregone conclusion, nor was any serious resistance to be expected from the Patriarch John, a man of facile and yielding temper. The Pope saw his advantage, and was far from cordial or encouraging in his reply. To the Emperor he briefly says that it is high time the Greek Bishops came to a better mind, and that he will send directions to them as to their conduct for the future, as also a Formulary to sign, on their reception of which his own policy will depend. To the Patriarch he is more explicit, and even less friendly; asking him how he can reconcile the discrepancy of accepting the decrees of Chalcedon, and yet continuing to uphold Acacius; and alleging that the necessary corollary of his having at last embraced the faith of blessed Peter is that he is bound to receive also all the judgments of the Apostolic See without any hesitation, and to set a good example to all the Oriental Bishops by being the first to sign the Formulary.²

The Pope then prepared to send a legation to the East, consisting of two Bishops, Germanus and John, Blandus, a presbyter, and Felix and Dioscorus, deacons. They were given the most precise instructions, not to hold communion, nor even to eat with anyone who did not first sign the Formulary; to insist on the erasure from the diptychs, not only of the name of Acacius, but of his successors, and that if it should be argued that two of these, Euphemius and Macedonius, were not only of unquestionable orthodoxy, but had even suffered as confessors for the faith of Chalcedon, they were to reply that they had no authority to vary one tittle from the text of the Formulary; and that if the Patriarch gave

¹ Baron. *Ibid.* 518, lxxi.-lxxx. 'De nomine tantummodo Acacii vestrae Beatitudinis convenit audire consensum.'

² *Ibid.* lxxviii.-lxxx.

way on these points, then they were to require him to send a circular letter to all the bishops within his jurisdiction, urging them to follow his example.¹ The legates were also entrusted with a large number of letters to high civil personages, both men and women, urging them to do all in their power to bring about the desired result. The progress of the legates was almost a triumphal march through the cities they traversed on their way, and they procured signatures without difficulty to the Formulary, thereupon admitting the signatories to the Roman communion. At Constantinople itself they were received with high honours, and the Emperor desired them to hold a preliminary conference with the Patriarch, to settle the terms of union with him. They replied that the terms were already settled by the Pope, and that they were not empowered to alter them in any respect ; and, in fact, the Patriarch made no difficulty as to the erasure of the name of Acacius, which had been the one point insisted on by the predecessors of Hormisda. But when the further demand was pressed that he should also anathematize his own orthodox predecessors, Euphemius and Macedonius, who had been all but martyrs for the decrees of Chalcedon, and whose sole offence had been the non-recognition of an uncanonical Papal judgment, John displayed unexpected firmness, and protested against the clause, as also against the far-reaching claims of jurisdiction with which it was accompanied, as making the Pope master of Christendom, and communion with him the one requisite of salvation. The legates, however, would abate nothing, and the Emperor, whose own mind was made up for peace at any price, and who, as a grossly illiterate man, unable even to read or write, was quite incapable of estimating aright the principles at stake, first had the civil sanction of the Senate given to the Formulary, and then proceeded to extort the Patriarch's signature. He still held out, asking that, instead of signing the Formulary itself, he might be allowed to draft a letter of his own to the Pope to the same general effect, but varied in wording, to avoid the difficulties presented by a document drawn up in the Roman Chancery. There was a long discussion over this proposal, and a compromise was at last agreed on, that the Patriarch might prefix a letter to his signature, but was to sign absolutely. Accordingly, John, addressing Hormisda in the traditional form as his 'brother and fellow-minister,' astutely inserted two clauses in his letter which effectually barred the possibility of basing any future

¹ Baron. *Ann.* 519, iii.-vii.

claims over Constantinople on the fact of his signature. The first of these runs thus :—

‘I hold that the most holy Churches of God—that is, yours of Old Rome and this of New Rome—are one ; I define that it, the See of blessed Peter, and this, the seat of Imperial Government, are one.’

The second clause went yet further, by implicitly reasserting Canon XXVIII. of Chalcedon, in these terms :—

‘I assent to all the Acts of those four Councils, Nicæa, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, touching the confirmation of the Faith *and the constitution of the Church*, and I suffer no disturbance of their wise decisions, for I know that such as attempt to interfere with a single tittle of their decrees have fallen away from the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of God.’¹

At a Synod held in presence of the Roman legates, the Formulary was then accepted by the Emperor, his Court, the Patriarch and the clergy, and the names of Acacius, Fravitta, Euphemius, and Macedonius, as well as those of the Emperors Zeno and Anastatius, were struck out of the diptychs ; whereupon the legates declared the thirty-five years’ schism at an end, and the Churches re-united ; and that on the sole terms which Rome had demanded from the beginning—those of simple submission to her demands.

It is now time to give the text of this remarkable document in full, as the best comment on the preceding narration.

‘The chief means of salvation is to keep the rule of the right faith, and to depart in no wise from the decrees of the Fathers. And forasmuch as the words of Our Lord Jesus Christ cannot be set aside when He said, “Thou art Peter,” &c., these words are proved true by their results, since religion has always been preserved unspotted in the Apostolic See. Therefore, desiring not to be separated from its faith and hope, and following the decrees of the Fathers in all respects, we anathematize all heretics, especially the heretic Nestorius, formerly Bishop of the city of Constantinople, condemned in the Council of Ephesus by Cælestine, Pope of the city of Rome, and by S. Cyril, bishop of the city of Alexandria. Together with them anathematizing Eutyches and Dioscorus of Alexandria, condemned in the holy Council of Chalcedon, which we follow and embrace. Uniting with these the parricide Timothy, surnamed Ælurus, and his disciple and follower, Peter or Acacius, who abode in the fellowship of their communion, because, since he mixed himself up with their communion, he merited a like sentence of condemnation with them. Likewise condemning Peter of Antioch, with his followers and those of the aforementioned. Wherefore we receive and approve all

¹ Baron. *Ann.* 519, xlviij.

the letters of Pope Leo, which he wrote concerning the Christian religion. Whence, as we have said before, following the Apostolic See in all respects, and teaching all its decrees, I hope that I may merit to be in the one communion with you, that which the Apostolic See maintains, wherein is the whole and perfect steadfastness of the Christian religion ; promising further that the names of such as are separated from the communion of the Catholic Church—that is, who do not agree in all respects with the Apostolic See—are not to be recited during the Holy Mysteries. I have subscribed this my profession with my own hand, and have presented it to thee, Hormisdas, the holy and venerable Pope of Old Rome.'

Justin was not content with procuring the submission of the capital to the new act of union, but proceeded to force it on the East in general, with but little resistance anywhere, save from Dorotheus of Thessalonica, who had reason to know more of the aims and temper of Rome than most of the Oriental prelates, and who went so far as to snatch the Formula out of the hands of the legate John, who had been specially despatched to him, and to tear it up publicly ; an act at once followed by a riot, in which the legate nearly lost his life. The Pope demanded satisfaction, and that Dorotheus should be sent to be tried at Rome, but the Emperor contented himself with trying him at Constantinople, and suffered him, after a mere nominal penalty, to return to his see, on condition of his sending a formal legation of apology to Rome, which he did in 520, but without making any real concessions, and throwing all the blame on the legates—an excuse with which the Pope was forced to content himself.

At first sight it does not seem at all clear why the Emperor Justin should have exerted himself so actively to bring about the humiliation of the great communion of which he was the natural protector ; though it is easy enough to understand the eagerness of the lately persecuted Eastern Catholics to obtain, at the price of what they never intended as practical concessions, the support of the orthodox and powerful Church of Rome against any fresh violence from the Eutychian party. But it is easy to come at the facts by looking a little forward into the history of Italy. Although King Theodoric was sole master of that country, and the Pope's position as his subject made that dignitary in a sense independent of the Emperor, and able to treat with him from a level impossible had he been his born subject instead ; yet in the theory of the Byzantine Court the Italian sovereign was a mere removable viceroy of the Emperor, true monarch of the whole Roman dominion. And as Theodoric was an Arian in creed, and insisted on the full toleration of his co-religionists, his sway

was extremely distasteful to the Catholic zealots, whose centre of operations was at Rome ; and there is sufficient proof that the bribe held out to the Emperor Justin was that of material aid from the Pope in any attempt to recover the crown of Italy, provided he in turn would assist the Papal designs against the liberties of the Eastern Churches. But, willing as the Emperor had been to fulfil his part of the bargain, Hormisda was to learn the evil of having grasped at too much. Widespread refusal to accept that part of the Formulary which had required the condemnation of Euphemius and Macedonius began to manifest itself, the new Patriarch, Euphemius, John's successor, setting the example. There were tokens that to insist on this point might provoke a revolution perilous to the crown, perhaps to the life, of the Emperor, and accordingly both Justin and Justinian wrote to the Pope, entreating him to be content with the erasure of the name of Acacius alone, telling him of the risks attending too rigid insistence on all the terms of the Formulary ; while the Patriarch accompanied a similar memorial with a magnificent present of altar-plate. Hormisda returned at first an absolute refusal to modify his demands, but on the Emperor letting it be evident that he was ready now to side against Rome, changed his policy and left it open to the Patriarch to receive into the Roman communion, as holding a proxy from himself, all who would anathematize Acacius and the Eutychian leaders.¹ The immediate result was that the Patriarch replaced the names of Euphemius and Macedonius on the diptychs, without any protest from Rome, and thus much of the ground so recently gained after nearly a century of steady effort was lost again. Shortly afterwards Hormisda died (August 6, 523), and was succeeded by John I. The short career of this Pontiff supplies the key to the relations between his predecessor and the Emperor, as will now be shown briefly. The Emperor Justin soon betook himself to an acrid persecution of his Arian subjects, and King Theodoric, who regarded himself as their natural champion, readily responded to an appeal they made to his good offices, and, after casting about for the most effectual mode of aiding them, bethought himself of sending the Pope as his ambassador to Constantinople, to remonstrate with the Emperor, and to obtain a cessation of the persecution. The means he employed to extort a consent was a threat of enacting an edict against the Catholics of Italy, if that against the Arians of the East was not abrogated by the Emperor ;

¹ Baron. *Ann.* 521, xxviii.-xxx.

a piece of moral suasion which proved successful ; and the Pope actually did set out for Constantinople, at the head of an embassy in which five other bishops and four senators of high rank were conjoined. He was received with extraordinary honours, and made no difficulty about communicating with anyone save Timothy, the Eutychian Patriarch of Alexandria, so that a full retractation was in this way made of the constructive anathemas of the Formulary. John succeeded entirely in the mission with which he was entrusted, and procured toleration for his sovereign's clients with suspicious facility, as it seemed to Theodoric, for upon his return to Italy to give an account of his embassy, he was thrown into prison immediately after his interview with the king at Ravenna, and remained there until his death on May 18, 526. No explanation of this transaction is adequate, or even plausible, save that which ascribes the king's anger to the discovery of a widespread conspiracy for the re-annexation of Italy to the Empire, for an alleged share in which Boethius and Symmachus also suffered the penalty of death. That such a conspiracy was in fact on foot is more than probable ; that the designs of the Byzantine Court were as Theodoric suspected admits of no doubt at all, for the wars of Belisarius proved it ere long ; and the intercourse between Rome and Constantinople had been too intimate for a long time not to arouse the gravest distrust. A very important principle was introduced on the appointment of a successor to Pope John I. The king nominated Felix, a man of high character, to the Papal Chair on his own responsibility, in order to avoid the tumults and bloodshed only too likely to attend a disputed election, as the competitors were numerous, and party spirit was running high. But all sides joined together against the royal choice, as an infringement of the liberty of election ; and Theodoric agreed to a compromise, whereby the existing appointment was to hold good, but all future elections were to vest in the clergy and people of Rome, subject to the approval and confirmation of the Crown, which was to have the right of veto—an arrangement whose practical good sense is attested by its continuance, at any rate in theory, till the erection of the College of Cardinals into the electorate of the Popedom more than five hundred years afterwards. Theodoric died a few months after the accession of Felix, and was followed to the grave in the next year, 527, by the Emperor Justin. The removal of the Gothic king's strong hand was soon evident, for on the death of Pope Felix, in 530, there was a disputed

election between Boniface and Dioscorus, who were both chosen and installed on the same day by their several adherents, whose actuating motive in both cases appears to have been open bribery. The death of Dioscorus within a few days left the victory with Boniface II., who first proceeded to excommunicate and curse the memory of his late competitor, as a simoniac, and caused the sentence, after receiving a number of confirmatory signatures, to be laid up in the archives of the Roman Church; a proceeding reversed, however, by Agapetus, his near successor. His next step was to obtain a decree from his pliant Synod, empowering him to name his own successor, and he thereupon chose his deacon Vigilius for the reversion of the Chair. But neither the electors nor the State—represented by Queen Amalasuintha, daughter of Theodoric, and regent in the minority of her son, King Athalaric—proved contented with this encroachment, and the Pope was compelled to revoke the new ordinance in a Synod held the next year (531), to burn it with his own hand in presence of the Senate, and to confess himself guilty of high treason (*Papa reum se confessus est majestatis*).¹

The failure of the Formulary to exercise any practical influence in the East was illustrated in this Pontificate by one of the many disputes recorded between Rome and Constantinople in respect of jurisdiction over Eastern Illyricum. Stephen, Metropolitan of Larissa in Thessaly, within that eparchate, sent one of his suffragans to Rome, appealing against a sentence of deposition pronounced against him by Epiphanius, Patriarch of Constantinople, partly on the ground of the merits of the sentence itself, but also alleging that by the custom of his province the appeal lay to Rome, and not to Constantinople, even apart from the general right of the Pope to hear appeals from all quarters. It was easy for Stephen to show that the Popes from Damasus I. onwards had exercised or claimed jurisdiction there, and had appointed a succession of vicars; and the fact that the Bishops whose complaints of the irregularity of his election had led to his fall made their appeal to Constantinople, and not to Rome, was not likely to make their judgment weigh much with a Roman Pope and Synod. Accordingly, a decree was passed restoring Stephen to his see; but we have a letter from Pope Agapetus, four years later, complaining to the Emperor Justinian that Epiphanius had paid no attention to the Papal decision, but had consecrated one Achilles instead.²

¹ *Anastat. Biblioth. ap. Baron. Ann.* 531, ii.

² *Baron. Ann.* 535, lii.-liii.

Pope Boniface II. died in 532, and the scenes of bribery and corruption which had disgraced the election when he was chosen—his own share in which is almost proved by a decree then enacted by the Senate against any future offence of the sort—were repeated on a yet larger and more shameful scale during the vacancy of the see ; so that we have a letter from Cassiodorus, addressed to King Athalaric, stating that not only were the funds for the relief of the poor diverted to this purpose, but the very altar-vessels were put up to auction to supply means for the same object.¹ He made this charge on the complaint of the Advocate of the Roman Church, and the result was the enactment of a fresh decree from the king, affirming and amplifying the edict of 530, regulating the fees payable for the future at the election of any Pope, metropolitan, or bishop, ordering the new Pope, John II., to publish the decree itself in all churches subject to his jurisdiction, and enjoining the Prefect of Rome to have it engraved on marble tablets, and set up conspicuously in the vestibule of S. Peter's.² These proofs of the continuous bribery which prevailed in the local Church of Rome have a very important legal and theological bearing on the whole question of the Petrine claims, because the received Roman doctrine is that simony is not only mortal sin and sacrilege, but also heresy of the gravest kind ; voiding, besides, all offices procured directly or indirectly through its means, and no length of prescription can ever cure this defect.³ Consequently, every instance of the kind constitutes a flaw in the Papal succession, not only voiding the special Pontificate in which it occurs, but seriously weakening the evidence for the canonicity of any subsequent election where the result may have been affected by electors deriving their orders or title from a simoniacal Pope. Baronius, fully alive to the difficulty, assures us that the bribers never were elected, and that the suffrages always fell on men of blameless antecedents. But he neither offers any proof, nor explains the singular persistence of the candidates in a method which, on his showing, never succeeded.

A doctrinal dispute which had originated under Pope Hormisdas, and was revived under John II., has equal value as a test of that part of the Papal claims which alleges that the Pope holds the office of supreme and infallible teacher, as well as ruler, of the Catholic Church. The question at issue was whether the expression 'One of the Trinity suffered

¹ Cassiod. *Var.* ix. 15.

² *Ibid.* 16.

³ Ferraris, *Prompta Bibliotheca*, s.v. 'Simonia.'

in the flesh' were orthodox or heretical. Some Scythian monks who upheld the tenet were impeached as heretics, and appealed in 519 to the Pope's legates, then at Constantinople, who promptly gave judgment against them. They appealed to the Pope himself, sending four of their number as envoys to Rome, where they were very badly received, for not only did Hormisda confirm the sentence of his legates, but kept the envoys in virtual imprisonment for a twelvemonth, at the end of which they either made their escape or were expelled. In any case they contrived, before quitting Rome, to post up in several public places their confession of faith in twelve articles, to which as many anathemas were appended against all, without exception, who rejected them. The Pope was extremely indignant at this piece of audacious defiance, and addressed a letter on the subject to Possessor, an African Bishop, complaining against them in violent language as dishonest, crafty, disputatious, heterodox, intractable and rebellious, with no compunction in setting up their own judgment against that of the Holy See, and adds that he makes these charges in order that Possessor may give them the widest publicity throughout the East.¹ This was accordingly done, but only with the result that Maxentius, one of the inculpatated monks, published a reply, denying the authenticity of the Pope's letter, as impossible to have proceeded from any Christian Bishop, and as a flagrantly heretical document: a view in which he was upheld by the great body of Oriental bishops, and by the African bishops also, headed by S. Fulgentius of Ruspe. So the matter rested until 533, when the controversy was kindled afresh in consequence of an edict of Justinian against all heretics, when it became a matter of practical importance to know which of the competing views brought its champions within purview of the law. Those who took the side which Hormisda had espoused sent two envoys to Rome to obtain a decree in their favour from the new Pope, instructing them to plead that the point had been already ruled in their favour, and that it could not now be decided in the opposite way without great discredit to the Church of Rome, according to that saying of the Apostle, 'If I build again the things which I destroyed, I make myself a transgressor.'² Justinian, who held the other view, despatched two Bishops, Hypatius of Ephesus and Demetrius of Philippi, on a mission to Rome, bearing with them a long confession of his own belief, inclusive of the disputed tenet, and also a letter to the Pope telling him that this was the received

¹ Baron. *Ann.* 520, xvi.-xviii.² Galat. ii. 18.

doctrine of the whole Eastern Church, and desiring him to declare in answer that he received to his communion all who held that faith, and no others. The Pope heard both sides, but found himself in great difficulty, between the risk to the prestige of his Chair involved in condemning his predecessor's ruling, and the practical danger of setting himself against the powerful Emperor and the whole Eastern Church. He assembled the Roman clergy to discuss the question, but they were so divided on the merits that no result could be attained in this wise; and he then applied for counsel to extern Churches, and notably to Ferrandus of Carthage, the first canonist of the day. He promptly replied in favour of Justinian's view, and was supported therein by the chief contemporary theologians. Hereupon the Pope assembled his Synod anew, and formally approved the confession of Justinian, declaring that all who disputed it should be excommunicated. He sent notice of this judgment to the Emperor and to the Senate of Rome, specially warning the latter against holding communion with those monks at Constantinople (the *Acœmetæ*) who upheld the doctrine of Hormisda.¹ This curious transaction has a further historical value, in that it enables us to appraise exactly the force of certain phrases of compliment addressed by Justinian to the Pope, which have been relied on by Ultramontanes as establishing the acceptance of the Supremacy by the East in the sixth century. The most noteworthy of these expressions are embodied in the Code, and a few citations will be useful:—

‘Justinian, victor, pious, fortunate, famous, triumphant, ever Augustus, to John, the most holy Archbishop and Patriarch of the noble city of Rome. Paying honour to the Apostolic See and to your Holiness as always has been and is our desire, and honouring your Blessedness as a father, we hasten to bring to the knowledge of your Holiness all that pertains to the condition of the Churches, since it has always been our great aim to safeguard the unity of your Apostolic See and the position of the holy Churches of God which now prevails and abides securely without any disturbing trouble. Therefore we have been sedulous to subject and unite all the priests of the Orient throughout its whole extent to the See of your Holiness. Whatever questions happen to be mooted at present, we have thought necessary to be brought to your Holiness's knowledge, however clear and unquestionable they may be, and though firmly held and taught by all the clergy in accordance with the doctrine of your Apostolic See; for we do not suffer that anything which is mooted, however clear and unquestionable, pertaining to the state of the Churches, should fail to be made known to your Holiness, as

¹ Liberatus, *Breviar.* c. 24.

being the head of all the Churches. For, as we have said before, we are zealous for the increase of the honour and authority of your See in all respects.¹

Nothing looks more precise than this pronouncement, and yet it is not merely balanced by the same title of 'Head of all the Churches' applied in the same Code to the See of Constantinople,² and by the formal re-assertion in the *Novells* of the decrees of Constantinople and Chalcedon as to the rank and powers of the latter,³ but this seeming act of submission is actually the preamble of the very confession of faith which Justinian forced on the Pope, compelling him to alter the ruling of the Roman Church on a point of doctrine, in order to bring it into conformity with the teaching of the Eastern Church. There can be little doubt, however, that Justinian, whose plans for the re-annexation of Italy to the Empire were nearly ripe, was fully alive to the value of the Pope's alliance, and would spare no fair words which might help to secure it, while it equally suited the Pope's purpose to accept them as seriously meant, saying in his reply :—

'Amongst the shining merits of your wisdom and goodness, most Christian Prince, one star sheds especial light, in that through love of the faith and desire of charity, you, instructed in Church discipline, maintain the reverence due to the Roman See, and subject all thereto, and lead unto its unity ; . . . which See the canons of the Fathers and the statutes of sovereigns declare to be truly Head of all the Churches, as the most honoured words of your piety further attest.'⁴

John II. died in May 535, and was peaceably succeeded by Agapetus, Archdeacon of Rome. His Pontificate, though one of the briefest in the annals of the Papacy, for he sat but ten months, was very eventful in its bearing on the consolidation of the Papal power. The first incident which calls for notice is his reply to the congratulatory letter sent him by Justinian, who asked him therein to confirm his predecessor's decision as to the proposition 'One of the Trinity suffered,' and to declare excommunicate such as rejected it. The new Pope complied, but told the Emperor that he did so because the doctrine was that of the Fathers, not because a layman was good enough to tell him what to teach.⁵ Justinian soon

¹ *Cod. Justin.* lib. i. tit. i.

² Ἡ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἐκκλησία πασῶν τῶν ἄλλων ἐστὶ κεφαλὴ.—*Cod. Just.* I. ii. 24.

³ *Novell.* cxxxi. 1, 2.

⁴ Baron. *Ann.* 534, xv.

⁵ 'Non quia laici auctoritatem prædicationis admittimus, sed quia studium fidei vestræ patrum nostrorum regulis conveniens confirmamus atque roboramus.'—Baron. *Ann.* 535, xxxii.

applied to him again, urging that the Arian bishops and clergy should be allowed, on conforming to the Catholic Church, to retain the ecclesiastical rank they had held in their sect ; and further desired that he would transfer the seat of the Papal Vicariate over Eastern Illyricum from Thessalonica to Justiniana Prima, a town which has long ago returned to its earlier name of Scupi (Σκουποι), being now known as Skopia or Ushkub. In return for these concessions, the Emperor offered to reopen the case of Stephen of Larissa, deposed by the Patriarch Epiphanius, and to allow its rehearing, provided the Pope would send legates to the East for the purpose. The reply of Agapetus to the more important of these demands is of the highest evidential value, as explaining the true meaning of any appeal to the 'Canons' on the part of the Roman Curia when any question of the prerogatives or discipline of the Holy See was mooted. The Pope declares the concession to be impossible, not merely on the ground of practical inexpediency, but that to admit heretics to ecclesiastical office would be an open breach of the 'constitutions of the Fathers,' a phrase which he glosses a little later as meaning 'the public and synodal acts of the Apostolic See.'¹ In point of fact, the conciliar authority is all but entirely in the opposite sense. The General Council at Nicæa had enacted in its eighth canon (according to its most probable interpretation) that conformists from the Cathari should retain their ecclesiastical rank. Canon LXVIII. of the African Code gives every Bishop the option of recognizing Donatist Orders, and specially directs that notice of this enactment be sent to the Pope, as being merely the re-affirmation of the received usage of the African Churches. S. Augustine expressly states that a Roman Synod had decreed the admission of the Donatist clergy in their ecclesiastical rank : his indications fix it as that of 313 under Pope Melchiades.² The First Council of Orleans in 511 had enacted in its tenth canon that heretic ecclesiastics, on conforming, should be admissible to any grade at the Bishop's discretion, with a benedictory imposition of hands ; while the whole evidence on the other side is Canon LI. of the Council of Elvira in 305, denying ordination to lay converts from heresy, and decreeing the deposition of clerical ones. When the ground of the Pope's assertion is sought, none is discoverable save a decretal letter of his predecessor Innocent I. to Alexander, Patriarch of Antioch, wherein it is laid down that clerical converts from Arianism cannot be admitted as ecclesiastics, because, having lost through their heresy the

¹ Baron. *Ann.* 535, l.² *Lib. ad Bonifac.* c. 47.

gift of the Holy Spirit, which operates chiefly in ordinations, they have no power of bestowing it. It is thus clear that the Popes treated the local constitutions and usages of their own See as being in fact laws of and for the Church Universal, and that such is the meaning to be put on any of their allegations of canons as making in their favour, when no such canons are to be found recorded in the Acts of the acknowledged Councils. Agapetus accepted the offer of the Emperor as to the case of Stephen of Larissa, complaining, however, of what had been done so far; but there is no record of the final settlement of the dispute. The victories of Belisarius over the Vandals in Africa led to a temporary revival of the Church there, almost crushed out as it had been by the long Arian persecution, and a synod of 217 bishops, assembled at Carthage in 534 under the Metropolitan Reparatus, sent a letter to Pope John II., telling him that their opinion was against permitting the conforming Arian clergy to retain their rank, but that they wished, before formally publishing this decision, to know what might be the usage or rule of the Roman Church on the matter, and that they would be glad of the Pope's advice, on the chance of his being able to give them a reply which they could generally approve and accept.¹ This letter had been designed for John II., but it fell to Agapetus to answer it, which he did in a sense very different from that of the senders, treating it as an act of homage and duty to the Apostolic Primacy, and directing Reparatus to make the Papal rescript, refusing recognition to the Arian clergy, known to all within his jurisdiction, that no one might plead ignorance of the decision of the Apostolic See as to the meaning of the canons.² A more important episode in the life of Agapetus was now at hand. Athalaric, the young King of Italy, died in 534, and the feeble Theodahat, nephew of Theodoric, on whom Queen Amalasuintha bestowed her hand, and whom she raised to the rank of king, rewarded her confidence by imprisoning and murdering her. This gave Justinian the opportunity for which he had been waiting. He at once declared war on Theodahat, and promptly attacked and subdued Dalmatia and Sicily. Theodahat, conscious that he was unprepared for successful resistance, determined to send the Pope on an embassy to Constantinople to make terms, directing him to say that, if his proposals were rejected,

¹ 'Potest enim Sedes Apostolica (quantum speramus) tale nobis interrogantibus dare responsum, quale nos approbare concorditer, explorata veritate, faciat.'—Baron. *Ann.* 535, xxiii.

² Baron. *Ann.* 535, xxxvii.—xli.

Rome should be destroyed, and the Senate and people be put to the sword. It is noticeable that the property of the Roman Church had been so squandered by successive simoniacal Popes, either by direct alienation or by mortgage, in order to pay for electioneering expenses, that Agapetus had to pawn the Church-plate to raise funds for his outfit ; a fact which confutes the theory of Baronius, for it is obvious that the unsuccessful bribers could not have obtained control over the Papal revenues, and that the waste must be set down to the account of Popes themselves. His political mission to Constantinople came to nothing, but he was at once engaged in an important Church question. The Empress Theodora had procured the election of Anthimus, Bishop of Trebizond, to the vacant Patriarchal See, an appointment at once in the teeth of the canons against translations, and objectionable besides, because of the Eutychian tenets ascribed to him. Agapetus refused to communicate with Anthimus till he should publicly clear himself of the charge of Eutychianism, and added that he should in no case acknowledge him as lawful Patriarch. He stood out boldly against the threats of Justinian, bringing him round to his side at last, and securing the supersession of Anthimus, and the election of Mennas, Warden of S. Samson's Hospital, Constantinople, whom the Pope consecrated in his stead. Baronius cites this as a direct exercise of the Supremacy, in that Agapetus, as above all canons, deposed the first Bishop of the Eastern Church without the concurrence of a Council, though such concurrence was required by canon law.¹ But in truth there was no question of deposition at all, because Anthimus had no canonical claim to the see, as being invalidly chosen ; and there is the incontestable evidence of the *Novells* of Justinian that Anthimus was also synodically condemned, and, further, that all the proceedings were civilly validated by an imperial decree.² As to the consecration of the new Patriarch by the Pope, Liberatus tells us expressly that it was by favour of the Emperor that the act took place.³ Agapetus died at Constantinople in April 536, and Sylverius, son of Pope Hormisda, was nominated by Theodahat, and elected—it is said, under intimidation—by the clergy. The new Pope had an understanding with Belisarius, then preparing to advance on Rome, and actually succeeded in getting the people to rise against the weak Gothic garrison, and to invite the Imperial general to take possession of the city for

¹ Baron. *Ann.* 536, xxxi.² *Novell. Just.* xlii.³ *Breviar. c.* 21.

his master, which he did on December 10, 536.¹ This might have given him a title to the goodwill of the conquerors, but a perfidious intrigue, long matured against him, was to avenge his treason to his own sovereign. Vigilius, deacon of the Roman Church, who had accompanied Pope Agapetus to Constantinople, continued there as resident nuncio or legate, and entered into a plot with the Empress Theodora for his own advancement to the Papacy with her aid, which he was to repay by declaring himself on his election as a Eutychian. She provided him with seven hundred pounds of gold for the purpose of bribery, and also with letters to Belisarius and his wife Antonina, to secure their co-operation. He was too late to reach Rome before the election, and the question then was how to get rid of Sylverius. In the meanwhile Theodahat had been slain by a subject he had outraged, and Witiges, the new Gothic king, made a bold attempt to reconquer Rome. He was supported by a party within the city, and a correspondence was produced implicating Pope Sylverius in the plot. It is believed by most modern critics that the charge was falsely trumped up between Theodora and Antonina, and that Vigilius had procured the forgery. In any case, it appears that the Pope was brought before Belisarius and told that he might save his person and rank by promising to condemn the Council of Chalcedon, and to receive the Eutychians to communion. He steadfastly refused, and was at once stripped of the ensigns of his rank, without any trial, ecclesiastical or civil, and banished to Patara in Lycia. Hereupon Vigilius paid over to Belisarius two hundred pounds of gold, and the very next day the general convened the Roman clergy, informed them that the Pope was deposed, and procured the unresisted election of Vigilius in his room. But the intruder was afraid to fulfil his part of the bargain by such an unpopular act as the public profession of Eutychianism in Rome itself; though committing himself fully to that heresy in letters to the Empress, and to the three Eutychian Patriarchs (Anthemius of Constantinople, Severus of Antioch, and Theodosius of Alexandria), whose authenticity, though of course denied by Baronius (mainly on the strength of a mendacious letter from Vigilius to Justinian, alleging that he had never held any belief save that of the Four General Councils and the Tome of S. Leo), is acknowledged by Pagi and by Fleury, accepting the contemporary statements of Liberatus, Victor Tunetanus, and Facundus. This was all a little too strong for Justinian, who sent Sylverius back to Rome, to wait

¹ Gibbon, c. 41.

the result of a formal trial, but Belisarius betrayed him into the hands of his rival, who deported him to the desolate island of Palmaria, where he was soon either starved to death or more directly assassinated.¹ Baronius invents a fresh election of Vigilius to the Papacy on the death of Sylverius, in order to avoid the serious gap his eighteen years of illegal occupancy makes in the Petrine succession, but this is rejected by Pagi and Papebroch, who hold, nevertheless, that the defect was cured by the subsequent recognition of Vigilius as Pope, not only at Rome, but by the Fifth General Council ; but as the point was never mooted at the Council, this latter plea is of little weight, and the difficulty remains in full force. The vacillations of Vigilius in the matter of the 'Three Chapters' during the seven years that he was detained in Sicily and at Constantinople (from 547 to 554 inclusive), and the contemptuous treatment he met from the Fifth General Council, have been already referred to,² and need not now be repeated ; but they had one result not apparent on the surface—namely, that the willingness he exhibited to play fast and loose with the decrees and acts of Chalcedon had a perilous effect on nearly all the Western Churches, which were warmly attached to that Council. The Churches of Gaul, of the quasi-Patriarchate of Aquileia, of Illyricum, and of North Africa, either openly or virtually renounced communion with Rome, as having betrayed the faith and helped to throw a slur on the whole body of Christian doctrine, by condemning the Three Chapters which Chalcedon had accepted as orthodox ; and when Vigilius closed his evil and contemptible career in 555, on his return journey from Constantinople to Rome, his successor, Pelagius I.—himself a ready tool of his predecessor's, and like him thrust uncanonically on the electors by Imperial power, so that the whole body of the Roman people and clergy refused to acknowledge or communicate with him, and he could not even secure the canonical minimum of three episcopal consecrators in all Italy, but had to substitute a mere presbyter in the third place³—found the great fabric of Papal prestige, so patiently built up by the Popes of the preceding century and a half, tottering before his very eyes, and threatening to fall at any moment.

¹ Liberatus, c. 22 ; Procopius.

² *Church Quarterly Review*, April 1879, pp. 14, 15.

³ *Liber Pontificalis* ; Anastas. Bibliothec.

ART. V.—ANTS.

1. *Harvesting Ants and Trap-door Spiders. Notes and Observations on their Habits and Dwellings.* By J. TREHERNE MOGGRIDGE, F.L.S. (London, 1873.)
2. *Supplement to Harvesting Ants and Trap-door Spiders.* By J. TREHERNE MOGGRIDGE, F.L.S., F.Z.S. *With specific Description of the Spiders* by the Rev. O. PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE. (London, 1874.)
3. *An Introduction to Entomology, &c., &c.* By WILLIAM KIRBY, M.A., F.R.S., F.L.S., and WILLIAM SPENCE, Esq., F.R.S., F.L.S. Seventh Edition. (London, 1856.)
4. *Ants, Bees, and Wasps. A Record of Observations on the Habits of the Social Hymenoptera.* By Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, Bart., M.P., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., President of the British Association, &c., &c. Second Edition. (London, 1882.)

FROM the earliest times of which any record remains, there have been some minds attracted by the mysteries of animal life. We cannot, of course, expect to find in the records of the remote past any traces of an intelligent investigation of the habits and the mental faculties of the subject creation. There is a general agreement as to the fact that in its early stage the human mind was incapable of any exact analysis of its own powers, or of the phenomena which it witnessed either in animate or inanimate nature. But it is natural to suppose that even in the pre-historic period man was struck by the resemblances as well as by the differences between himself and the lower animals. He felt, if he did not mentally grasp the fact, that emotions wondrously similar to his own—love, fear, joy, rage—were exemplified in the living world around him; while the absence of any language common to himself and the lower animals served to wrap them in impenetrable mystery. That such was the case seems to be clearly proved by the important position occupied by various animals in some very ancient religions. We commend this topic to the consideration of any who may be disposed to derive all ancient religious ideas from solar phenomena.

It is interesting to observe that the earliest methodical investigation of nature, the earliest approach to a definite classification, appears to have been in Palestine. We are not now referring to the broad and general description of creation

contained in the first chapter of Genesis, nor to the important distinction there drawn between man and nature. But that chapter must have exerted a most powerful influence upon the Jewish mind, for the simple reason that it placed the mind at the outset in the right attitude for the investigation of nature. It placed all nature before man as a system capable of being investigated, as an order of things distinct from, but subject to, the mind, as to be subdued by man, and consequently requiring in some degree to be understood. It is surely no visionary notion, but one of the plainest of truths, that familiarity with that authoritative record must have facilitated the advance of the Jewish intellect for some distance on the road of science.

We should not expect to see the full effect in this direction of that venerable record until the Hebrew nation, after its wanderings and its internal struggles, had finally settled down under a powerful and orderly government, and was in the enjoyment of the leisure which attends prosperity and peace. It is, however, evident that the fruit of which that record was the germ did ripen when those favourable circumstances had arrived. Though no scientific writings have come down to us from the period, it is clear that science must have been one of the characteristics of a portion of the nation when at the height of its power in Solomon's days, and that classification was carried out to a considerable extent. To record the diligence of that king himself as a student of natural history was not deemed unworthy even by the sacred historian, and we may fairly infer that the royal author was not alone in the study. Had he been so, it would have profited no one that 'he spake of trees, from the cedar tree that is in Lebanon even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall ;' or that 'he spake also of beasts, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes.'¹ We shall have to refer later on to one portion of his natural-history teaching.

We do not deny that amongst other peoples a spirit of inquiry grew up in course of time. It may indeed be inferred from the passage which has suggested these remarks that in some of the neighbouring nations it was so, and the library, consisting of inscribed tablets, collected by the Assyrian kings some three centuries after Solomon's time, and especially by Assur-bani-pal, contained, we are told, 'an interesting division formed by the works on natural history. These consisted of lists of animals, birds, reptiles, trees, grasses, stones, &c., &c.,

¹ See 1 Kings iv. 33.

arranged in classes, according to their character and affinities as then understood.¹

Resisting the temptation to linger in the vast field and amongst the *embarras des richesses* presented by the history of the study of nature, and coming to our own times, we observe that the fascination of that study appears to have reached its height. Every year brings out some fresh work, the result of patient observation, written in a more or less popular style, and detailing new and most interesting facts about plants or about animals. Such a supply implies the existence of a demand. It implies that there is a large number of readers who take a delight in knowing all that can be known about the animated world around them. It would seem as if men are beginning at last to follow literally the general direction to study creation implied in the words 'Consider the lilies.'

The late Mr. Darwin remarked as follows: 'It is a significant fact, that the more the habits of any particular animal are studied by a naturalist, the more he attributes to reason and the less to unlearned instincts.'² The truth which underlies these words appears to be that in almost if not all animals there is more play than used to be supposed of a faculty akin to human reason in its power of choice, in its varied action when circumstances vary; not that there is not also a large number of unlearned instincts, such as that which guides the bird in nest-building or in periodical migration, and the bee in the construction of the honey-comb.

Again, it was formerly supposed that instinct and reason are always in inverse ratio to one another; that the more of free intelligence any species possessed the less was the amount, so to speak, or the number of its instincts, and *vice versâ*. This was a hasty inference from the fact that in man the power of instinct seems to be entirely dwarfed by intelligence. It is one of the features of intelligence as distinguished from instinct that it has to learn, and that it profits by experience; and we all know that no human being can construct a habitation for himself without learning the way, an accomplishment which to many of the lower creatures comes by nature. But the doctrine that reason and instinct are in inverse ratio certainly does not hold good generally. Of insects, for example, the *Social Hymenoptera*, Ants, Bees, and Wasps, are

¹ See *Ancient History from the Monuments: Assyria*. By the late George Smith, of the British Museum, London, p. 182.

² See *The Descent of Man*, 1871, vol. i. p. 46.

the highest in the scale of intelligence. Yet it is precisely these insects which possess the most wonderful instincts.¹

The bees have long enjoyed a full share of attention, arising from the service which they render to man in collecting honey. The knowledge of the habits of ants is not so widely diffused; yet, as we shall endeavour to show, they are highly interesting in many ways. Moreover their habits admit of being studied with greater ease than those of bees.

Sir John Lubbock remarks that 'there are a number of scattered stories about ants which are quite unworthy of credence.'² He has given us in a recently published volume an interesting *résumé* of facts about ants, many of them the results of his own patient and ingeniously directed observation. Before selecting and remarking upon some of these facts, as we propose to do, we will give two examples, the one of a marvellous story that falls under the category of those unworthy of credence, the other of a belief respecting ants, which, after being scouted by modern science as a popular delusion, has been reinstated in the full dignity of scientific truth by later observation.

The father of history, Herodotus, is responsible for the introduction to the western world of the fable which forms our first example. Certain Indians, he tells us, were in the habit of procuring large quantities of gold from the ant-heaps in a desert to the east of the Indus. The ants which inhabited this desert were intermediate in size between a dog and a fox. They made their habitations in the ground precisely as did the ants known to the Greeks, and the sand which they threw up in the process abounded in grains of the precious metal which could easily be separated from it. The difficulty, however, was to obtain the sand. For these ants were ferocious, apt to congregate in large numbers, and excessively swift in pursuit. If overtaken by them neither man nor camel could escape destruction. It was the practice of the gold hunters to visit the ant-heaps early in the morning, when, according to Herodotus, the heat of the sun is greater in that region than at midday, and when, consequently, the ants were all underground, and hastily loading their camels with sackfuls of the valuable sand, to hurry off, and so obtain a good start before the ants, apprised by scent of the presence of marauders, launched themselves in pursuit.³ Other ancient writers repeated the account, which naturally lost nothing in

¹ See *The Descent of Man*, vol. i. p. 37.

² *Ants, Bees, and Wasps*, preface.

³ See Herodotus, .iii. 102-105.

the process. One of them declares that the skins of the ants resemble those of panthers.

This story is not an invention on the part of Herodotus. He only repeated, according to his wont, what he had heard. Nor was it altogether fiction. It was fiction founded upon facts. Facts were exaggerated, distorted, and made the basis of a too hasty generalization, and then imagination came in to supply the element of terror. This is perhaps the natural history of many a myth. In the present instance modern scholarship has been able to discover the original germ from which the fable sprang. In the Mahabharata, the Homer of the ancient Aryan Indians, mention is made of 'ant-gold' brought from the northern region. The story therefore is clearly of Indian origin. We know, too, that gold dust was found in a sandy table-land north of India. But whence came the notion of the monstrous ants? The same region is inhabited by numerous marmot-like animals with spotted skins, which burrow in the sandy soil; and modern travellers have seen them sitting on their hind legs, as if keeping guard before their holes. Doubtless the northern tribes carried away, for the sake of the gold, the loose sand thrown up by these animals; and the southerners, familiar with the habits of ants in their own country,¹ but not knowing the marmot, concluded that the burrowing creatures must be ants, whose formidable strength and speed were proportionate to the size of their bodies. The whole story is thus satisfactorily explained, or, if a further *rationale* be required of the supposed ferocity and swiftness of the ants, the actual tenants of the desert holes having no such qualities, we may suppose that the northern traders added these details in order to enhance the value of the gold.

In the foregoing story we have an example of the way in which, in an unscientific age, the want of experience and the operation of a too hasty logic invested the ant with fabulous

¹ It may help to understand the growth of the fable if we remember that the ant-heaps in warmer climates are much larger than any in ours. Kirby and Spence tell us that the largest in our country, those constructed by *Formica rufa*, the Horse-ant, 'are mere mole-hills when compared with the enormous mounds which other species, apparently of the same family, but much larger, construct in warmer climates. Malouet states that in the forests of Guiana, he once saw ant-hills which, though his companion would not suffer him to approach nearer than forty paces for fear of his being devoured, seemed to him to be fifteen or twenty feet high, and thirty or forty in diameter at the base, assuming the form of a pyramid truncated at one-third of its height; and Stedman, when in Surinam, once passed ant-hills six feet high and at least one hundred feet in circumference.'—*Introduction to Entomology*, p. 270.

powers. It is not so long since the very same causes betrayed writers of considerable scientific pretensions into the opposite error—that of denying to the ant an instinct and habit which some of the species actually possess.

Every one is familiar with the exhortation in the book of Proverbs, 'Go to the ant, thou sluggard; consider her ways, and be wise: Which having no guide, overseer, or ruler, Provideth her meat in the summer, and gathereth her food in the harvest.'¹ It was not in Palestine alone that the ant was believed to store up grain for future use. Hesiod speaks of a time 'when the provident one (the ant) harvests the grain.' Horace compares the thoughtful industry with which men provide for the needs of old age to that of the ant in accumulating her store—

'Parvula (nam exemplo est) magni formica laboris
Ore trahit quodcunque potest, atque addit acervo
Quem struit, haud ignara ac non incauta futuri.'²

Virgil, as might have been expected, does not leave the practice unnoticed, and though in the passage referred to³ he is evidently borrowing from Apollonius Rhodius, it seems equally evident that he is describing what he has himself observed.

The hasty manner in which the concurrent testimony of these and other southern writers was set aside in modern times in deference to the dictum of some northern observers, and the subsequent reversal of that hasty verdict, ought to teach caution for the future. A little exercise of that faculty of suspending the judgment, which some modern teachers exalt as a high intellectual virtue, would here have been in place. Instead of pronouncing at once, because our northern ants do not habitually store up grain, that the ancients were all mistaken as to a matter which fell under their own observation—that in fact they mistook the *pupæ* carried about by the ants⁴ for grain—it might have been suspected that differences in the climate might account for differences in the facts observed. This scientific caution was observed indeed by Kirby and Spence, who remarked as follows:—

'Till the manners of exotic ants are more accurately explored it would be rash to affirm that no ants have magazines of provisions; for although during the cold of our winters in this country they

¹ Prov. vi. 6-8. See also xxx. 25.

² Horace, *Sat.* I. i. 33-36.

³ *Æn.* iv. 402-407.

⁴ The ancients were not ignorant of this practice, though they mistook the *pupæ* for eggs. See Virgil, *Georg.* i. 379, 380.

remain in a state of torpidity, and have no need of food, yet in warmer regions, during the rainy seasons, when they are probably confined to their nests, a store of provisions may be necessary for them.¹

But this commendable prudence was not exhibited by some other writers. For example, some of the commentators on Virgil, and, what is of more importance, a writer in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, asserted in almost identical terms that modern observation of the habits of ants does not confirm the belief that they store up seed in their nests. The writer of an article on the 'Natural History of the Bible,' in the *Quarterly Review* for July 1863, was betrayed into the same error, which he endeavours to support by the suggestion that most probably the ants lie dormant during the winter in Palestine, where the cold is severe.

Other naturalists had already established the fact that harvesting ants were to be found in India. Mr. Moggridge has shown that they are also to be found in the warmer parts of Europe. Having occasion to spend the winter and spring of 1871-2 at Mentone, he devoted himself to the investigation of the question. He found that out of the 104 species of European ants then known, two in particular were regularly addicted to the practice, viz., *Atta barbara* and *Atta structor*, and he explains the familiarity of ancient writers with it by the fact that these two species abound on the shores of the Mediterranean, and are particularly noticeable from their habits.² Some other ants show traces of the instinct by occasionally collecting seeds, a statement which Sir John Lubbock corroborates from his own observation.

Mr. Moggridge proceeds to inform us that the true harvesting ants just mentioned are found also in Palestine; and it would seem from the Mischna and other Jewish writings that the quantities of grain amassed in their nests were sometimes considerably greater than any observed in Europe. It was a question among the Jews to whom belonged the grain found in an ant's nest—whether to the owner of the crop or to the gleaners. The Mischna decides in favour of the former if it be found while the crop is standing; but if the reapers have passed, then the upper portion of the store, probably because presumably taken from ears that would have gone to the gleaners, was to belong to the latter.

There is an interesting fact, if it be a fact, in regard to the seed carried by ants into their subterranean dwellings: namely,

¹ *Introduction to Entomology*. Seventh edition, p. 313.

² See Supplement to *Harvesting Ants*, &c., p. 164.

that so long as they have access to it it neither germinates nor decays. But if either the seed be removed from the superintendence of its thrifty owners, or they be excluded from the nest, then, according to Mr. Moggridge, it will germinate. What means the ants possess of checking germination was left an unsolved problem by Mr. Moggridge, and Sir John Lubbock informs us that it remains a mystery still.¹ It must be added that the last-named writer quotes other authorities in opposition to Mr. Moggridge's statement of the facts. According to one writer the ants gnaw off the radicle, while another asserts that they permit germination to commence for the sake of the sugar which is developed in the process, as in the familiar conversion of barley into malt.

Some ants, we are told, exhibit a more wonderful instinct than the mere storage of grain. They are true farmers. They cultivate their own crops. The *Pogonomyrmex barbatus*, a species inhabiting Texas, is said to extirpate from the ground to a distance of five or six feet from their nests all other species of plants except *Aristida oligantha*, the grains of which they carefully stow away in their barns, and which is consequently called ant rice.² Sir John Lubbock corroborates this statement in some measure by the remark that he has himself 'observed in Algeria that certain species of plants are allowed by the ants to grow on their nests.'³ That in the actual process of harvesting their grain the ants have learnt the use of division of labour was observed by some very ancient naturalists. Ælian describes how one party perform the operation of reaping, and another that of carrying, the former severing and throwing down the spikelets of corn 'to the people below,' τῷ δήμῳ τῷ κάτω. This statement has been corroborated by Mr. Moggridge, who has seen 'ants engaged in cutting the capsules of certain plants, drop them, and allow their companions below to carry them away.'⁴

The English ants do not store up grain, but they show an equally remarkable proof of foresight, or of what would be foresight, if it were not, as we believe, the result of an instinct, and involving no knowledge of the consequences. It is well known that different species of aphides provide food for ants. The aphides secrete a sticky sweet juice, which they emit on being stroked by the antennæ of the ant, and which the latter

¹ See Supplement to *Harvesting Ants, &c.*, p. 171 ; and *Ants, Bees, and Wasps*, p. 61.

² See *Harvesting Ants, &c.*, p. 12.

³ See *Ants, Bees, and Wasps*, p. 62.

⁴ See *Harvesting Ants, &c.*, p. 18.

instantly devours. Sir John Lubbock has added to our previous knowledge of the singular relations between the ants and their domestic animals—their ‘cows,’ as they have been called—by showing that ants collect the autumn-laid eggs of aphides and carry them into the shelter of their nests, where they tend them with the greatest care through the long winter months. In March the young aphides are brought out and placed on the young shoots of the plant which serves as their natural habitat as well as their food. In the case observed the ant was no other than the common English yellow meadow ant (*Lasius flavus*), and the plant from which the eggs were removed, and on which the young live stock were deposited, was no other than the common daisy.

Perhaps the most striking fact that the modern study of natural history in general, and of ants in particular, has brought us to, is not to be found amongst the details—the individual habit or instinct—but in the circumstance that a scientific naturalist should venture to affirm the general principle which Sir John Lubbock infers from the *tout ensemble* of the characteristics of ants. It is a principle which seems to run counter to what we might naturally have expected, and it is one which deserves thoughtful consideration in all its bearings, whether scientific or religious. We should naturally have supposed—and the general principles of evolution would seem to point in the same direction—that the nearest approach to the intelligence and other characteristics of man would be found amongst the mammalia, and, in particular, amongst the anthropoid apes, whose bodily structure bears the closest resemblance to that of man. But, according to Sir John Lubbock, the fact is otherwise. We are to look for our nearest parallel, in his opinion, to the minute order of creatures whose ways he has been observing for the past ten years. No other order presents in such a remarkable degree as the ants the social organization, the co-operation of large multitudes, whether for the needs of daily life, for defence, or for aggression, and at the same time such intelligent engineering as his clients display in the construction of their roadways, and of their elaborate habitations. Nor does this exhaust their claims to rank next after man. They have succeeded in establishing such relations between themselves and some other orders of insects, as in the example mentioned above, that they may be said to possess domestic animals. Some of the species even possess slaves.

We doubt whether Sir John Lubbock's contention will be

generally admitted to its full extent. Wonderful as the performances of ants are, it seems to us that reasoning power on the part of the individual has so small a share in effecting them in proportion to the part played by instinct, that we should hardly be disposed to place the ant next to man in the scale of creation. We are not intending to depreciate instinct. If there were no other difficulty in the way of accepting a theory of mechanical evolution, instinct would, in our judgment, oppose an insurmountable barrier to it. Nor, again, do we purpose discussing the difference between instinct and reason. On this point it must suffice to say that instinct appears to us to be a kind of stereotyped reason, suited to the narrow range of circumstances by which a given species of the subject creation is conditioned, and that being thus strictly limited, thus confined to particular grooves, it differs widely from that grand faculty of man which causes him at least to aspire to be the measurer of all things.¹ At the same time it is difficult not to see in many instincts the traces of a conscious intelligence; and if, as doubtless is the case in regard to many of the wise adaptations of means to ends on the part of insects and other creatures, we must deny the possession by the individual animal of any conscious prevision of those ends, we are content to trace the operation of Supreme Intelligence. Many of the instinctive actions of ants, of which we are now about to furnish some examples, appear to us inexplicable by the mere operation of natural selection or survival of the fittest, and in fact to present an insoluble problem on any theory which denies or ignores the Divine Creator and Ruler of the world.

In the second stage of ant life, the insect, after it has emerged from the egg, is absolutely dependent upon the ministrations of its fully developed sisters. It is a *larva*, a small white legless grub, voracious, but quite incapable of feeding itself. Not only do its worker sisters perform this operation for it; but they also carry it about from chamber to chamber of the nest in order, Sir John Lubbock thinks, to secure for it the most suitable amount of warmth and moisture. This nursing duty cannot have been learnt; for it is performed by the very young ants whose skin is not sufficiently hardened to allow of their undertaking out-of-door work.²

¹ If Professor Max Müller's derivation of 'man' from a root meaning 'to measure' be correct, it is interesting to observe that at the earliest dawn of language, or at any rate of Aryan speech, man's prerogative of reason was so distinctly recognized.

² See *Ants, Bees, and Wasps*, pp. 6 and 23.

After a period of five to six weeks or more, during which the larva continues to feed, or, more strictly, to be fed, and to grow, it turns into a *pupa* or *chrysalis*, when feeding ceases, to be resumed, however, by the perfect insect; but growth ceases altogether. Immense changes take place in the chrysalis stage; there is a development of the various organs, but no addition to size or weight. When the fully developed insects are ready to emerge, extraneous aid is again, in many cases, required, and were it not given they would perish, just as the human infant would perish if neglected. 'It is very pretty,' Sir John Lubbock says, 'to see the older ants helping them to extricate themselves, carefully unfolding their legs, and smoothing out the wings with truly feminine tenderness and delicacy.'¹

Of the insects thus developed the males and females are provided with wings, of which they divest themselves after the marriage flight—the former, however, only to die almost immediately; while the latter, if circumstances are favourable, become the mothers of a numerous progeny, and may, as Sir John Lubbock has proved, live for at least seven years.² The remainder of the new generation, considerably exceeding in number the males and females, consists of the wingless workers or neuters. These are said to be really undeveloped females, and there is some foundation for this view. It is a familiar fact that bees, which belong to the same order of insects as ants (the Hymenoptera), are able so to treat an egg which in the ordinary course would give rise to a neuter, as to obtain a fertile queen instead. Sir John Lubbock, differing here from Mr. Dewitz, is of opinion that ants possess a corresponding power and instinct. The last-named naturalist remarks that 'it is very difficult to understand how the instinct, if it is to be called instinct, which would enable the working ants to make this difference, can have arisen.'³ We venture to add that in the case of bees (which certainly, even by the admission of Mr. Dewitz, possess the instinct), and in the case of ants (if, as is possible, they also possess it), such an instinct is incapable of being explained, except by reference to over-ruling mind. Such an instinct is an example of a class of facts, which are far from being rare, which testify to a restorative power in or above nature, a remedial agency operating in the case of accidental wants. To the same class of facts belongs the wonderful recuperative power of the animal body in the case of injury by accident or disease.

¹ See *Ants, Bees, and Wasps*, p. 7.

³ *Ibid.* p. 40.

² *Ibid.* p. 9.

The religious teacher may reasonably point to such facts as being at least in harmony with, if not in some degree suggestive of, the remedial process which he proclaims to be needed, and to be attainable in a higher order of things—the spiritual.

There is a class of instincts—or perhaps, to speak more correctly, of habits—in the subject creation, just as there is a class of habits indulged in by man, which to the moral sense of man when duly instructed and cultivated are distressing to contemplate and even revolting. To this class belongs the practice of slave-making followed by some ants. It is so extraordinary an instinct that, as Mr. Darwin remarked, ‘anyone may well be excused for doubting its existence.’ The statements, however, of Pierre Huber, who was the first to discover it (in 1804), have been fully confirmed. Huber’s account of the discovery is so interesting that we venture to introduce it here, slightly condensed. He was walking in the environs of Geneva, between four and five in the evening, when he noticed traversing the road a legion of Rufescent ants (*Polyergus rufescens*). He says:—

‘They moved in a body with considerable rapidity, and occupied a space of from eight to ten inches in length by three or four in breadth. In a few minutes they quitted the road, passed a thick hedge, and entered a pasture ground. At length they approached a nest inhabited by dark ash-coloured ants. Some of its inhabitants were guarding the entrance ; but, on the discovery of an approaching army, darted forth upon the advanced guard. The alarm spread at the same moment in the interior, and their companions came forth in numbers from their underground residence. The Rufescent ants, the bulk of whose army lay only at the distance of two paces, quickened their march ; the whole battalion in an instant fell upon and overthrew the ash-coloured ants, who, after a short but obstinate conflict, retired to the bottom of their nest. The Rufescent ants now ascended the hillock, collected in crowds on the summit, and took possession of the principal avenues, leaving some of their companions to work an opening in the side of the ant-hill with their teeth. Success crowned their enterprise, and by the newly-made breach the remainder of the army entered. Their sojourn was, however, of short duration, for in three or four minutes they returned by the same apertures which gave them entrance, each bearing off in its mouth a larva or a pupa.’¹

The larvæ and pupæ, thus carried off, become, when developed into workers, the industrious slaves of their captors, and do all the work of the home, tending the young,

¹ See *Ants, Bees, and Wasps*, p. 81 seq.

providing the supplies of food, even feeding their masters, whom they carry away on their backs when the colony changes the situation of its nest.

Later observations have shown that the slave-making instinct has assumed four different forms in as many genera. It exists in its mildest form in *Formica sanguinea*, which may be found in the southern counties of England. Sir John Lubbock draws a woful picture of the degrading effect of the habit. We do not stop to inquire how he reconciles with his rather sweeping doctrine of the degeneracy produced by slavery the fact that ancient civilizations and, until very recent times, modern civilizations also, have advanced in spite of the practice. But the ants, at all events, furnish, according to him, a terrible example. The four different forms of slaveholding amongst them represent, he says, so many stages, one below another, in its degrading tendency.

Formica sanguinea, which may be assumed to have comparatively recently taken to the practice, has not been materially affected. They can still 'do' for themselves, if necessary, though they are too prone to indulge in the luxury of compelling slaves to work for them. Much appears to depend upon the facility with which they can obtain the unlawful luxury. For in Switzerland, as we learn from Mr. Darwin, more work is done by the slaves than in this country, the reason being probably that the slaves are captured in greater numbers in Switzerland.¹

Polyergus comes next in the scale of debasement. They are, indeed, bold and powerful marauders, but that is all that can be said in their favour. They have lost their knowledge of art; that is to say, they do not construct their own habitations. They have lost also, as already stated, their natural affection for their young, and even their instinct of feeding.

Then comes *Strongylognathus*. These have lost even more. Slavery has told on the bodily strength. When roused, they will however fight, but they fight in vain; and but for the exertions of their slaves they would evidently be exterminated.

Beneath this lowest depth there is yet a lower depth. *Anergates* is the name of the miserable creature. If Sir John Lubbock is right in the novel suggestion by which he explains the mysterious fact that it continues to exist at all, a male and female *Anergates* stealthily enter the nest of

¹ See *The Origin of Species* (1882), p. 217.

Tetramorium and assassinate the queen. The result of this dastardly manœuvre is that in the following year the community consists of the murderous couple, their young, and only the workers of *Tetramorium*, who, though they would never submit to be captured by such weak creatures, yet tend their helpless invaders with the utmost care. *Anergates* is an awful warning. It is a parasite. It has lost its real independence, its arts, and many of its instincts. 'The individuals are weak in body and mind, few in numbers, and apparently nearly extinct—the miserable representatives of far superior ancestors.'¹

Now it must be admitted that such an instinct as that of slave-making is difficult at first sight to reconcile with our *à priori* notions of Divine design, though surely it is not more so than any other rapacious and cruel instincts in the animal creation, or than the presence of evil at all in the world. But it may be well to point out that whatever the difficulty may be, there appears to be an equal difficulty on the hypothesis of mechanical evolution. For it is a clear case of a well-developed instinct that is not, apparently, beneficial to the species. It may, of course, be said that if an injurious instinct happens to be developed and to become persistent, it must lead to the final extinction of the species affected, and that the slave-making ants are an example to the point. We take leave, however, to remark that there is no proof whatever that the ants ever possessed the various useful instincts which they are said to have lost. Conjecture as to particular orders of beings is too frail a foundation for a general principle with regard to all orders.

There is, however, another remark to be made in reference to the repugnance which the slave-making instinct in ants is said to merit from us. The same remark will apply to some other instincts which are said to militate against the belief in Divine government, such as the impulse which amongst bees leads the workers to put to death the drones after these have fulfilled their single function of securing the continuance of the race. It is strange, certainly. But the repugnance which is professed or felt in presence of such facts arises, surely, from an error. The error consists in looking at them from a merely human point of view—from not realizing that it is not a world of human beings that we are regarding, but of totally different beings. It is an error to attribute to what we call the victims in such cases the feelings which we should natu-

¹ See *Ants, Bees, and Wasps*, p. 89.

rally attribute to our fellow-men so circumstanced. If we could accurately represent to ourselves the actual consciousness of the various species of animals, it may well be that all the difficulties now arising from the contemplation of the war of nature would shrink to very small proportions, or disappear altogether.

With regard to the rise of the instinct of slave-making, the suggestion is offered by Mr. Darwin, and repeated by Sir John Lubbock, that since it is a common practice with ants, even of species that do not make slaves, to carry off the pupæ of other species, if scattered near their nests, 'such pupæ originally stored as food might become developed; and the foreign ants thus unintentionally reared would then follow their proper instincts, and do what work they could.'¹ Out of such circumstances it is possible that the instinct may have grown. But both this instinct and all the instincts peculiar to neuters being neither inherited directly from either parent, nor transmitted by the possessors, present one of the greatest difficulties to the theory of evolution by natural selection.

We turn now to some of the particular results of Sir John Lubbock's observation of his favourites. It will surprise those readers who now learn the fact, that the library of a studious man may be shared without inconvenience to himself by numerous communities of insects so much addicted to travelling about as ants. The range of their peregrinations may, however, be limited by very simple means. A shallow trough filled with water is as impassable to them as was the Styx of old to the unfortunate shades for whom the last rites had not been duly performed. Sir John Lubbock has had for some years thirty to forty communities under observation. Each community inhabited a space about a quarter of an inch deep, filled with fine earth, between two glass plates, and enclosed at the edges by slips of wood, with a small aperture in one corner for a doorway. Some of the nests were placed like shelves one above another, and supported by a single upright post. Beneath the lowest was suspended a platform larger every way than the nests, in order to intercept any individuals that fell, and having a watery ditch at its edges. There was thus free passage between the nests and to the top of the pole; but all the communities were cut off by the water from communication with the outer world. It is sad to learn that this ingenious device for saving space involved special difficulties. The ants knew their own nests perfectly well, but

¹ See *The Origin of Species*, p. 219.

were so pugnacious, that great care had to be exercised in assorting the nests. Between fellow-citizens the utmost harmony prevails, but the members of different communities always regard one another as enemies.

Mention has been made already of division of labour amongst some harvesting ants. By the adoption of a simple method for ensuring recognition, our author has been able to observe the performances of individual ants, and claims to have shown that they differ amongst themselves in character and disposition, and that division of labour is carried out amongst them to a greater extent than was supposed. When it was desired to watch the proceedings of a particular ant, he marked it with a small dab of paint on the back, an operation which sometimes had to be repeated, as, the ants being very cleanly animals, the strange mark would sometimes be licked off by fellow-citizens.

In order to ascertain whether particular individuals are charged with the duty of bringing in the small supplies of food required in winter, a nest of *Formica fusca* was watched, and an hourly register kept, with few intermissions, for nearly two months, from November 20 to January 15. From the observations made in this and other cases, it seemed clear 'that certain ants are told off as foragers, and that during winter, when little food is required, two or three are sufficient to provide it.'¹ The food in this case, it should be added, was honey, of which ants are particularly fond. Not the least interesting portion of the book before us is the chapter in which the various contrivances are described by which ants are prevented from gaining access to the honey of flowers, and so depriving them of their means of attracting the visits of bees and other flying insects, which, as Mr. Darwin has shown, are in many cases of great importance in promoting cross-fertilization. But we must not linger on this topic.

Another point on which Sir John Lubbock has made elaborate observations is the power which ants have of recognizing one another and of intercommunication. All the members of one community are able to distinguish between a fellow-citizen and an interloper, even after the former may have been excluded from the nest for nearly two years. They even recognize as fellow-citizens ants brought up from the

¹ See *Ants, Bees, and Wasps*, p. 47. In some foreign species certain individuals in each nest are so formed that their abdomen is capable of enormous distension. They act as receptacles of the honey, which they retain and redistribute when required. They are said never to leave the nest, and in fact are merely animated honey-pots.—*Ibid.* pp. 47, 49.

pupa state among strangers. It has been asserted by some naturalists that ants, and likewise bees, make use of some kind of language, of which the antennæ serve as the instruments, and that by means of it they can communicate with one another as to the approach or absence of danger, or describe localities where, for example, specially attractive food may have been discovered. The latest observer, though he would certainly be the last to deny to his interesting pets the possession of any remarkable and particularly any man-like faculty which he had good reason to assign to them, does not confirm this view. Ants, as he shows, recognize one another, but it is not by means of language, nor is the recognition personal. That is to say, an individual is perceived in consequence of some subtle quality, possibly some special odour, to be a relation. Numerous experiments tend to show likewise, that though ants track one another by scent, and, consequently, may follow to a store of food the first discoverer of it, the power of communicating with one another is very limited,¹ though not quite absent.

We must now draw to a close, though many interesting topics, such as the nature of the senses of ants, still remain unnoticed. The points to which we have chiefly confined ourselves are those which exhibit the societies of ants as regularly organized communities. It is in this aspect that the subject appears to us to have more importance at the present time than in any other aspect. Attempts are rife to reassure those persons (amongst whom we reckon ourselves) who would view with alarm the decadence of belief in and reverence for a Divine and authoritative standard of duty. Strange to say, the arguments used seem to be based not upon what we know of man, but upon what we observe among the social animals below us. The question is much too large for us to enter upon its general discussion at the end of an article. But our subject has been an order of beings which furnishes examples of the most highly-organized societies next after man; and, consequently, if the theory which regards the social bond as sufficiently efficacious by itself in maintaining order without the sanction of religion can find support anywhere in the subject creation, it is to be presumed that the communities of ants would furnish such support in abundance.

It is worth while to note, therefore, the broad gulf that separates such societies as those with which we have been occupied from the society of men, and which renders it abso-

¹ See *Ants, Bees, and Wasps*, p. 171.

lutely impossible to reason from one to the other in the manner suggested. Whatever be the amount of intelligence exhibited by ants, no one will contend that in seeking the common good they are actuated by anything higher than instinctive impulse, and from this impulse they cannot free themselves; nay, they cannot form the idea or the wish to free themselves from it. Man's reasoning power gives him, indeed, the opportunity of choosing nobly, of devoting himself, at personal self-sacrifice, to the good of others, but it also offers him the temptation of choosing precisely the reverse—of endeavouring to secure his own gratification, no matter what the cost to others.

ART. VI.—CANON COOK ON THE REVISED VERSION OF THE FIRST THREE GOSPELS.

The Revised Version of the First Three Gospels, considered in its bearings upon the Record of our Lord's Words and of Incidents in His Life. By F. C. COOK, M.A., Canon of Exeter; Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen; late Preacher of Lincoln's Inn; Editor of the *Speaker's Commentary*. (London, 1882.)

CANON COOK'S merits as a commentator are well known. He has but recently brought to a conclusion the prolonged and arduous task of editing the *Speaker's Commentary*, and not a small portion of that goodly array of volumes has proceeded from his own pen. He naturally takes a keen interest in the work of the Revisers, and to the letters which he has already published he has now added the present volume. Its principal object is 'to examine in detail certain alterations in the Revised Version, whether adopted in the text or suggested in the margin, which affect incidents in our Lord's life, or which are connected with His works and teaching as recorded in the synoptical Gospels.' The inquiry is mainly directed to alterations which rest upon changes in the Greek text, and it is confined to the first three Gospels, partly because the proportion of textual changes introduced in them is much larger than in any other part of the New Testament, and partly because of the writer's special interest in those Gospels in connexion with the *Speaker's Commentary*. The First Part of the volume is

introductory ; the Second Part contains the examination of the passages, which are grouped in eight sections corresponding to the different periods of our Lord's life ; and the Third Part contains some general discussions on points of textual criticism, the most important of which are 'On the Value of $\aleph$ and B,' 'The Eusebian Recension,' 'The Alexandrian Codex,' 'Theory of Syrian Recension,' and 'Theory of Conflate Readings.'

The work of such a veteran Biblical student and interpreter as Canon Cook deserves most respectful attention, and his utterances will carry great weight in many quarters. We cannot but regret accordingly that he has thrown that weight into what, in our judgment, is the wrong scale ; and as the questions at issue are of paramount interest and importance, we propose to give a somewhat lengthy review of his book. His position is that of a defender of the general integrity of the *Textus Receptus* :—

'The *Textus Receptus* is entitled to such preference as is claimed for it, not so much on the ground that it has been generally accepted by scholars and others for more than three centuries, but because those of its readings which are of supreme importance, so far certainly as the first three Gospels are concerned, have in their favour a decided preponderance of ancient authorities, as compared with the readings of the Vatican and Sinaitic manuscripts. That *Textus Receptus* was taken in the first instance from late cursive manuscripts : but its readings are maintained only so far as they agree with the best ancient versions, with the earliest and best Greek and Latin Fathers, and with the vast majority of uncial and cursive manuscripts' (p. 225).

The *Textus Receptus* is substantially the Antiochene text of the fourth century, and Canon Cook has no hesitation in maintaining 'that if we take the text, nearly a continuous one, which is presented in the voluminous writings of Chrysostom, we shall have an entirely trustworthy witness to the mind of Christendom, so far as regards all crucial points, not merely in his own time, but in all preceding times' (p. 196).

In other words, he completely traverses the conclusions of the leading textual critics of modern times, who have been led to prefer the authority of a few of the most ancient MSS. and Versions to that of the mass of later MSS., uncial and cursive. The Codex Sinaiticus ($\aleph$) and the Codex Vaticanus (B) are in his eyes the representatives of a corrupt and mutilated recension. On the other hand, the Codex Alexandrinus (A) stands at the head of a numerous array of trustworthy witnesses.

We cannot help feeling as we read the volume that

Canon Cook has begun his textual studies at the wrong end. Instead of taking a comprehensive and scientific survey of the whole mass of evidence, and investigating the historic relations of each part of it to the rest, he has been strongly influenced by preconceived ideas. A deep reverence for the words which he has been accustomed by long use to regard as parts of Holy Scripture has induced him to distrust the documents which alter or omit those words. Thus in his opinion certain changes and omissions in *Æ* and *B* are of themselves 'sufficient to impair, if not wholly to destroy the authority' of these MSS. where they are without other support. They are 'crucial tests by which we may ascertain what ancient authorities are unsafe guides.'¹

Æ and *B* are, of course, the most misleading of these unsafe guides, and he endeavours by various arguments to overthrow their authority. Perhaps the most interesting and original part of the book is that which is devoted to discussion of these manuscripts.

We read in Eusebius' *Life of Constantine* (iv. 36, 37) that he was ordered by that emperor to prepare fifty manuscripts for the use of the churches in Constantinople. They were to be written by the most skilful calligraphers, on carefully prepared skins of parchment or vellum, in legible characters, and in a portable form. The commission was to be executed with all possible speed, and the manuscripts sent in public vehicles from Cæsarea to Constantinople.

The order was duly performed, and Canon Cook believes that *Æ* and *B* are survivors of what we might venture to call this imperial edition of the New Testament. The two MSS. are therefore 'variants of one recension, absolutely contemporaneous' (p. 181), and by no means independent witnesses (p. 235). The omissions found in them—for of course he regards the brevity of their text as due to omission and not to non-interpolation—are the result of the extreme haste of transcription necessitated by the urgency of the emperor's command. The agreement of their text with the quotations found in Origen's works arises from the fact that Eusebius was an enthusiastic admirer of that Father, and would be certain to adopt his views on questions of doubtful readings. A text formed under such influence would be, in Canon Cook's opinion, as we shall see below, liable to the gravest suspicion. The theory is not a new one, but it is here elaborated with much ingenuity, in order to sustain the

¹ See pp. 18, 51, 106. The same tone is characteristic of the whole volume.

author's view of the merits, or rather demerits, of $\aleph$ and B. One point in his argument is, however, we believe, original, and deserves notice, though we cannot think he has proved his point. Eusebius describes the manuscripts which he had executed for Constantine as *τριπλὰ καὶ τετραπλὰ*, i.e. *triple and quadruple*. These obscure terms have hitherto been explained as equivalent to the Latin terms *terniones* and *quaterniones*, which are technically used to describe the arrangement of a book in quires composed of three or four sheets respectively. If this interpretation is correct, B at any rate could not have been one of the Eusebian manuscripts, for it is arranged in quires of *five* sheets, or *quiniones*. But Canon Cook suggests that the terms may refer, not to the number of sheets in a quire, but 'to the arrangement, peculiar to these two oldest MSS. $\aleph$ and B, in which each page is written in three or four vertical columns respectively' (p. 162). The suggestion is ingenious, but the arguments by which it is supported are not convincing. No other instance of *τετραπλὰ* is quoted in Dindorf's edition of Stephen's *Thesaurus*, and no instance of *τριπλὰ* which throws any light on the present passage. But the learned Montfaucon, in his *Palæographia Græca*, interprets the Greek words without hesitation in the usually accepted sense, and speaks of having seen them 'in a chronicle in the King's Library,' and nowhere else, apparently forgetting or being unacquainted with the passage of Eusebius.¹ Thus the new interpretation proposed by Canon Cook is at best doubtful. Even if it could be securely established, there are valid reasons against identifying $\aleph$ and B with the Eusebian manuscripts, and Canon Cook's development of the theory and deductions from it labour under serious difficulties.

For (1) it is surely inconsistent to describe these MSS. as representing an 'Eusebian recension,' and yet as executed in such haste that the scribes had not time to do their work properly. If Eusebius had prepared a recension, is it not natural to assume that he would have taken care to have it copied with a fair degree of accuracy? But the supposed omissions in these MSS. are at one time attributed to intention, at another to accident or negligence. On page 156 the

¹ His words are: 'Quaterniones porro librorum *τετράς* et *τετράδιον* nuncupant, quia videlicet quatuor foliis duplicatis aliumque in alio insertis constant: quæ octo folia sexdecimque paginas efficiunt. Terniones quoque nonnunquam in Codicibus Græcis observantur. In Chronico quodam Bibliothecæ Regiæ Terniones et Quaterniones *τριπλὰ καὶ τετραπλὰ* vocantur; quæ vocabula nusquam alias me vidisse memini'—*Palæogr. Gr.*, p. 26.

probable characteristics of a text of the New Testament proceeding from Origen, or formed more or less directly under his influence, are summed up as follows :—

‘The points in which we are specially entitled to look for innovations are—(1) curious and ingenious readings ; . . . (2) the removal of words, clauses, or entire sentences, which a man of fastidious taste might regard as superfluities or repetitions ; (3) a fearless and highly speculative mode of dealing with portions of the New Testament which might contain statements opposed to his prepossessions, or present difficulties which even his ingenuity might be unable to solve.’

Readings found in the writings of Origen, or a recension formed under his influence, are therefore to be regarded with suspicion ; and after pointing out that Eusebius was a devoted adherent of Origen, and would defer absolutely to his authority, especially in questions of criticism, Canon Cook continues :—

‘I do not hesitate to state my immovable conviction that in that influence is to be found the true solution of the principal phenomena which perplex or distress us in considering the readings of the Vatican and Sinaitic manuscripts’ (p. 157).

But further on, the ‘omissions in the synoptical Gospels,’ which are described as ‘perfectly amazing for number and extent,’ are attributed to the extreme haste with which the commands of ‘a prince of imperious and impatient character’ were executed.

‘Eusebius would not be disposed to look with much severity upon defects inseparable from rapidity of execution. Omissions of words, clauses, and sentences not absolutely indispensable for a right understanding of the purport of any given passage might escape attention, or, if noticed, might be excused’ (p. 170).

Deliberate alteration on the part of an editor, and accidental negligence on the part of the transcriber, might conceivably have combined to produce the result ; but the relation supposed to exist between the two causes is not defined ; and, as we have pointed out, carelessness of transcription seems in the present case unlikely to have followed upon editorial revision.

(2) Canon Cook urges against Dr. Hort’s theory of a *Syrian Revision* that no historic mention of such a work can be found. We do not think that it is by any means a fatal objection to that theory, which explains a whole series of textual phenomena ; but whatever its force may be, it is ten-fold greater against Canon Cook’s *Eusebian Recension*. If Eusebius had engaged in any such critical labours, we might reasonably expect to find some notice of them in his works ; but not one word of positive evidence is adduced.

(3) Striking as are the marks of relationship between the texts of $\aleph$ and B, the marks of their independence are no less striking. They are cousins, not sisters; and we are quite unable to understand how they can be called mere 'variants of one recension, absolutely contemporaneous.' It is hard to suppose that Eusebius would send to Constantinople two texts differing in so many important particulars. Moreover, the affinities of those texts with other documents absolutely preclude the idea that the differences between them are due to the negligence or idiosyncracies of one or both of two transcribers copying a common original.

(4) The text preserved in $\aleph$ and B differs in many respects too widely from the readings found in the works of Eusebius to make the connexion between these MSS. and an Eusebian recension probable. For this statement we have the authority not only of Dr. Hort (Intro. p. 113), but of the Bishop of Durham in his elaborate article on Eusebius in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography* (ii. 334).

For these and other reasons we hold that the connexion of $\aleph$ and B with Eusebius is decidedly 'not proven,' and the theory that they represent a depraved Eusebian recension falls to the ground. That the quotations in Origen's works repeatedly agree with the readings of $\aleph$ and B is plain matter of fact, but the coincidence may be explained far better by the hypothesis of derivation from the archetypal and uncorrupted text, than by the assumption that $\aleph$ and B represent the results of Origen's arbitrary criticism.

Before leaving the subject of Eusebius, we must note that Canon Cook's account of his position with regard to the closing verses of S. Mark's Gospel is hardly accurate. Thus he writes :—

'Eusebius is the earliest writer who ventured to impugn them; in this singular course he was unquestionably biassed by a desire to rid his own mind, and that of Marinus, who had consulted him on the subject, of the perplexity caused by what might seem to him . . . to be the impossibility of harmonizing the first part of that portion with the other Evangelists, especially S. Matthew. For my own part, I think it very probable that other points in those verses would be exceedingly distasteful to him' (p. 177).

And again :—

'What more natural, what more probable than the conjecture . . . that Eusebius, superintending the scribe of the Vatican when he was copying a part of Scripture in which Eusebius felt a very special interest, should interfere, and order the omission of the verses to which he has recorded his antagonism' (p. 179).

We have seen that it is by no means demonstrated that Eusebius had anything to do with the Vatican MS.; but if he had, and acted in this way, we are at a loss to understand how he could be described as

‘a man of honour, too prudent as well as too honest consciously to introduce corruptions of the text’ (p. 165).

But Eusebius cannot fairly be said to ‘record his antagonism’ to the verses in question. He had been asked by Marinus to explain the apparent discrepance between S. Matthew (xxviii. 1) and S. Mark (xvi. 2, 9), and replies that two solutions are possible:

‘One man, rejecting the passage itself, will say that it is not current in all the copies of the Gospel according to Mark. That is, the accurate copies determine the end of the narrative according to Mark at the words of the young man ending “for they were afraid.” For at this point the end of the Gospel according to Mark is determined in nearly all the copies of the Gospel according to Mark. . . . Another man, not daring to reject whatever is in any way current in the Scripture of the Gospels, will say that the reading is double,’ &c.

Eusebius then proposes to reconcile the two statements by changing the punctuation.¹ It is not a question of ‘antagonism’ or ‘impugning authenticity.’ Eusebius tells us as a matter of fact that the section was absent from some of the copies of S. Mark then current; and the fact remains clear, even if his accuracy as to the number and the quality of those copies is disputed. The addition of these verses to S. Mark’s Gospel, or their omission from it, must be referred to the period anterior to Eusebius, if we are prepared to allow any weight whatever to his testimony.

We pass on from the discussion of Canon Cook’s theories about the origin and value of *κ* and *B*, to examine what he has to say about the text adopted by the Revisers. That text

‘was commended by two critical scholars, whose authority appears to have been allowed completely to outweigh that of Dr. Scrivener in the hasty and strangely unscientific decisions of the Revisers’ (p. 13).

It really is high time to stop speaking of Dr. Westcott and Dr. Hort as virtually responsible for the textual work of the whole company; and why the Revisers’ decisions, arrived at after full statement and discussion of evidence on both sides, should be stigmatized as ‘hasty and unscientific,’ passes

¹ See Westcott and Hort, *App.* p. 31.

our comprehension. The Revisers' readings are not novelties, propounded by the Cambridge Professors for the first time. They have nearly all been in the hands of readers of the New Testament for more than twenty years in Dr. Scrivener's well-known Cambridge Greek Testament, which gives at the foot of each page the readings adopted by Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles. In the first three sections of Canon Cook's *Examination* (pp. 23-47), sixteen readings are noticed with disapproval. Of these, eleven are adopted by all three of the critics named above (in one case they differ as to the punctuation); two are adopted by Tischendorf and Tregelles, and marked as doubtful by Lachmann; two adopted by Tischendorf, and left uncertain by Tregelles; and only one—and that not introduced into the text by the Revisers, but merely noticed in the margin—finds a solitary advocate in Tischendorf.

This being so, Canon Cook is hardly justified in asserting that 'Westcott and Hort's theory of Greek revision' could not be 'refuted or seriously damaged without cutting the ground from under the Committee of Revisers on the whole of this subject' (p. 232). The fact is that substantially the same conclusions were long ago reached by other critics working in various ways. What Dr. Westcott and Dr. Hort have done is to interpret the perplexing phenomena of the vast mass of evidence more completely, and supply safer clues by which we can thread our way through a wilderness of materials more securely. They are not 'interested in the maintenance of an hypothesis,' but desirous, in the cause of truth, to give a scientific explanation of facts.

They are charged with using only so small a portion of existing materials, or allowing so little weight to others, 'that the student who follows them has positively less ground for his convictions than former scholars had at any period in the history of modern criticism' (p. 16). This charge may at first sight seem plausible to those who have not studied the conditions of the problem. It is, however, only the old question of quality of evidence *versus* quantity, with regard to which we need not repeat what has been already said in the pages of this Review. Again, it is easy to call the 'genealogical' method nothing better than 'ingenious speculation' (p. 158), yet it rests on a solid foundation of facts which cannot be so readily refuted.

We have seen that the special arguments by which Canon Cook seeks to set aside *N* and *B* as representatives of a corrupt recension cannot be substantiated. We have now to

join issue with him as regards other arguments by which he seeks to show that modern critics are in error in following the small group of old MSS. of which *κ* and *Β* are the primary members. For example, we read on p. 196:—

‘It is not too much to say that in nine passages out of ten—nay, to go further, in every passage of vital importance as regards the integrity of Holy Scripture, the veracity of the sacred writers, and the records of our Lord’s sayings—nearly all ancient Versions, and, with very few exceptions, all ancient Fathers, support the readings rejected by the Revisers.’

We were not a little startled by this bold assertion, and in order to test it fairly, turned to the ‘classification of passages in which serious innovations have been introduced into the text, or suggested in the margin of the Revised Version.’ Twelve cases are given on pp. 136, 137, in which ‘most important words of our Lord have been omitted.’ Some of them involve more than one various reading. The last four are only noticed in the margin, and not introduced into the text of the Revised Version. As the question at issue is omission, Versions can give satisfactory evidence.

What are the facts? So far from these readings being unsupported by the best ancient Versions, the evidence for one or other of them includes the old Latin, the Vulgate, the Memphitic, the Sahidic, the Curetonian Syriac, the Jerusalem Syriac, the Armenian, and the Æthiopic. No ancient Version that can possibly be called important is wanting, except the Peschito Syriac; and modern researches have cast serious doubts on its value. Several of the readings are supported by four or more of the Versions mentioned; in one case only of a reading admitted into the text does the authority from Versions dwindle to a single MS. of the old Latin; and in two cases of omissions noted in the margin to a few MSS. of the same Version.

Patristic authority is less secure, because in some cases the passage has not been quoted, while in others the evidence is merely negative, and fairly open to question; but the array of Fathers alleged by Tischendorf in favour of these omissions includes (in one case or another) such names as Origen, Athanasius, Eusebius, Irenæus, Clement, Cyril, Tertullian, Cyprian, Augustine, Jerome. In two or three cases only are the readings of the Revisers destitute of patristic support, and in opposition to extant quotations. We respectfully submit that the facts do not bear out the allegation that ‘in every passage of vital importance . . . as regards the record of our Lord’s sayings, nearly all ancient Versions, and, with very few

exceptions, all ancient Fathers, support the readings rejected by the Revisers.'

We pass on to another point to which a chapter is devoted in the third part of the volume—'The Theory of Conflate Readings.' One of the most cogent proofs of the posteriority of the text called by Dr. Hort 'Syrian' to other types of text is presented by 'conflate readings.' In a series of instances we find one reading (α) in such MSS. as $\aleph$, B, C, L, and the like; another reading (β) in D and its allies; and both combined (γ) in the mass of later uncials and cursives. Now, it might in an isolated case be supposed that (γ) was the original reading, and (α) and (β) independent simplifications of it by omission of a different portion in each group of authorities; but when we come to study a number of readings, the recurrence of the phenomenon in a series of cases makes the explanation of independent simplifications, to say the least, highly improbable, and the explanation of the longer reading as a combination of the other two all but certain.

We lay stress on the necessity of studying readings in series, because Canon Cook maintains the opposite principle:

'It appears to me a truth so obvious as to be a truism, that each particular case should be examined on its own merits' (p. 207).

No doubt there are considerations of internal evidence which must be weighed separately in each case, but to depend on these, rather than on the external evidence derived from an estimate of the value of MSS. based on the study of their readings taken together, is to reduce textual criticism to mere guesswork.

We would willingly have abstained from the unwelcome task of calling attention to the strangely loose and inaccurate statements with which the book abounds. But the textual criticism of the New Testament is so important that we feel in duty bound to put the reader on his guard. Accuracy is a necessity in this study. Thus on pp. 27, 28, in the discussion on S. Luke ii. 14, we read:—

'For the new reading, *εὐδοκίας* in place of *εὐδοκία*, Tischendorf adduces $\aleph^*$, A, B*, D, the Italic, Vulgate, and Gothic versions. The asterisks mean that the reading in the text both of $\aleph$ and B was noted as incorrect by a critical scholar at the time when the manuscript was written.'

This is a most serious error. The asterisk means that *εὐδοκίας* is the reading of the original scribe in both $\aleph$ and B, though afterwards altered. But the alteration to *εὐδοκία* was by no means contemporaneous with the date of either manu-

script. In $\aleph$ it was the work of the third corrector, assigned by Tischendorf to the seventh century;¹ in B it was due to the scribe who retraced the faded writing, at a date placed by some critics as early as the eighth century,² but by the latest editors of the Codex as low as the beginning of the fifteenth century.³ He left the final *sigma* untraced, and a still later hand erased it.

Again, on p. 8, we read that the Sinaitic MS.

'agrees in many very important readings with B, the Vatican Codex; differing however to a great extent from A, C, and still more, as might be expected, from D, the most ancient Western manuscript.'

Now, the peculiar characteristic of $\aleph$, and one which marks it as an authority independent of B, is that while on the one hand it has many readings agreeing with B, on the other hand it has a large number of Western readings in which it agrees with D against B, and not a few for which D is the only other Greek authority. This is a textual fact which has to be duly taken into account by the critic.

Equally vague and equally inaccurate is the statement on p. 14, that 'a certain number of cursives generally agree, some of them all but constantly, with the recensions represented by B or $\aleph$ —e.g. the cursives marked 1, 13, 23, 33, 69, 124, 208, 209.' It is quite true that there is a large amount of agreement between these MSS. and $\aleph$ B, but it is of an irregular and sporadic kind, needing to be taken carefully into account.

Again, that L is 'little more than a transcript of the Vatican manuscript' (p. 178), is a statement refuted by every page of any edition with a digest of various readings, though in a large number of cases L does agree with B. We do not suppose that Canon Cook means to imply that L was actually descended from B, though his words might be so understood. Such a theory would be quite untenable.

From these instances it will be seen that the volume must be read with caution, and the statements of fact, apart from the views advanced, carefully verified.

The field which Canon Cook has chosen is, in our judgment, just that which really shows the vast superiority of the small group of older manuscripts.

He repeatedly points out that the proportion of changes in the Revised Version due to textual alterations is far

¹ See Scrivener's *Introd.*, p. 86.

² Scrivener, pp. 97, 106.

³ Vercellone and Cozza's edition of the *Codex Vaticanus*, vol. vi., pp. xvii., 150.

greater in the Synoptic Gospels than in any other part of the New Testament. The cause is not far to seek. These Gospels have been exposed to harmonistic changes, partly intentional, partly unconscious, which have assimilated them one to another. It is only when we go back to the older readings that the individuality of each Evangelist stands out with characteristic distinctness.

Whether the Revisers were wise in noticing so many textual uncertainties in the margin is a fair point for difference of opinion; but the position adopted by Canon Cook seems to us a dangerous one.

‘I must be permitted,’ he says, ‘to state my deliberate opinion, that in the case of doubtful or disputed readings no innovations ought to have been adopted in the text, or even in the margin, if they are such as seriously affect the integrity of Holy Scripture or its doctrinal teaching, when there was an irreconcilable difference between the representatives of opposite principles in criticism’ (p. 11).

In other words, we ought studiously to conceal textual uncertainties instead of recognizing them.

It is a dangerous position because it is unsafe to attach weight to arguments derived from texts about which there is any possible doubt. It would be folly in an architect to use for the foundation of his building stones about the soundness of which there was the least question; it is not less unwise in a theologian to adduce proof-texts of the genuineness of which there can be a shadow of doubt. The proofs of the great doctrines of Christianity rest on passages concerning which there has not been and cannot be any question; and it is far wiser to acknowledge doubt where there is any possibility of doubt, than to appeal to passages which may be challenged as uncertain. We do not hesitate to affirm that if every passage omitted by a single manuscript of any pretensions to authority were struck out of the New Testament, and if all others in which the manuscripts vary were obelized as doubtful, and we were left to choose at pleasure among the competing readings, it would not be necessary to alter one article of the Christian Creed, or re-model one of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. We do not mean to imply that there need be any large amount of final uncertainty, but let it be estimated at the largest possible amount, it need cause no alarm. No ancient document has so well attested a text as the New Testament. It is the wealth and variety of the evidence which cause difficulty, and the evidence must be submitted to scientific examination without bias or prejudice.

Whatever might have been expected *a priori*, facts show that the New Testament has not been exempted from the contingencies to which all documents have been exposed in the process of transmission from antiquity. To demand an infallible text is to ignore the conditions under which we have to work; it is to look for certainty where only an approximation to certainty (though a very close one) is permitted to us. If we possessed an infallible text, we cannot profess to possess an infallible interpretation of it. In critical and exegetical questions alike, Truth is the reward of patient labour and reverent study under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

ART. VII.—MOZLEY'S REMINISCENCES.

Reminiscences chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement. By the Rev. T. MOZLEY, M.A., formerly Fellow of Oriel. Two volumes. (London, 1882.)

IN our restless age, reputations, not of the first class, are very unfairly handicapped, in the race against time, by the slight differences, sometimes of quality and sometimes of mere chance, which exclude them from the highest level. We should, for instance, imagine that there may have been many ardent university reformers and many eager Churchmen of the young generation who may have asked, on seeing the announcement of a book on Oriel College and the Oxford Movement by T. Mozley, 'Who can this new teller of academic and ecclesiastical stories be? James Mozley we know about, but who is T. Mozley?'

There are, we make no doubt, those to whom the thirty years of a daily toil, arduous and influential, but carefully veiled under burdensome literary etiquette, designed to remove from general ken the hierophant whose writings were intended to influence all minds, have made a gulf between the one editor of the *British Critic*, brother-in-law and lieutenant of Mr. Newman, and that chronicler of a famous past who is now being reviewed in this and many other periodicals. Beyond these children of the present time, however, separated by half or maybe a whole generation, many still survive to whom life, with its memories and its responsibilities and its work to be performed, still lies in

prospect no less than in retrospect ; but men to whom the præ-Gladstonian Oxford was a reality, and Ritualism is a recently-devised expression, to whom the promise of such a book from such a man was a thing 'audible to the wise.' It was the promised revelation of the inner life of more than one Oriel—of the Oriel of Copleston, Whately, Blanco White, and Hawkins, no less than of Keble, Newman, Pusey, Froude, and Robert Wilberforce. It was the anticipation of a lifelike picture of the great central personage of the Church and the age. It would unveil to us, as, under the promptings of his own heroic modesty, he had only partially done in the *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, how the Tractarian party had been built up. We should hear how the tracts were written and the *British Critic* edited. Such were the expectations legitimately raised by 'Oriel College and the Oxford Movement,' and such we gladly say have been fulfilled in a very adequate measure in a book which its author with unusual humility describes as 'superficial and sketchy, and often trivial,' 'even as regards the grand subject,' Mr. Newman. There are of course abatements inviting criticism in this production of an author who pathetically pleads seventy-six years, and eyesight so failing as to make it impossible to consult documents, for his shortcomings ; considerations which we must say have here and there been hardly and unkindly overlooked. Of course under such circumstances names will be misspelt : but this is, after all, a slight consideration. When Mr. Mozley gives us more than his absolute title strictly pledged him to, such as school-boy reminiscences of the Charter House under that last not least of the terrible headmasters of the old type, Dr. Russell—before whom Thackeray quaked, and whom we remember as a mild-mannered canon of Canterbury—and his curious picturesque recollections of burgess life and politics at Derby in the times about and before the first Reform Bill, he indulges in episodes which no one need read whose interest is concentrated on the main story, but which will repay the student of life and manners during the nineteenth century. We wish Mr. Mozley could have stopped there, but the latter part of the second volume, starting as it does from some interesting confessions of his own mental struggles when his brother-in-law, Mr. Newman, had joined the Church of Rome, rambles into various theological speculations, not, be it noted, in the direction of free-thinking, but most crude and eccentric, to say the least, which, if handled at all, ought to have been treated on a very different scale and with

a very different method, particularly as they come from a writer who is clamorous in proclaiming that he is no theologian. It is sufficient for us to have noted the Charter House and Derby, and to have indicated the theological dreams; for we shall discover abundant material for all which we can find room to say on the chapters which treat of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement.

We betake ourselves more eagerly to this section of the *Reminiscences* at the moment when the death of that holy and learned man, who has given its popular designation to the Tractarian movement, has turned the thoughts of all persons who care for serious things to that great work of which he was the founder, but of which the developments (we are convinced) will still fructify in days when Dr. Pusey's is a name of ancient history.

The test of success which we should apply to these *Reminiscences* would depend upon the extent to which they would be valuable as contributions to the history of that Church movement of which the advance of the great Oriel brotherhood was, while a most important one, yet only the first chapter. Were this history to be now undertaken by some one who had with his own eyes beheld Newman's long swinging walk from Oriel to S. Mary's, and in S. Mary's heard him preaching, as Philip Freeman said, as if the angels and the dead were his audience, and to whom Keble's quick look and sudden start, and Dr. Pusey's calm sweet spirituality, were familiar objects, or who could read the real man ambuscading behind Charles Marriott's unworldly simplicity—even such an author would find in Mr. Mozley's hints very precious refreshers. But if the historian could only report of matters 'such as our fathers have told us,' then the value of so picturesque an introduction to his heroes *en déshabillé* is not to be priced, even if one secondary fact after another might have to be subjected to the test of corroborative evidence; for, even after such discounting, the impressions of which Mr. Mozley is the keeper and the dispenser speak as from *outré tombe*. With Mr. Mozley's assistance coming to the succour of the *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, to which his *Reminiscences* serve as a sort of popular key, it will not be hopeless for anyone who combines accuracy with imagination to draw a picture of the original organization of those mysterious workers—known to their contemporaries as Tractarians, Newmanites, or Apostolicals—both as they really were and as they stood in the estimation of the university and the world. We carry off the same conviction

from the *Apologia*, from Mr. Mozley, from Mr. Palmer's *Narrative of Events connected with the Publication of the Tracts for the Times*, which appeared in 1843, and from Canon Oakeley's *Historical Notes on the Tractarian Movement*, published in 1865, that the original Tractarians were a very small knot of earnest, unworldly men, while the hosts whom they dared to confront, and to whom they threw the gauntlet down, were overwhelming in numbers, overpowering in influence, and inexpugnable in prejudice. Yet the auxiliaries whom they influenced, consciously or unconsciously, the High Churchmen, old and new, over the country, who had come under their charm, were many ; though how many, they had themselves, by their own course of action, deprived themselves of the means of estimating. Moreover, they were in the very perplexing position of never precisely knowing whether they had to create their audience in the shape of sleepy and stupid friends who needed stirring, or in that of active antagonists who needed to be resisted, or how far their own mission was to repair and reface time-worn edifices, or to demolish and rebuild tottering ruins. As the descendants of Laud and Butler, they were strong Church and State men ; as non-jurors, they struck for ecclesiastical independence. A Salvation Army has no such troubles. It is most at home when crashing through existing institutions, while the reverential renovators of an old Church must ever feel that if their deeds seem sometimes radical it is because their thoughts are conservative.

Full of perplexity and gloomy anticipations as our own days may seem, in spite of so many everflowing consolations, the darkness of 1833, when the first Reformed Parliament met, was much greater, while reasons for patience and confidence now vouchsafed to us were then but in embryo. We are not talking of the merely political disturbances of that time, though they had much about them to make all men grave who did not belong to the self-satisfied brotherhood who were intoxicating themselves and deafening their neighbours by shouting for the march of intellect ; we are particularly thinking of the large and pious multitude, the true backbone of the country, who still loved and cared—not so intelligently as their children might now do, but still with a pure and laudable love—for the Church of England, or, as they would probably term it, ' the Established Church.' Educated in scientific principles of politics as we have been, and taught to accept as axiomatic a personal as contrasted with a vicarious relation between the burden of

tax-paying and the right of legislating, we are unable to do full justice to feelings with which a Churchman of the old school regarded the successive opening of the doors of Parliament to Dissenters by the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828, and to Roman Catholics by the Emancipation Act of 1829. To him the change was the downfall of a theocracy such as the Government of England had been since all time, although at last a theocracy reduced to very narrow limits. Non-Churchmen, by successive Acts of Toleration (varied, it must be owned, by occasional outbursts of savage vindictiveness aimed at Roman Catholics), had acquired, in increasing degree, political and social freedom, including the vote. But so long as legislator meant Churchman, the theocracy continued, under, however, inconsistent conditions. So, while in the superiority of our experience, which we owe to the flow of time and not to our own acuteness, we may now wonder at the stability which was expected for, and the value which was attached to, this shadow of a shade of theocratic government, we can yet throw ourselves half a century back so as to understand and to sympathize with those good men who then, not in craven fear or with blind prejudice, but basing themselves on arguments which stood the test of logic, were intensely distressed at the collapse of so venerable a principle. Of these, we may parenthetically note, Mr. Newman was not one, for he used annually to petition for Roman Catholic Emancipation, although he opposed Sir Robert Peel's re-election, thinking he had treated the University badly.

Even as late as 1843 we find the clear-witted and impassive Mr. Palmer in his *Narrative* using language which is worth quoting, as showing the depth of the feelings which must have been stirred by the Emancipation Act in many a country parsonage :—

'We had seen in 1828 the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, cutting away from the Church of England one of its ancient bulwarks, and evidencing a disposition to make concession to the clamour of its enemies. In the next year—the *fatal* year 1829—we had seen this principle fully carried out by the concession of what is called "Roman Catholic Emancipation"; a measure which scattered to the winds public principle, public morality, public confidence, and dispersed a party which, had it possessed courage to adhere to its old and popular principles, and to act on them with manly energy, would have stemmed the torrent of revolution and averted the awful crisis which was at hand.'

But it was not merely the resentment for perpetrated poli-

tical wrong, real or exaggerated, culminating in the suppression of ten Irish sees, which overcast or stimulated Churchmen in 1833. The Bishop's palace had been burnt at Bristol, and the Archbishop rabbled at Canterbury when proceeding to hold his primary visitation. The wildest and most vandal schemes of ignorant Church reform were afloat and fathered by professing Churchmen, while rationalism seemed destined to carry everything before it among men of presumed enlightenment. Mr. Mozley—with, we hope, some exaggeration—does not scruple to say of 1839 that which of course, if true at all, would have been, if possible, more true of 1833:—

‘The measures passed, and the measures threatened, and more than all the notorious fact that the majority of our Liberal rulers believed neither in miracle, nor revelation, nor in a personal Deity, drove the Church out of its quiet old moorings into the open and troubled sea.’

It would not be fair to the Church of 1833 to assume, immeasurably inferior as it was to the Church of these years, that the quiet old moorings of that time were attached to Lethe's wharf. There had, in fact, been a providential foreglow of Church revival earlier in the century.

The foundation of the National Society was its visible monument, connected as that was with the venerable names of Joshua Watson and Norris. The activity of the evangelical party, with all its exuberance of the personal element, had in contrast with previous torpor much that was distinctly Churchlike. The million grant for new churches, squandered as it may have been in the spending, was a noble recognition of a nation's Christian responsibility; while upon the episcopal bench theology had distinguished representatives in Howley, Van Mildert, Lloyd, and Phillpotts, and zealous activity in Blomfield. Even among that much-maligned race, the old High Church country clergy, as Mr. Mozley shows, good, pious, unpretending discharge of duty was not so rare as in our self-complacency we like to think. In short, a train was laid if the men could be found to discharge it. Those who were found could literally be counted on the fingers of one hand; for the earliest forefathers of the Church movement were just five in number. We mean those of whom it is necessary here to take account, and therefore not including the excellent, excitable Mr. Perceval, and not computing Dr. Pusey, who came in at just a little later date. Three of these were fellows of Oriel, and two were not.

Of the non-Oriel leaders, Mr., now Sir William, Palmer, of Trinity College, Dublin, who is still living, had incorporated of Worcester College, Oxford; while Mr. Hugh James Rose, who died in 1838, belonged to Trinity College, Cambridge. The Oriel men were Mr. Newman, Mr. Keble, and Mr. Hurrell Froude. Mr. Newman had been already in communication with Mr. Rose, as having engaged in 1831 to write for his *Theological Library* a history of Councils which ultimately travelled over a more restricted area, but with greater amplitude of special treatment, as 'The Arians of the Fourth Century.' Mr. Mozley records of H. J. Rose, 'with whom in a few days after his return home'—as to which we shall have something to explain—'Newman was in communication.' Mr. Rose was the editor both of the *Theological Library* and of the now forgotten but once very influential *British Magazine*, started by him in 1832, and which was the channel through which was given to the world 'The Lyra Apostolica,' Mr. Newman's 'Church of the Fathers,' Dr. Maitland's revelations of the Middle Ages and of the Reformation as they really were, and other valuable matter very convenient for those days of ignorance and prejudice. We insist on the excellence and work of the *British Magazine*, for its share in the Church revival is now being capriciously forgotten. Mr. Mozley declares that Rose

'was the one commanding figure and very loveable man the frightened and discomfited Church people were now rallying round. Few people have left so distinct an impression of themselves as this gentleman. For many years after, when he was no more, and Newman had left Rose's standpoint far behind, he could never think of him or speak of him without renewed tenderness.'

Striking, indeed, he was to look at: a grave, tall, dark, handsome man, as his figure still rises before the eyes of one who was in 1837 elected to a scholarship at Harrow by Rose and Keble. His brother, Archdeacon Henry John Rose, who lived many years after him, was very like him in person. Yet with all Mr. Newman's deep tenderness for his friend, and their common anxiety to save the Church, on genuine Church principles there were, as the Cardinal reveals in the *Apologia*, broad divergences in their respective views of practical policy, shaped as these had been in differing moulds by the strongly-contrasted characters of men who came together with formed careers.

'He was,' so says Mr. Newman, 'the man above all others fitted by his cast of mind and literary powers to make a stand, if a stand

could be made, against the calamity of the times. He was gifted with a high and large mind, and a true sensibility of what was great and beautiful; he wrote with warmth and energy; and he had a cool head and cautious judgment. He spent his strength and shortened his life, *pro Ecclesia Dei*, as he understood that sovereign idea. Some years earlier he had been the first to give warning, I think from the University pulpit at Cambridge, of the perils to England which lay in the biblical and theological speculations of Germany.'

Mr. Rose founded the *British Magazine* in 1832, and he went to Oxford in 'order to beat up for writers for his publication,' and Mr. Palmer introduced him and Mr. Newman. But besides his delicate health, he and those 'who so much admired him'—*i.e.* Mr. Newman and Mr. Froude—'were in discordance with each other' from the first in their estimate 'of the means to be adopted' in the 'coming fight.' As with superfluous modesty Dr. Newman puts it—

'Mr. Rose had a position in the Church, a name, and serious responsibilities; he had direct ecclesiastical superiors; he had intimate relations with his own university, and a large connection through the country. Froude and I were nobodies; with no characters to lose, and no antecedents to fetter us. Rose could not go across country as Froude had no scruple in doing. . . . But there was another reason still, and a more elementary one, which severed Mr. Rose from the Oxford movement. Living movements do not come of committees, nor are great ideas worked out through the post, even though it had been the penny post. This principle deeply penetrated both Froude and myself from the first, and recommended to us the course which things soon took spontaneously, and without set purpose of our own. Universities are the natural centres of intellectual movements.'

The quotation which we have just made is one upon which we shall have to insist throughout our inquiry, for, as will be seen, Mr. Newman's aversion to committees and his preference for universities over capitals as centres of action, give the key both to his power and to the restrictions of that power, and go far to explain the subsequent course of events. But in the meanwhile we must say something of Mr. William Palmer of Worcester—not to be confounded with Mr. William Palmer of Magdalen ('Deacon' Palmer), Lord Selborne's brother, who died at Rome and in the Church of Rome not many years since. Mr., now Sir William, Palmer, was, as we have said, originally a Dublin man, and after settling at Oxford published a *Treatise on the Liturgies* which still holds its own, and in 1837 a *Treatise on the Church of Christ*, a compendium of Anglicanism cast in the scholastic form, of which,

after so many years of such silence that Mr. Mozley fancied him dead, he has just announced a new edition.

Of him Mr. Mozley says that he 'was so quiet a man, so unimpassioned, and so unambitious, that he really hid his light under a bushel,' while in the *Apologia* Mr. Newman pays this tribute to him:—

'Mr. Palmer had many conditions of authority and influence. He was the only really learned man among us. He understood theology as a science; he was practised in the scholastic mode of controversial writing; and I believe was as well acquainted as he was dissatisfied with the Catholic schools. He was as decided in his religious views as he was cautious and even subtle in their expression and gentle in their enforcement. But he was deficient in depth, and "coming from a distance" did not quite assimilate with Oxford. Mr. Palmer had a certain connexion, as it may be called, in the Establishment, consisting of high Church dignitaries, archdeacons, London rectors, and the like, who belonged to what was commonly called the high-and-dry school. They were far more opposed than even he was to the irresponsible action of individuals. Of course their *beau idéal* in ecclesiastical action was a board of safe, sound, sensible men. Mr. Palmer was their organ and representative, and he wished for a committee, an association, with rules and meetings to protect the interests of the Church in its existing peril. He was in some measure supported by Mr. Perceval.'

So much for the leaders who desired to organize by way of committees and who did not belong to Oriel. Of the Oriel men Hurrell Froude will most naturally take his place in the narrative as he comes into connexion with Mr. Newman, while Mr. Keble's and Dr. Pusey's parts in the movement—indissolubly bound up as their names are with it—date as co-operating powers from just a little later, although Mr. Keble's sermon on National Apostasy, of July 9, 1833, gave a first alarm. We must now concentrate our attention, not upon the Cardinal Newman whom so many people fancy they know all about, but upon a fellow of Oriel who came home in the summer of 1833 after a tour about the Mediterranean, including Rome, originally undertaken in company with Hurrell Froude, whose health was already failing, and his father, the Archdeacon, but concluded alone and after a melancholy fashion, resulting as it did in Mr. Newman having been prostrated by a fever in Sicily, through which he seems to have been sustained by the strong, strange, inward conviction that, as he told his servant, 'I have a work to do in England.' Before that he had comforted his faithful attendant, who thought him dying, by the assurance, 'I shall not die, for I have not sinned against light; I have not sinned against

light.' Of this speech of his he says in the *Apologia*, 'I never have been able at all to make out what I meant.' May not some clue be found in the coincidence that during the homeward voyage, and while becalmed off Sardinia, he composed that hymn 'Lead, kindly Light,' which has taken its place among the spiritual jewels garnered up by a grateful people? The kindly light against which he had not sinned was leading him, and he got back to his mother's home at Oxford on a Tuesday, and upon the following Sunday, July 14, Mr. Keble preached from the University pulpit his assize sermon on National Apostasy, of which Mr. Newman says, 'I have ever considered and kept the day as the start of the religious movement of 1833.' When he got home he tells us that 'I found that already a movement had commenced in opposition to the specific danger which at that time was threatening the religion of the nation and its Church.' Mr. Newman names as the principal of those who had 'united their counsels,' Mr. Keble, Hurrell Froude, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Arthur Perceval and Mr. Rose. The 'committee' spirit was, it will be seen, rather strong among these devoted Churchmen. Before very long a conference of these gentlemen and of Mr. Newman was held at Hadleigh, Mr. Rose's Suffolk living, and, as Mr. Palmer and Mr. Perceval viewed matters, conclusions of great moment touching future organization were reached; while, as Mr. Mozley—no doubt echoing Mr. Newman—regards results, the importance of the gathering had been exaggerated by the above gentlemen.

How Mr. Newman must have enjoyed himself, the reader will very likely say, in those Italian cities and churches! How bright a contrast to the grind of conferences! How he must have revelled in ceremonies so new to him, and so interesting to one who was feeling the workings of an awakened sympathy for sacramental religion! So the men of 1882 will vainly imagine. To us, easy-going dilettanti of a cosmopolitan generation, with 'Calais-Douvres' and railroads everywhere, and the telegraph to evacuate travelling of all danger, adventure, or fatigue, Roman worship is one of the great shows which we go abroad—bishops, clergy, and layfolk—to enjoy. Fifty years ago matters were very different. In all the months during which Newman lingered about the Mediterranean the only Roman worship which he attended was the Tenebræ in the Sistine Chapel, for the sake of the Miserere. Never once, wonderful as it would seem, was he present at mass all through the tour, while he visited the churches themselves with interested and soothed feelings.

When he came home he was still no doubt under the influence of unusual excitement, for even before he had left England he felt, so Mr. Mozley records, as if a ghost were pursuing him. He was by this time fixed in his High Church convictions, into which he had grown out of strong Evangelicalism, while, as Mr. Mozley reveals, retaining much sympathy for his old system of belief. Former associations retained a strong hold of his nature, and in particular a deep love for, and a wide and accurate knowledge of, the whole text of Scripture in the Authorized Version was with him a precious spiritual inheritance.

We shall now, for a brief space, betake ourselves to Mr. Palmer's narrative for some of the conclusions of these deliberations at Hadleigh and elsewhere, of which an immediate result was a paper of 'Suggestions for the formation of an Association of Friends of the Church'; that is, of one of those committees or societies which raised Mr. Newman's contempt. But Mr. Palmer tells us that he and his friends found that 'jealousy was expressed in several high quarters at the formation of any associations.' We conclude that he must refer to Bishops: and also that the 'notion was unacceptable to Froude and others at Oxford.' So the plan fell through, though not till some local societies had been formed. Then came a great *coup*—a clerical address to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Howley) which was, after a good deal of trouble and anxious deliberation, presented with nearly 7,000 signatures in February 1834; and another one to the same great prelate presented in May 1834 with the signatures of 230,000 heads of families. The scope of both declarations was to declare the attachment of the signatories to the Church of England, and indirectly of course to keep up the courage of the prelacy by showing that it was backed by a Church party in the country which was not afraid of declaring itself. All this kind of action was of course very much against Mr. Newman's taste. He does not appear to have been active in the work, and public action upon the part of those who had carried out the addresses seems, after they had been done with, to have collapsed. We have no doubt, viewing the distress of those days, and the risk of the nation falling away from the national Church, as much from cowardice or ignorance as from deliberate dislike, that the promoters of the two addresses did a wise and salutary work. These addresses may not have been pitched at the highest key of dogmatic Churchmanship, but they embodied such statements as were understood and accepted in those days,

and thus contributed to arrest the downward progress which seemed in store for a defenceless and friendless Church.

A stronger and a more powerful agency meanwhile was in the councils of providence at work for the revival of the Church of England: the Tracts, which were primarily Mr. Newman's own, and which have given a distinctive name to the earliest phase of the Church revival. Mr. Newman, as described by Mr. Mozley, was 'a shy man, with heart and mind in a continual ferment of emotion and speculation, yearning for sympathy and truth;' at the same time 'he was unaffectedly deferential to his seniors.' At Oriel he inhabited rooms no better than those of an undergraduate, and no longer was invested with any college offices; withal, he was possessed of an elasticity of means towards a fixed purpose which justified Mr. Mozley in saying that to him 'life was a game, serious indeed, but still a game.' At the same time, while genuinely sympathetic to and trustful of coadjutors,

'from the first he insisted on what may be called a loose formation. He would neither bind nor be bound. He had seen enough of societies. He did not like committees. He suspected everything metropolitan. Great cities were great evils, he used to say; yet there must be a centre. Universities, he said, were in this country the centres of intellect and of religion. So they that chose to write on the lines of the Church of England might send him what they had to say, and he would see to have it printed and circulated.'

If the implied comparison is not too bold, we might venture to say that his ideal of a reformer was something like the character of Elijah. To what, then, did this prophet gird himself up at the age of thirty-two? Let Mr. Mozley answer:—

'Newman, as we have seen, did not return to England till July 9, 1833, and it was exactly two months after, on September 9, that the first four, or rather, in regard to their subjects, the first eight Tracts for the *Times* suddenly appeared, beginning with the famous words, "I am but one of yourselves, and a Presbyter." The "movement," then, in the very form in which it actually began, had but a short incubation, and a very perturbed and unpromising one. The Tracts had to be circulated by post, by hand, or anyhow, and many a young clergyman spent days in riding about with a pocket full, surprising his neighbours at breakfast, lunch, dinner, and tea. The correspondence that ensued was immense.'

Yet the *primum mobile*, with all his warmth of heart, was not a clubbable man in a wholesale way, as a party leader should be, and he hugged self-depreciation with most perverse modesty.

'For myself'—so he tells us in his *Apologia*—'I was not the person to take the lead of a party. I never was from first to last more than a leading author of a school, nor did I ever wish to be anything else. . . . I had lived for ten years' (since his fellowship) 'among my personal friends; the greater part of the time I had been influenced, not influencing, and at no time have I acted on others without their acting upon me. As is the custom of a university, I had lived with my private, nay, with some of my public pupils, and with the junior fellows of my college, without form or distance, on a footing of equality. Thus it was through friends, younger for the most part than myself, that my principles were spreading.'

Then he describes their help in spreading the *Tracts* much as Mr. Mozley does, and resumes:—

'My great principle ever was, live and let live. I never had the staidness or dignity necessary for a leader. To the last I never recognized the hold I had over young men. Of late years I have read and heard that they have imitated me in various ways. I was quite unconscious of it. . . . I felt great impatience at our being called a party, and would not allow that we were. I had a lounging, free-and-easy way of carrying things on. I exercised no sufficient censorship on the *Tracts*.

Yet this was the man and these were the *Tracts* that revolutionized the Church of England; this was that arch conspirator and emissary of the Pope who was so busy with his confederates in secretly Romanizing our Protestant Church. In thinking of those earliest days, the reader must clear his mind of the idea of the governing triumvirate of Newman, Pusey, and Keble. Intimate as Mr. Newman had become since 1828, thanks to Froude's good offices, with Keble, and thoroughly as the latter identified himself with Mr. Newman's then opinions, yet Keble was considerably his senior in age and in college standing, and he was non-resident. So the closeness of intimacy had yet to be completed. So, too, Dr. Pusey's accession some months later to the *Tracts* was a distinctly important event, possessing peculiar value, beyond his personal qualifications, from his University position of Canon of Christ Church and Professor of Hebrew. The one man who was in the earliest days absolutely Mr. Newman's *alter ego* was Hurrell Froude; and while he had preceded Mr. Newman on his return to England, he had, very shortly after his friend came back, again to seek health abroad: and after all the experiment of Barbadoes was no use, for he died in 1836. People may nowadays most naturally think of him in connection with the lamentable incaution which led Mr. Newman and Mr. Keble in their unworldliness to offer his unexpurgated Re-

mains to the criticisms of an age too ill instructed and too prejudiced to make it a fit recipient of thoughts and words never meant for publication.

We prefer to dwell upon Hurrell Froude's influence while living, and over those who understood him ; to picture to ourselves the man so attractive, sweet, and witty, and yet so ascetic, with the learning of a recluse and the fiery zeal of an evangelist, drooping so young, and perishing in the cruel embrace of consumption. It is of course a topic of pleasurable speculation with a writer such as Canon Oakeley to anticipate that had his days been prolonged he would have guided or followed his friend into the Roman fold. On the other hand, it may be pleaded that, while he seemed ever to grow more fierce against the Reformation, so also did he against Romanists, 'wretched Tridentines everywhere,' as he dubbed them. One thing which is certain about him is, that his influence weakened Mr. Newman's original Church and State prepossessions, by the exhibition of an ideal of Anglican independency, borrowing both its politics and its theology from the Non-Jurors. Without discussing the right or wrong of this phase of opinion, we may safely say that its appearance in Tractarian writings helped to keep open the gulf between Tractarianism and more cautious forms of the High Church revival. Such a man, by the consistent evidence of various witnesses, was Hurrell Froude, and with his intense personality he has, we venture to say, left a mark on the Church of England of all time. But, as we have indicated, what that mark is will never be exactly known: for its definition would be the measure of his influence on Keble, who cannot now confess, and over Cardinal Newman, who would of course refuse to enlarge his confidences for the amusement of curious readers. We cannot produce more striking evidence of Froude's intellectual supremacy than that which is contained in a letter given by Ashwell of Samuel Wilberforce, who was at that time much removed from him in opinions. Hearing of Froude's death he wrote on April 1, 1836:—

'Did you hear anything of Froude's death, of the quietness and peace with which that mighty intellect left its tabernacle as if it had been the departing breath of a fainting child—on a Sunday—when his father had read the Liturgical service with him, and had just finished a sermon? He was, I think, upon the whole, possessed of the most original powers of thought of any man I have ever known intimately.'

Yet after we have exhausted all conjectures over the precise quality of Froude's influence, the fact remains, which never must

be forgotten, that its direct duration was but for a short space of time. A mere computation of years is a very fallacious measurement of epochs. In sleepy times many years count for very little, while in periods of change and progress a short reckoning means a world of events. To apply this to Tractarian chronology, the space over which the publication of the *Tracts for the Times* ran was nearly eight years, from the autumn of 1833 to the spring of 1841, and between their cessation and Mr. Newman's formal severance from the Church of England another space of four years and a half intervened. In fact, Mr. Newman's intellectual empire over a portion of the Church of England, powerful above his own most sanguine calculations, continued for twelve years, or for the same period, roughly, as that which elapsed between the dethronement of Louis XVI. and the assumption by the First Consul of the imperial title. Of this time how much had rolled away before the death of Froude? Not three years, and so much of that spent abroad. In fact, his principal influence had made itself felt in the days before the *Tracts* were thought of. Mr. Newman's volumes on Romanism and Popular Protestantism and on Justification, the publication of course of Froude's own *Remains*, the Tract on the Breviary and Tract 90, Isaac Williams' *Tracts on Reserve*, the retreat to Littlemore, and the composition of the essay on Development, were landmarks of the nine years after Froude had gone. The influence of Mr. Rose was also, as we must remember, removed by his death in 1838. As might have been presumed, the *Tracts*, loosely edited, as Mr. Newman explains that they were, did not prove to the taste of Mr. Palmer, who writes, referring to some period very soon after their inception—

'The disappointment which had been experienced in the efforts to obtain some system of revision for the *Tracts*, and the apprehensions which I could not but feel for the result, together with a growing perception of the differences which existed between my views and those of my colleagues, led to the conviction that any further co-operation with them was impossible.'

So there was a friendly separation, although, as Mr. Newman tells us, he does not seem himself to have held strongly to the continuance of the *Tracts*. The position of Mr. Newman and his associates was a unique and great one. Isolated as far as the great body of the Church was concerned, and apart from the general world of Oxford, they were full of associations and sympathies within their own ring, and they went on influencing unnumbered clusters of unknown disciples through unseen channels. The *Tracts* gradually

changed, after Dr. Pusey's accession as a writer, from leaflets to tomes, and involved a much more continuous strain of mental exertion. But they were not the only literary agency at work with restless, unsparing activity. The world was invited to welcome those vast enterprises, the Library of the Fathers and the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology. 1836 was the date of Mr. Newman's deeply-pondered essay, intended to be the corner-stone of the Anglican position, on the *Prophetic Office of the Church*, or otherwise on *Romanism and Popular Protestantism*. In 1837 followed his volume on *Justification*. Soon after he was heard of as the translator of *Fleury's Ecclesiastical History*. But in some respects more important than any volume was the tripod from which the Oracle had the right to prophesy. Mr. Newman was fortunate in possessing, though only for parochial services, that pulpit of S. Mary's, Oxford, which at other hours thundered or tinkled as the seat of the more dignified but less weighty University sermons. This, in the hands of its then vicar was an engine of surpassing power, while the thunderbolts which it propelled appeared to be the fabrications of artless simplicity. Even now Newman's sermons bewitch in the reading. Let this generation conceive, if they can, of the influence of those compositions, coming from the heart of that unequalled orator who had created them, upon hearers jaded and disgusted by the flabby and stilted rhetoric of the Georgian pulpit.

The fact, for which Mr. Mozley vouches, that it was with some difficulty that Mr. Newman persuaded himself to take the public into the confidence of his parochial relations by publishing sermons, is eminently characteristic of the unconsciousness which was so great an element of his power.

'Meanwhile it was not without a certain degree of impatience that Newman found himself only one strand in the weighty and multifarious coil of the Tracts for the Times. While he was anonymous the crowd of other writers deadened, if they did not drown, his own intense individuality. So, with a great effort, he got over his old scruple against divulging to the world at large what had passed between him and his congregation, and published in 1834 a volume of Parochial Sermons.'

To put it otherwise, he realized that he was on Sunday afternoons preaching, not to a few tradespeople and maid-servants, but to all, 'high and low, rich and poor, one with another,' who cared to come and sit at the feet of the consummate teacher.

An excitement such as the earlier Hampden affair was a

wholesome tonic, with its proclamation that acting must, on occasion, supplement writing or preaching. But it does not concern our immediate object. Mr. Newman's boldness in undertaking in 1839 the editorship of the *British Critic*—a work which he handed over to Mr. Mozley in 1841, and with whom it rested till the Review itself disappeared in 1843—led to results for which neither Mr. Newman nor his successor could be held responsible. These, put bluntly, may be summed up in this fact, that the renewed life of the *British Critic* introduced two writers—both of them Fellows of Balliol—to the Tractarian world: one of whom devoted considerable, and the other very great, talent to the task of upsetting the coach in their undisguised advocacy of a new and impossible *via media* between Anglicanism and absolute Romanism. Upon the refined and fastidious Mr. Frederick Oakeley we need not further dilate. His life, till about two years ago, when he peacefully passed away, had been for many years the self-sacrificing pastorate of a poor Roman Catholic congregation in Islington; but Mr. W. G. Ward calls for a fuller recognition. Yet it is difficult, within the limits at our command, to paint so strange a personality, so spiritual and so secular, so stiffly logical and yet so genially practical, so ascetic and so *bon-vivant*. His instantaneous conversion to Tractarianism by the apprehension of a statement of Mr. Newman involving its truth, with all the logical consequences flowing from it, was the type of his mental idiosyncrasy. He fell before the concluding sentence of the preface to the third volume of Newman's *Sermons*: 'Ultra-Protestantism would never have been silently corrupted into Popery.' Further on we shall see when and how Mr. Ward left us. He only died this year, a layman in Roman estimation, but honoured as a Doctor of the Church, out-Heroding the Vatican in his conception of Papal infallibility, and a welcome companion wherever he was intimate. Mr. Mozley lingers at considerable length over the details of his editorship, and particularly of his troubles with Mr. Ward, with the evident anxiety of approving himself as having been a faithful editor. Looking at the matter with journalistic eyes, we have no hesitation in saying that we think that he did his duty faithfully and earnestly under very trying circumstances.

'In the spring of 1839,' says Mr. Newman in his *Apologia*, 'my position in the Anglican Church was at its height. I had supreme confidence in my controversial *status*, and I had a great and still growing success in recommending it to others.'

Then the shaft was winged—Dr. Wiseman's articles on the Donatists in reference to the Anglican position, published in the *Dublin Review* for October 1838 and August 1839—although the wound festered full six years before it carried off the patient.

During all the six years, however, from 1833, good work was done for the Church of England within the gloomy rooms at Oriel by the inspired volunteers, as Mr. Mozley tells us. Although in reference to a later period of the movement—

'It seems to be forgotten that there were two movements, two restorations—Oxford the centre of one, London of the other. Blomfield and his advisers had their compromise, or middle course; they took their stand on it, and fought it out. . . . These restorations were just as unpalatable to the people generally as anything proposed in the Tracts for the Times.'

In short, the rift which had years before shown itself between the men who believed in committees and the great self-reliant Tractarian, with his 'loose formation,' was not closed. One thing, and then another, unluckily occurred to keep it open. At last the results of this disastrous divergence of sympathy declared themselves with sudden and unlooked-for vehemence, when in 1841, ill at ease as we now know that Mr. Newman had been since he had read Dr. Wiseman's articles, and yet not anticipating the storm which his new production would stir—Mr. Newman, in the beginning of 1841 published Tract 90 on the interpretation of the Thirty-Nine Articles, with the sincere intention of comforting and staying startled and distressed souls (his own, we may charitably say, included) within the fold of the Church of England. His own feelings at the reception which was given to this Tract at Oxford are expressed in the *Apologia* in a passage of intense pathos and energy :—

'I saw, indeed, clearly that my place in the movement was lost; public confidence was at an end; my occupation was gone. It was simply an impossibility that I could say anything henceforth to good effect, when I had been posted up by the marshal on the buttery hatch of every college of my university, after the manner of discomfited pastrycooks, and when in every part of the country and every class of society, through every organ and occasion of opinion, in newspapers, in periodicals, at meetings, in pulpits, at dinner-tables, in coffee-rooms, in railway carriages, I was denounced as a traitor who had laid his train and was detected in the very act of firing it against the time-honoured Establishment. . . . I had already lost full confidence in myself. . . . I felt that by this event a kind Providence had saved me from an impossible position in the future.'

The first impression caused by the perusal of these impassioned words might be to provoke the question prompted by the sights which are so familiar to us in the cosmopolitan politics of our revolutionary age, when we see men down and up again in proportion to the audacity of their policy; and we might ask how could such a man look on any fall as irremediable? But 1841 was not 1882. Besides, Mr. Newman's 'full confidence' in his cause had already been broken. His confidence, too, in his university, the cherished scene of his life's great work, the place which he deliberately preferred to a capital as the home of intellect, labour, and prayer, the place to be chosen from which to move the world, was cruelly and with insult shattered. But another and an even harder blow had fallen upon him. The then Bishop of Oxford, Dr. Bagot, had always been very kind to Mr. Newman; even in the way of doctrinal agreement he went further than most bishops then on the bench would have done. He was not less kind now. Still, he advised the cessation of the Tracts, and such advice, however mildly put, was a sore thing to bear. Most sore was it with Mr. Newman, whose feelings of loyalty to his diocesan as diocesan were absolutely unique:—

'I did not care much for the bench of bishops, except as they might be the voice of my Church; nor should I have cared much for a provincial council; nor for a diocesan synod presided over by my bishop. All these matters seemed to me to be *jure ecclesiastico*, but what to me was *jure divino* was the voice of my bishop in his own person. My own bishop was my Pope. I knew no other—the successor of the Apostles, the Vicar of Christ. This was but a practical exhibition of the Anglican theory of Church government as I had strictly drawn it out myself. This continued all though my course, when at length in 1845 I wrote to Bishop Wiseman, in whose vicariate I found myself, to announce my conversion, I could find nothing better to say to him than that I would obey the Pope as I had obeyed my own bishop in the Anglican Church. My duty to him was my point of honour. His disapprobation was the one thing which I could not bear.'

In a word, this man of transcendent gifts, scorning all other succours, had planted himself with single confidence upon his university and upon his bishop, and both had crumbled under him.

Yet, as we know, the end did not come till four years and a half more had passed away, and during all this time, while the Church of England, under whose buffets Mr. Newman was suffering, was his living home, the Church of Rome, whose

claims he was testing, was a Church which he only sought for in his books. He had returned from the Mediterranean in 1833 unacquainted with services and virtually with priests, and such he practically remained, except for his experimental study of the Breviary, till 1845. It was noble self-denial ; at the same time it obviously, though unintentionally, put the Church of England at a perpetual disadvantage. All the evil which was in her, or which he imagined of her, was tangible and present, and embodied in persons with whom the Church was identified. It was there to be felt and suffered from. Rome, on the other hand, the Rome of books of history and of self-evolved longings, was at her ideal best, presented as she pleased to present herself by her most skilful writers, and in the silence of personal absence secure from ever being taken at a disadvantage.

We cannot suppose that the condemnation of Mr. Ward's *Ideal of a Christian Church*, published in 1844, and his degradation from his degree, can have had any effect upon Mr. Newman's determination, even taken in connection with the parting kick aimed at Tract 90, but averted by the courage of the Proctors, Mr. Church and Mr. Guillemard. The disgrace of the Ward business is deep enough in itself without burdening it with ulterior consequences. There can be no doubt that that silly orgie of malicious persecution proved to be, by the recoil which it provoked, a long onward advance towards that total surrender of any formal hold over any sort of positive belief which is *dedecus opprobriumque* of existing Oxford. Archdeacon Manning was credited at the time with muttering *ὠδίνων ἀρχή*. But neither he nor any one could have guessed what the monster was which Alma Mater was carrying under her girdle.

We have now, as we trust, mainly by facts and quotations which we desire should speak for themselves, rather than by wordy commentaries, illustrated the paradox which is the key to an otherwise perplexed chapter of Church history : namely, that for several years the Tractarian movement was and was not the High Church revival. It was unquestionably the ablest, deepest, best portion of that revival. It had been the great awakening of the national conscience. But still immense practical work was going on outside, of which the credit was due to persons who had stood aloof from Oriel. The one name of Hook is sufficient to indicate what we mean. In some respects Tractarianism might with advantage have been more assimilative. This defect, however, was no excuse for the injustice to which that great effort and its illustrious

chief were subjected. It was harshly and ungratefully used by Churchmen, public dignitaries, and lay-folk, who owed to it that a Church survived in England built upon the three creeds and the three orders, and who ought to have placed the better and not the worse construction upon the beneficent phenomenon to which, if they had not been blind, they must have seen they owed their safety. It would be wrong, no less than foolish, to reopen old sores by risking any further details; but we should not have been true to our theme if we had not said so much. Who can tell what blessed results might not have followed some little more spontaneous sympathy shown for the great self-communing teacher of a faithless age? The eighteenth century gave the Church of England a Wesley, and she squandered him. What will the twentieth century say of her treatment of Newman?

The strength and the weakness of the isolation which with Mr. Newman and his intimates culminated in the Littlemore exile, was shown in the way in which the Church of England received the tidings of his final departure. Prepared as thinking men must have been for the event, it fell upon Churchmen as a heavy calamity, and yet as a calamity of a somewhat external description. It was not as if a man heard that his house was on fire, but that S. Paul's had collapsed. Yet there was genuine comfort mingled with the desolation for loyal Anglicans' grief, and a signal discomfiture for the clique of Father Dominicks and such small fry. The two High Church sections which had hitherto faced each other with touchy suspicion—those who did not fear to call themselves Tractarians, and those to whom that name sounded risky—by an irresistible instinct coalesced into one active high Anglican party. There have been many and lamentable differences no doubt since that period, and even in the early days of the catastrophe a discordant voice might here and there be heard; but, speaking generally, the Littlemore secession was to those whose faith in the Church of England remained unshaken a message of reconciliation and an incentive to self-sacrifice.

There is one phase of the extra-Tractarian movement over which we venture to linger with some little particularity: namely, the architectural or ecclesiological one. Mr. Mozley has confirmed the impression that the Tractarian leaders bestowed but little thought upon it, either in its artistic or its ritual aspect. He has indeed contributed to deprive Mr. Newman of some of the share in the movement conceded to him as the constructor of Littlemore chapel, by the revelation that the design of the chapel was due to his own idea of

copying the chancel of the church in Northamptonshire of which he was at the time incumbent. If we consider what was the state of church architecture at the period, we cannot sufficiently praise the good sense of the proposal, and we can have no doubt that it was appreciated by Mr. Newman, whose spirit indeed asserted itself at Littlemore in the prayers being said eastward, in the altar being of stone, and in there being a credence ; but neither there nor at S. Mary's did the celebrant dream of any other position than that at the north end. We believe we can assert without fear of contradiction that as a priest of the Church of England Mr. Newman never celebrated eastward. The communicants at S. Mary's, so Mr. Mozley tells us, were arranged down the chancel, on the stall-placed benches which lined the walls—a white cloth being thrown over the desk in front. Mr. Mozley believes that this peculiarity was a relic of Puritanism : but possibly it went further back, to the earliest Reformation days, and may have been intended to fulfil the rubrical direction, where so early in the Communion Service as the Exhortation it is provided that 'the communicants being conveniently placed for the receiving of the Holy Sacrament,' &c. : a direction which we hold in much respect, not because we wish to see a revival of the custom of filling up the chancel, but because we believe that assigning this use for that part of the church has tended in past times to preserve chancels which might otherwise have been pulled down as superfluous. The precedent for the white cloth is found not in Puritanism, but at Roman Catholic Communions. Those who wish to understand how Littlemore church appeared to pure Protestant eyes at the time of its building will be amused and surprised in reading, if they are so fortunate as to come across it, a fantastical book, *The Popery of Oxford Confronted, Disavowed, and Repudiated*, by one Peter Maurice, chaplain of New and All Souls Colleges, published in 1837. In this book the imputation is found which so amuses Mr. Mozley, that the red quarry introduced by the glazier into the east window at Littlemore symbolized Our Lord's blood.

Mr. Mozley, to be sure, original as he was in so many things, blew a note of piercing clearness in the illustrated articles on new churches and open roofs with which he enlivened the *British Critic*. But these after all were his 'fad,' and we have no proof that they stimulated the typical Tractarian of that epoch to a more enlightened appreciation of externals, although they still stand monuments of a prescience beyond the age of their author. They

well deserve being read, if it be only for the amusement which Mr. Mozley has thrown into discussions which in other hands would very probably have been dull.

Those who are zealous to vindicate for Oxford the credit of having been foremost in what has now been known as the ecclesiological movement may point to the Architectural Society, set up there in the thirties and previously to the Cambridge one, and contend that its managers made Church Architecture its study of predilection; but the importance and the general influence of this meritorious association were weak, and the Tractarian chiefs gave it little or no encouragement. Indeed, this revival might have languished, and a powerful engine, both of usefulness and of popularity, been lost to the Church cause, had it not been for two movements, each equally independent of Oxford. The one was indeed Roman in form, but it presented manifold Anglican affinities—namely, the appeal of the audacious privateer, A. W. Pugin, to discard the Italian innovations of three centuries, and return to the traditions of the mediæval English Church, which was far more heartily welcomed in the Church which still called itself English than in the one which boasted of being Roman. The other was the foundation of the Cambridge Camden Society in 1839, strengthened as it was by the happy association with its studies of the great Cambridge theologian, Dr. Mill, worthy as he was to rank with the Oxford chiefs. Oakeley's enterprise at Margaret Chapel, which dates from the same year, may be reckoned as the ritual point of contact of pure Tractarianism and Neo-Anglicanism. This was appropriately found in London, and the appetite with which such small doles as those offered at Margaret Chapel were swallowed shows how great was the public hunger. But the loudest proclamation that a new time had come for churches and worship proceeded from the non-Tractarian movement at Leeds, where Dr. Hook called together bishops from England, Scotland, and America to assist at the dedication of his new parish church for the daily offering of choral worship and the constant presence of a surpliced choir. But to the last the Tractarian leaders had little to say to such matters, although Dr. Pusey undertook as a duty to carry out S. Saviour's, Leeds, and Mr. Keble, after building two chapels, which were at all events a recoil from contemporary vulgarity, found himself vicar of a church lovingly restored. Mr. Newman connected himself with the movement by laughing at it in *Loss and Gain*, a caprice for which he did partial penance in the *Apologia*, where he says,

'Doubtless I went too far in my apprehension of such a movement, for one of the best and most devoted and hard-working priests I ever knew was the late Father Hutchison, of the London Oratory, and I believe it was architecture that directed his thoughts towards the Catholic Church.' No doubt the Battle of Styles had something to say to all this, as the school of Romanists connected with Dr. Newman's Birmingham and Mr. Faber's London Oratory somewhat ostentatiously patronized Italian architecture as the genuine Roman Catholic article,¹ in contrast to Gothic. There was also clearly the same sort of feeling in Dr. Newman of shrinking to fight with what might be carnal weapons which had formerly led him to eschew committees.

It is undoubted that had it not been for Tractarianism we should not now have had a bishopric, a chapter, or a cathedral of Truro. But it may be equally assumed that but for 'Camdenism' that complex institution, had it ever come into existence, would have done so under conditions far less satisfactory than those of the actual enterprise. To persons who can enjoy a good story well told we commend the chapters in which Mr. Mozley, with humorous self-inculpation, tells the tale of the Suffolk mediæval roof which he was rash enough to buy and to carry into Wiltshire, and there to supplement its presence by constructing a church to match the roof. Certainly Mr. Mozley showed himself a confessor in the cause of Church architecture.

We do not complain of the pages in the *Reminiscences* devoted to Mr. Keble and Dr. Pusey being different in extent and value from those concerning Mr. Newman. It is a recommendation of the book that it is so rigidly founded on personal recollection, and that it focusses even so attractive a subject as the Church revival upon the incidents connected with it which directly refer to Oriel College. It reminds us in its historical value of one of those wines which are carefully made, not to be drunk as they are, but to flavour and correct the entire vintage.

Mr. Mozley's notices of the men who formed the resident strength of Tractarianism are interesting and often pathetic. We have already spoken of Oakeley and Ward, and referred to Charles Marriott, whose brain too soon gave way under the pressure of many occupations. It ought not to be forgotten that after Mr. Newman went, Marriott, staunch to the

¹ We may refer our readers in illustration of this episode in the movement to an article on Oratorianism and Ecclesiology which appeared in the *Christian Remembrancer* in 1850.

Church of England, strove to retain the building at Littlemore for the service of the Church as the seat of a printing press which was worked under his direction. Marriott worked on long enough to appear at Woodard's earlier gatherings at Shoreham, and to be a prominent member of a little committee meeting at Judge Coleridge's house in London to set up a cheap college at Oxford, which bore fruit years after in Keble College. W. F. Christie, who died in the English Church, and J. B. ('Jack') Morris, author of a thoughtful poem, 'Nature a Parable,' who followed his chief, are names well worthy to be rescued from oblivion. Of those who were Fellows of Oriel with Mr. Newman, and among his very intimate friends, Lord Blachford (Frederick Rogers) and the Dean of St. Paul's, and among those who enjoyed his peculiar friendship, Mr. W. J. Copeland, once Fellow of Trinity, Oxford, are happily still with us, and only therefore claim a passing notice. Isaac Williams belongs to history, and Mr. Bowden, historian of Gregory VII., died early.

We now come to two brothers over whose memory we must awhile pause—Archdeacon Robert Isaac and Henry William Wilberforce, elder and younger brothers of the Bishop. Mr. Mozley is loving and sympathetic, as well as full and graphic, in his recollections of them, and we recommend what he says to those for whom they are but names. Endowed as both were with Wilberforce talent, they were singularly different in character. The Archdeacon was a calm, quiet, sweet-tempered, deeply-read scholar; one who carried weight with, as well as offering loving service to, Mr. Newman, to whose standing he approximated. He was, we may observe, the ϵ of the *Lyra Apostolica*, α being Bowden, and ζ Isaac Williams. β of course was Froude, ν Keble, and δ Mr. Newman. Henry, equally amiable, was mercurial, brilliant, and impulsive; so much so that his glitter led people to undervalue the solid power behind. He would complain, as Mr. Mozley reports, that folks had a habit of treating him as a forward youth, when his brother-in-law, Archdeacon Manning, began speaking, he being in reality some months the senior. His impulsive secession to Rome was not at all extraordinary. He had been much shaken by the Gorham judgment. We were standing next to him as the stately Lord Langdale read the judgment with a beautiful calm voice, which made it more aggravating for those on whom it fell as a crushing blow. His remark was: 'I would as soon believe in Jupiter as that.' But the immediate cause of his going was emotional, the strong impression made upon his feelings

by the spiritual care taken of some poor sick Irish hop-pickers during an epidemic in his Kentish parish by the priest whom he had called in for them. As to the secession of Robert Isaac Wilberforce, all that we can say is that of all the seceders with whom we ever had friendly acquaintance he was the one who most astonished us by the step. Soon after he went he drooped and died, and all his work and fame are connected with the Church of England. Henry Wilberforce, at one time of his career reduced to living as a layman, went to Dublin as the secretary of a Roman Catholic political committee as the general election of 1852 was pending; while those astute politicians of the true Irish type, Messrs. Keogh, Sadleir, O'Flaherty, &c., were fooling credulous Peelites, who fancied that in their slippery confederates they had found trustworthy and valuable allies, and that gratitude for resistance to the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill would tell at the polls. It was pitiable but amusing to see the poor fellow in the midst of the coil. His intense sense of humour made him appreciate the situation, but he was in his healthy English soul disgusted and humiliated at having to play a part in it.

Mr. Mozley is very brief in his references to that most picturesque though, it must be added, impulsive and excitable personage, Frederick Faber. But Faber—educated, like Isaac Williams, Cardinal Manning, and Archbishop Trench, at Harrow—was of a rather younger generation, and went from Balliol to a Fellowship at University, where he was a little senior to Stanley. In his young 'Tractarian' days he was noted for strong anti-Romanism, embodied in a healthy love for the Prayer-Book, which he utilized in some telling little popular tracts; while, Royalist as he was to the backbone, he gave the world handy and attractive editions of the *Private Devotions*, of the *Diary* and of the *Speeches* of the then idol of his heart, Archbishop Laud, and threw off more than one volume of poetry which deserve to be far better remembered than much which has since been floated by mutual-admiration cliques. But Faber did another work which will probably be forgotten unless some one appears to describe it from personal knowledge. Those were the days in which the pleasant superstition of reading parties at the Lakes in the Long Vacation still flourished, and in 1838 and 1839 Faber commanded his contingent from Oxford. Cambridge was also at and about Ambleside, and among the Cambridge tutors would be found the gentle poet and divine, Thomas Whytehead, of S. John's, who died a confessor for

the salvation of souls in New Zealand at the bidding of Selwyn, and whose effigy can be seen upon the roof of the new S. John's chapel ; and among Cambridge undergraduates were George Smythe, afterwards Lord Strangford—the Coningsby of Mr. Disraeli's *Coningsby* and the Waldershare of Lord Beaconsfield's *Endymion*,—Lord John Manners, and the present High Steward of Cambridge, Lord Powis. To make a long story short, Faber constituted himself missionary of Tractarianism to Cambridge to the greater pleasure of undergraduates than tutors; for the spasmodic visits there of the brilliant erratic meteor were as agreeable and exciting as they were destructive to reading. But they had results in history which require to be explained. The men whom he influenced were budding politicians and of the Tory party, while the general election of 1841, which brought Peel in, precipitated them into public life at what would now be thought an early age. Then they fell in with Mr. Disraeli, full as they were of Faber's brilliant, bold, new views, with his brains and Smythe's to digest them. The communing of mind with mind produced Young England. This is not the occasion to find the place of Young England in political history. We only indicate how much part Faber had in its conception. In time the complexion of Faber's Churchmanship changed, and his progressive feelings found expression in a book full of brilliant description and attractive speculation. *Sights and Thoughts in Foreign Churches and among Foreign Peoples*, published in 1842, and dedicated to William Wordsworth, is nearly a record of personal travels, only that he pleased to accommodate himself with the companionship of a ghost whom he called the Man of the Middle Ages. We affronted him by asking in innocence who this man of the Middle Ages was, and were told Gregory VII., of course. He then took the College living of Elton in Huntingdonshire, and, like Newman at Littlemore and Oakeley in Margaret Street, threw himself intensely into worship of the Breviary type, exhibited in a recital of the Psalter beyond the measure of the Prayer-Book. It was a curious sight to see Faber at midnight, collecting a few rustics into a little room of his parsonage, which he had fitted as an oratory, to spend long hours in saying the Psalms. A letter of Faber's exists, in which he says that Oakeley's secession (which, it will be remembered, followed close on that of Mr. Newman) confirmed him in the Church of England. This was, unhappily, for very few days, and after a mental struggle which, from his letters, must have been acute, he too went, and the once fervid Laudian

became the most bitter Ultramontane opponent of the Church of England.

Mr. William Sewell, Fellow of Exeter College and Professor of Moral Philosophy, occupied the exceptional position of being a decided and progressive High Churchman, and yet of keeping independent of the Tractarian party. It might from this be assumed that he was well provided with self-esteem, and we should not contradict the assumption. As presented by Mr. Mozley, he

'was for a long time one of the most prominent men in the University, and always before the public as one of the most industrious of readers and writers. Had he thought a little more he might have written to more purpose; and had he tried for less he might have obtained more. Newman observed that he had a word ready for every thing. His words and his expressions thus fitted too quickly, and he never had occasion to see them better mated, or to improve either his conceptions or his expressions.'

It was Mr. Sewell's own fault that he did not make a more enduring literary reputation, for he had good stuff in him. His religious allegory, *Rodolph the Voyager*, is a grim story, but full of picturesque description. We must tell a story illustrative of his impetuous verbosity. At the Commemoration of 1848 the recent opening of S. Augustine's College, Canterbury, by Archbishop Sumner, was fresh in academic minds, and taken into the account of the honorary degrees of the year; while the murder on the barricades of Paris of Archbishop Affre filled all hearts with vague horror. Mr. Sewell, in a speech which he delivered at a luncheon in the hall of Exeter College, specifically in honour of the Canterbury event, began contrasting the different occupations of the two Archbishops as symbolical of the Churches in which they were respectively Primates, and as if the martyrdom of Affre was in some way a disgrace and not a glory to the Church of Rome, till, carried away by his subject, and giving unchecked rein to his anti-Roman feelings, he exclaimed, 'May that difference always continue!' It has been a strange sequel to that preposterous wish, that of Archbishop Affre's three successors—that is, of all who have since passed away, for Cardinal Gibour is but the fourth from him—the first and third did die violent deaths, and in a righteous cause: Archbishop Sibour by the knife of an assassin-priest, and Archbishop Darboy butchered by the Communists.

In giving to Mr. Sewell the credit which is due to him as the founder of Radley School, Mr. Mozley has omitted

to tell the whole of the picturesque story in which the creation of Radley is only an episode. In 1843 Mr. Sewell, full of sympathy for the Church of S. Patrick and of zeal for the revival of Churchmanship and culture in Ireland, took counsel with three enthusiastic young High-Church Irish squires, Augustus Stafford O'Brien (afterwards Stafford only), of Trinity College, Cambridge—too soon lost to an admiring and regretful world—and two Oxford men, the late Viscount Adare (afterwards Earl of Dunraven), and the still surviving William Monsell, now Lord Emly—both these at a later date converts to the Church of Rome. With their help, and with the invaluable counsel of the great Dr. Todd, he founded, at a hired house in Meath, a public school—'S. Columba's College'—under, as warden, a clergyman named Singleton, who seems, by his energetic character, to have been cut out as the pioneer of movements. The enthusiastic founders had not taken into their account the prejudice and ignorance through which Irish eyes then looked at Church questions, and to their cost discovered that the bottles were old. The laymen were chilled, and Mr. Sewell, with Mr. Singleton, retreated back to England; and by a unique feat of re-immigration, founded again, under the very shadow of Oxford, that institution which he had crossed the sea to set up, his second S. Columba's, at Radley.

The most strange part of the story remains to be told. S. Columba's ought, after such a catastrophe, and standing as it did in Ireland, to have dwindled and disappeared. But no such adverse fate befell it. Dr. Todd was there to watch over it; and after many exciting ups and downs, reckoning by decades, it has for many years been surely planted in its own land, occupying a perfect site near Dublin, and on the fringes of the Wicklow Mountains; and now, under its wise and energetic warden, Mr. Rice, and tenderly fostered by the Irish Archbishops, it flourishes as a centre of sound education and Church life for its distracted island. It is not many years since Mr. Sewell, in his old age, came out of a long retirement to speak at a meeting held in behalf of S. Columba's in the Library of Lambeth Palace. He died not very long after this.

Mr. Mozley's chapter on Mr. J. A. Froude neatly and completely shows how little qualified that gentleman was by intimacy, either regarding his own much elder brother or Mr. Newman, to set up in *Good Words* as the chronicler of the movement. What, however, Mr. Mozley does not explain, and what we consider no man will ever be able to make

intelligible, is what could have induced Mr. Newman to put the feeble faith of Mr. Froude to the rude trial of having to record grotesque Celtic legends of hermit saints for the edification or the ridicule of the nineteenth century.

We could write another article absolutely different from this one, on the characters to whom Mr. Mozley introduces us at the Charter House or at Derby, or in Oxford itself, who either knew nothing of Tractarianism or who hated it. But we must pass on after picking up two pearls. The schoolboy did not live in vain, though he died early and wretched, who could criticize his friend's vain attempts at map-making, with *μὰ ψ ἄταρ οὐ κατὰ κόσμον*; and the book deserves to survive which can hit off a man as Mr. Mozley does Bishop Hampden, when he tells us that he stood before you like a milestone, and brayed at you like a jackass. Mr. Mozley's chronology is at fault in a picturesque description which he gives of a visit in early Tractarian days to a leading clergyman of the old school, Mr. Crawley, whom he describes as being at the time over ninety. Mr. Crawley did die at ninety-three, but at the time he was seventy-seven.

The chapter in which Mr. Mozley devotes himself to sketching the peculiarities of Archdeacon Denison is a pregnant example of the strength and the weakness of the writer. It was weak, unlike himself, and unworthy of his long and intimate knowledge of human nature and of social incidents, to suppose that a man of Archdeacon Denison's character and antecedents could have been elated because his eldest brother the squire had married a duke's daughter. But it is still more weak of supercilious fault-finders to look up in pious horror because Mr. Mozley has let out that the Archdeacon had once been a Whig, and had not troubled himself to tell his later friends of it. Whig family as the Denisons were, the fact becomes obvious when one comes to think of it; and all which remains for observation is Mr. Mozley's ingenuity in putting so commonplace a fact in so amusing a light, and the woodenness of the younger men who will not be amused at it. But what are the Archdeacon's politics compared with the more visible revelations of his introducing cock-fighting into Oriel Common Room, and rating the cook for serving up hot rhubarb tart? Now, as this cock-fighting was not the cruel conflict of Gallinaceæ, but a most harmless and gentle digestive after-dinner tournament, in which ladies with due precaution about their skirts might join, we can only say that had it been not Denison but Hampden or Keble who had taught his brother

dons this harmless sport, it would have been equally creditable to the head and the heart of so gracious a college reformer.

But we have still to deal with the statement, deliberately made, that the now Archdeacon of Taunton did on one occasion, being at that date no less energetic but younger in years than he is at present, publicly rebuke the cook of Oriel, in Oriel Hall, because he had sent up the rhubarb tart, not cold, but hot. On this we have to say, in the first place, that it was impossible for any man, even Mr. Mozley, to have dreamed so whimsical an incident; and, in the second place, that when it is recalled from the secret places of old recollections it comes forward bearing with it irresistible inferential evidence of indisputable accuracy. We appeal to all who know and who honour George Anthony Denison, to all who have ever fallen under the lash of his superb vituperation, as all who love him and are loved by him must have done, if the incident does not bear its own truth on its forefront. We are most sorry that he should have fashed himself about anything so nasty, hot or cold, as rhubarb tart. As for the solemn ascetics who are shocked at this bright gleam of natural comedy among the solemn deities of Oriel, we can only wish for them the boredom they deserve.

ART. VIII.—THE GRAHAMSTOWN JUDGMENT AND THE JUDICIAL COMMITTEE.

The Judgment in the Grahamstown Case: in the *Guardian* Newspaper Supplement, July 19, 1882.

THE recent judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the case of the Dean of Grahamstown has already aroused serious apprehensions in the minds of Churchmen. The perplexity expressed by the Bishop of Salisbury will be felt by many who are little disposed to criticize, or cavil at, any judgment of a court of law, or to complain of the rightful influence and exercise of the Royal supremacy. It will not be needful for us to go into the details of the dispute between the Dean of Grahamstown and the lamented Bishop Merriman. The importance of the case to us lies in some utterances of the Judicial Committee with regard to their own authority,

and with respect to the faith and doctrine of the Church of England. And as the present system of courts for ecclesiastical cases is now undergoing inquiry before a Royal Commission, it is essential that we should see clearly to what the claims of the Judicial Committee amount; for it is needful to understand, and to make the public comprehend, what is the disease before we apply the remedy. It is our object to show that no compromise can be accepted as satisfactory by Churchmen which involves the retention of the Judicial Committee as a Court of Final Appeal in ecclesiastical cases. Whatever may be thought of the Grahamstown Judgment, if it rouses Churchmen to a sense of the important principles involved it will effect good service to the Church at large, while we may fairly hope that the South African Legislature will take steps to relieve the Church in that country from its difficulties.

The Church of South Africa, in its 'Articles of Constitution,' declared its faithful adherence 'to the doctrine, sacraments, and discipline of Christ as the same are commanded in Holy Scripture, according as the Church of England has received and set forth the same.' It also received the Prayer Book and Ordinal. But its Constitution contained the following significant proviso :—

'Provided also, that in the interpretation of the aforesaid standards and formularies the Church of this province be not held to be bound by decisions in questions of faith and doctrine, or in questions of discipline relating to faith and doctrine, other than those of its own ecclesiastical tribunals, or of such other tribunal as may be accepted by the provincial Synod as a tribunal of appeal.'

In the Grahamstown Case the question of the identity of the standards of the faith and doctrine of the Churches of England and South Africa came before the Judicial Committee. The Judicial Committee broadly and openly declared that this Constitution of the South African Church 'substantially excludes portions of the faith and doctrine of the Church of England.' The standards of faith and doctrine adopted by that Church are, the Judicial Committee declared, not to be found in the texts of her formularies only, but also in 'the interpretation which those texts have from time to time received at the hands of the tribunals by law appointed to declare and administer the law of the Church.' Their Lordships also stated that the decisions of the Judicial Committee in the cases of Mr. Gorham and Mr. Wilson 'are part of the Constitution of the Church of England as by law

established.' 'In England the standard is the formularies of the Church as judicially interpreted.'

To form a correct estimate of the force of these words it must be remembered that both the cases of Mr. Gorham and Mr. Wilson were cases of doctrine. The former related to Baptismal Regeneration, and the latter arose out of the once notorious 'Essays and Reviews.' Every lawyer knows that, in practice, not only do judicial decisions become parts of the law, but the reasons for those decisions also become engrafted into it. Even casual *dicta* let fall by a judge in the course of his judgment, or interruptions made by him in argument, have a certain weight—in proportion to the authority of the judge. The effect of a legal decision is thus not only that A B can or cannot hold a living, or even that the opinions for which A B has been brought before the Court are or are not compatible with the teaching of the Church of England : but that the same principles on which the decision has been given in the case of A B exist for the determination of future cases. As the Judicial Committee themselves stated, their decisions become portions of 'the faith and doctrine of the Church of England.'

Since, then, the judgments of the Judicial Committee, past, present, and future, are to be part of the law of the Church of England, it is essential to consider carefully what is the basis of those judgments.

The Ecclesiastical Law, we are told, consists of four elements, viz. the Roman or Civil Law, the Canon Law, the Common Law, and the Statute Law. Of this group the Roman Law is the most subordinate, although historically considerable portions both of Canon Law and Common Law are derived from that source. Next in order of authority comes the Canon Law. But the whole Canon Law is not, and never was, part of the law of England. The amount of the foreign Canon Law received in England is variously estimated, but competent scholars, such as Dr. Stubbs, consider that, as a general rule, constitutions, whether promulgated by Pope or Council, were accepted here, unless in the rare case of their being found to clash with some local law. But it should be clearly understood that the Canon Law, binding in England, consists only of such foreign Canon Law as has been accepted in England, and of English constitutions and canons made and lawfully promulgated in this country. An examination of the constitutions of some of the councils in England will readily show that many of them were modelled on foreign canons, and were thus adopted here.

By a statute of Henry VIII.¹ the Canon Law of England, as then subsisting, was declared to be law, except so far as it was contrary to Statute Law, Common Law, or the Royal prerogative. If the Canon Law clashes with Common Law, the Canon Law must give way. The Canon Law is *lex sub graviore lege*.² It is a branch of the English Law, but it is only an engrafted branch.

But we have not yet arrived at the Supreme Law. The learning of Imperial Rome, the piety of the Church, the 'perfection of reason' of the Common Law, must all—it is asserted—bow down before the decrees of Parliament. Statute Law overrides all the others. So that if a canon and the universal custom of the Church, with the sanction of the Common Law, lay down the law in one direction, and a statute lays it down in another, the Judicial Committee and Lord Penzance will command the clergy to obey the statute.

The Prayer Book and Articles are sanctioned by statute, and the Homilies, being to a certain extent authorized by the Articles, have a limited authority. Thus the Prayer Book and Articles are, in matters within their scope, of statutory authority. But the devotional portions of the Prayer Book are considered by the Judicial Committee as of less weight than the Articles in questions of doctrine. Of course, any subsequent statute would override both Prayer Book and Articles, if it clashed with them. Perhaps some of our readers may have been surprised that when we have spoken of the law by which the Judicial Committee governs the Church, we have not mentioned Holy Scripture, which, as all Christians believe, was given, not only to guide the individual life, but also to be the rule of the corporate life and faith of the Church. The reason is that we have stated the law as we have found it in the present state of affairs. The Judicial Committee does not, and does not pretend to, decide according to Holy Scripture. The Canon Law is professedly founded upon the Bible,³ and many hundreds of texts, both from Old and New

¹ 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19. See also 35 Hen. VIII. c. 16. Burn, Preface.

² Blackstone.

³ This is a commonplace of the canonists, as will be seen from the following quotation from Sir G. Bowyer, pp. 154, 155: 'The learned French civilian, Durand de Malliane, shows in his *Institutes of Canon Law* that the Holy Scriptures, especially the New Testament, are the source of the Canon Law, or the basis and, as it were, the type of the canons—that is to say, the Church has taken from thence the chief rules of her government. Thus there are in the *Corpus Juris Canonici* 879 Canons extracted from the books of the New Testament, and very many others are grounded on the principles and spirit of the same books. And

Testaments, are incorporated in it,¹ and are made the basis of legislation. No doubt, also, both Common Law and Statute Law, having for the most part grown up during the dominance of Christianity in this country, owe a deep debt to its principles. But still it is not the Bible, as such, that is in any sense an authority with the Judicial Committee, but at most those portions which have been assimilated by those laws. The Bible is either of no authority at all, or at least of inferior weight to the Statute, Common and Canon Laws. Happily it is not needful for us to go further, and compare the authority of the Bible and the Roman Civil Laws in our Supreme Court for ecclesiastical cases. The Roman Civil Law, like the foreign Canon Law, is only binding so far as it has been adopted here, and the process of adoption took place during the period when Holy Scripture was admittedly the highest law in the realm.

For we read in the Year Book of Henry VI., *le Scripture est commun ley sur quel tous manieres de leis sont fondés*.² And this full and free recognition of the Law Divine was not only to be found in legal text-books, or works on the constitution, but was really a part of English Law.³ Indeed, this necessarily follows from the fact that the judges who shaped the law were themselves Christians, and that the State for which they 'legislated' was also Christian. Men might differ as to the Papacy and the Church and details; they might disagree as to the interpretation of Scripture; but all agreed that Scripture was truth revealed from Heaven, to be the guide of men and of nations.

In the same way the legislature which enacted the statutes was Christian. It was composed of laymen and ecclesiastics: and sometimes doubtless the lay view prevailed over the

the learned writer already cited informs us that for nearly three centuries the ancient Christians had no other ecclesiastical laws than those contained in the Scriptures, and in the faithful and then recent traditions of the Apostles, which constitute the foundation and model of the Canons subsequently made by the Church. So Lancelottus lays it down in his *Institutes of Canon Law* (lib. i. tit. ii. princ.), that Divine Law (which is part and parcel of the Canon Law) is that contained in *the Law and the Gospel*.

¹ See Bowyer, 154, note. Numerous texts will also be found in the English Constitutions in Lyndwood and Johnson. Of course in the Canons founded upon texts we sometimes find the interpretation of Scripture rather strained.

² Y. B. 34 Hen. VI. 40; *Stephen's Comm.* edit. 1880, vol. iv. p. 234, note.

³ See *Broom's Maxims*, edit. 1864, p. 19, and numerous authorities there cited.

clerical. The opponents and upholders of the inordinate claims of the Roman See differed. Later on Protestants and Romanists disagreed. And, to come nearer still to modern times, there was little harmony between Churchman and Puritan. Still, all agreed in one point—viz. the supreme paramount authority of Holy Scripture—however much they might disagree in the conclusions they drew from it, or as to the statutes which should be passed to enforce the duties it required, or to repress the sins it condemned. The absolute subjection of the State to the Law Divine was as firmly enunciated by the framers of the Westminster Confession as by the staunchest supporters of the Roman See: only each gave their own interpretation.

But not only did the circumstances of this country require that the Statute Law should be framed in accordance with Holy Scripture, or rather with the interpretation placed upon it by a Christian legislature, but, until recent times (with some slight interruptions), all the members of the lower House were members of the Church of England, while the bishops belonged to the upper one. Hence, if this membership was really heartfelt, no statute at variance with what lay members of the Church of England believed to be the teaching of the Law Divine could by any possibility be passed.

But, besides these safeguards, there was yet another. It was a principle of English law that a statute contrary to Holy Scripture was void. Such a statute was *ultra vires*; it was beyond the power of the legislature.¹ This principle is still to be found in the text-books, but it has unhappily ceased to be regarded by the courts of law. There has been no repeal of it. It is part of the constitution of the country, but it has been allowed quietly to die. If quoted in the courts, it would be looked upon as an obsolete and ridiculous contention. Even the much humbler argument, that if there were two ways of construing a statute, that construction which is in accordance with Holy Scripture should be chosen, was lately received with scorn by the Judicial Committee in an ecclesiastical case.

On the other hand, the fact that Christianity is part of the Common Law is still recognized even by the civil courts, as appears from a comparatively recent case.² Thus, it will be seen, we have no quarrel with the old Common Law. It knew its place. Though it were, as its admirers loved to call it, 'the perfection of reason,' it bowed down

¹ See Broom, *ubi sup.*

² *Cowan v. Milbourn* (2 L. R. Exch. 230; 16 L. T. Rep. N.S. 290).

to the wisdom that cometh from above; and formerly the Statute Law itself was also kept in harmony with the Church of England view of the Scripture, both by its creation and also by the limitation we have mentioned. Both these securities are gone. Nobody supposes that Parliament now founds its legislation upon the Bible. Public policy, general convenience, and enlightened patriotism, are the alleged grounds of legislation; exigencies of place and party are other well-known but unacknowledged reasons for passing Acts of Parliament.

Even many of those who believe in the Bible do not care to quote it in Parliament as an authority. They feel that it will not be regarded as such by many of their fellow-members in either House. Thus, in the latest discussion on the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill, the question of marriage with a deceased wife's sister was too much treated rather as one of public convenience or, at most, of general morality, than as one touching the Law Divine. Probably many upon both sides think the Bible supports, or at least permits, their view, but the majority of both sides prefer rather to dwell upon the political than the Scriptural aspect.

But it is needless to go into details. A scrupulous fairness towards all religions, Christian or otherwise, and to all modifications and shades of Christianity, is the badge of a modern statesman. He may be personally a devoted Churchman, but he remembers that he represents all opinions, and that equal justice must be shown to all.

The Divorce Act of 1857¹ is a notable example of a clashing between the law of the Bible, as interpreted by the Church, and the Statute Law. By the law of England (Common and Canon) no divorce *a vinculo matrimonii* could be had. Of course, under certain peculiar circumstances a marriage could be declared null and void, or rather it could be declared that there never had been a marriage. But when there was a perfect marriage, what God had joined together man could not put asunder. But the Statute Law did. By means of private bills, commencing in the reign of Charles II., and passed for each particular case, it either empowered re-marriage after divorce or gave divorces *a vinculo*. The old divorces which the Spiritual Court gave were merely judicial separations, and did not allow re-marriage as a divorce *a vinculo* does.

Before the Act of 1857, 'the purity of the matrimonial home was under the watch and ward of the Church.' We

¹ 20 and 21 Vict. c. 85. See ss. 57, 58.

will not stop to consider whether the nation has gained in purity by the transfer to the care of the Divorce Court.

Suppose now that a clergyman of the Church of England refuses to re-marry a divorced woman, who has obtained a divorce because of her husband's 'guilt.' The clergyman is aware that the husband is still alive, and both his conscience, the law of his Church, and the Bible as interpreted by himself and his Church, tell him that if he performs the 'marriage' ceremony he is assisting adultery. If he is now brought before the Judicial Committee, they will simply read the statute. They will not inquire what the Scripture teaches. The clergyman may ask them to read the Marriage Service, and inquire how those solemn words are compatible with any re-marriage during the joint lives of husband and wife. He may quote the law of the Church, and cite the Bible, but the Judicial Committee will hold themselves bound by the statute. They will not decide that the true interpretation of the words of Christ allows re-marriage of an 'innocent' divorced woman during the life of her partner; they will simply decline to consider Christ's words at all; they will prefer the human law.

Again, suppose a clergyman refuses to publish the banns of marriage of a guilty divorced person with the person who has been the cause of the divorce; holding not only that re-marriage is wrong, but that the Marriage Service, which throughout draws the mysterious but awful analogy between the mystical union of Christ and His Bride, should not be profaned by the blasphemous parody of an union of adulterer and adulteress. This will seem but an idle tale to the Judicial Committee. What saith the statute?¹

There is another discrepancy between the law of State and Church with regard to marriage which has escaped attention. Suppose two English people are married in London, and afterwards go and reside in some Continental or American State, where divorce may be obtained for some comparatively trivial reason. If these people have become domiciled, or even resident abroad, the divorce is valid in England.² Of course, by residence we do not include a mere visit. Now, if one of these persons comes back, and wishes to be married during the lifetime of the divorced partner, apparently a

¹ By the Divorce Act a clergyman is relieved from the obligation of re-marrying the guilty party. But he is bound to marry the innocent one, and, it seems also, to publish the banns for marriage of the guilty one with the person with whom he or she has committed adultery.

² *Harvey v. Farnie*, L. R. 6 P. Div. 35; *Lolley's Case* (2 Cl. & F. 567) was distinguished.

clergyman would be legally bound to perform this ceremony. Yet such a marriage would be adultery, not only in the eyes of Churchmen, and of those who take the stricter view of our Saviour's words, but in the eyes of all Christians. The decision of the Court of Appeal is plain one way, and the clear words of God Incarnate the other. Can we doubt which the Judicial Committee will follow? We should add that the decision of the Court of Appeal to which we refer is quite recent,¹ and affords strong evidence that the old principle, that Christianity is part of the Common Law, is gradually passing away.

From marriage law we will pass on to the more general consideration of procedure. It was not to be expected that Christ and His Apostles should leave minute rules for the guidance of the Church. It was generally sufficient to give principles from which they could be deduced. Yet rules of procedure are not altogether wanting. In the recent application of Messrs. Harris and Clay, the churchwardens of Bordesley, to be substituted in the suit instituted by Perkins against Mr. Enraght, in lieu of Perkins, who had ceased to be churchwarden, and was neither inhabitant of, nor resident in, Mr. Enraght's parish, a question arose as to the nature of suits under the Public Worship Regulation Act, 1874, whether they were 'civil' or 'criminal.' The counsel for the new churchwardens cited S. Paul's instruction to Timothy,² 'Against an elder³ receive not an accusation, but before two or three witnesses;' and compared this with the provision in the Public Worship Regulation Act, which allows a 'complaint' to be made by one churchwarden. He argued from this comparison that the 'complaint' could not be equivalent to an 'accusation,' but was a mere 'civil' plaint. One of the learned judges asked whether he seriously contended that the Public Worship Regulation Act was to be construed in accordance, and to be read with, S. Paul. The affirmative reply was received with amazement and amusement; so utterly is Holy Scripture put aside for human law. In the same case another judge inquired whether the 'Power of the Keys' could not be transferred to Lord Penzance by Act of Parliament! This foolish remark will doubtless be suppressed in the 'authorized' report. But that it should have been ventured upon at all goes far to prove our case.

¹ December 20, 1880.

² 1 *Tim.* v. 19.

³ Κατὰ πρεσβυτέρου κατηγορίαν μὴ παραδέχου, ἐκτός εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ δύο ἢ τριῶν μαρτύρων.

In 1865, a *Collection of the Judgments of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, in Ecclesiastical Cases relating to Doctrine and Discipline*, was edited by Messrs. Broderick and Fremantle, 'under the direction of the Lord Bishop of London.' The title-page not only contained Bishop Tait's *imprimatur* in this form, but the Preface was written by him. Also, Mr. Fremantle was his chaplain. The object of the work was, apparently, to support the authority of the Judicial Committee, which, even in 1865, was the subject of attack. The Preface was signed 'A. C. London,' so that the work was issued under the auspices, and with the full sanction of, the present Archbishop of Canterbury.

One line of the index contains a stronger accusation against the Judicial Committee and the whole system of the present Church Courts than the most powerful diatribes that were ever penned. Look out in the Index the word 'Scripture.' Is it to be found? Yes, and with these words appended:—

'SCRIPTURES, THE, not legal standard of Judgment . . . 255.'

We look at the reference, and we find the following words in the judgment of the Arches Court in the case of Dr. Williams:—

'But can reference be allowed on either side to the Bible? Where the allegation is a breach of the Article, the point is clear. In *Burder v. Heath* the Judicial Committee lay down that, "in investigating the justice of such a charge, we are bound to look solely to the Statute and the Articles. It would be a departure from our duty if we were to admit any discussion as to the conformity or non-conformity of the Articles of Religion, or any of them, with the Holy Scriptures." Though *Burder v. Heath* was a proceeding under the Statutes of Elizabeth, the same rule applies in the present case; but in the present case the question as to the admissibility of the Bible as a test of doctrine arises, though in an indirect manner. For the Liturgy, *primâ facie*, includes part of the Bible, and the question therefore arises whether the Court ought to exclude from its consideration the Epistles, Gospels, and Lessons. It is, however, by no means clear that these parts of Scripture were inserted with a view to define doctrine. The Court would further, if tempted from the Articles and other parts of the Formularies, be inevitably compelled to consider theological questions, not for the purpose of deciding whether they were conformable to a prescribed standard, but whether the positions maintained were reconcilable with Scripture or not. Against such a course the reasons are overwhelmingly strong. The exercise of such a power has been repudiated by the Judicial Committee. The Court will, therefore, "not be tempted to resort to Scripture as the standard by which the doctrine shall be measured."

The Articles of Charge must be reformed by striking out all reference to extracts from the Bible found in the Prayer Book.¹

Here, then, is a repudiation of the Bible by the Court of Arches, which professes to be founded mainly on an earlier repudiation by the Judicial Committee. In the same case, on the appeal, the Judicial Committee laid down the following rule :—

‘This Court has no jurisdiction or authority to settle matters of faith, or to determine what ought in any particular to be the doctrine of the Church of England. Its duty extends only to the consideration of that which is by law established to be the doctrine of the Church of England, upon the true and legal construction of her Articles and Formularies.

‘By the rule thus enunciated it is our duty to abide.’²

Nothing is said as to the Bible, and the admission made by the Index is fully justified by the judgments of the Judicial Committee, delivered both before and after the publication of the reports of Messrs. Broderick and Fremantle under the sanction of Archbishop Tait. We may refer our readers to the judgments in *Sheppard v. Bennett*,³ on the Real Presence; in *Jenkins v. Cook*,⁴ on the Right of a Clergyman to repel a Parishioner from the Holy Communion; and in Mr. Voysey’s case.⁵

It may be well to show those who think the Royal supremacy is a bulwark of Protestant principles how the great doctrine of the Atonement is treated by the Judicial Committee :—

‘The Eleventh Article of Religion, which Dr. Williams is accused of contravening, states : “We are accounted righteous before God only for the merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith, and not for our own works or deservings.” The Article is wholly silent as to the merits of Jesus Christ being transferred to us. It asserts only that we are justified for the merits of our Saviour by faith, and by faith alone. We cannot say, therefore, that it is penal in a clergyman to speak of merit by transfer as a fiction, however unseemly that word may be when used in connection with such a subject.’⁶

But it is no part of our purpose to criticize the decisions or judgments at length. It is our object only to show that

¹ *Williams v. Bishop of Salisbury*, Br. and Fr. 255. This, as well as Mr. Wilson’s, was an ‘Essay and Review’ case.

² Br. and Fr. 282.

³ Joyce, *Sword and Keys*, 2nd ed. 127; L. R. 4 P.C. 371.

⁴ Joyce, 96; L. R. 1 P. Div. 80.

⁵ *Voysey v. Noble*, L. R. 3 P.C. 357, 366.

⁶ *Williams v. Bishop of Salisbury*, Br. and Fr. 285.

these judgments, whether right or wrong, are founded on a wrong principle. The Word of God is put aside by them for the words of men. The excuse that the Judicial Committee does not decide on the truth of doctrines, but merely construes Church formularies is really invalid. For, in the abeyance of any legislative power in the Church by which any defects or shortcomings in the formularies or standards could be remedied, the fact remains that the interpretation of the formularies by the Court of Final Appeal becomes the virtual legislation of the Church.

We can quite sympathize with the desire of the Judicial Committee expressed in *Sheppard v. Bennett* 'not to usurp the functions of a synod or council,' but unfortunately they have done so. They have interpreted the formularies of the Church, and it does not mend matters that they have done so without the assistance of Scripture. The Acts abolishing appeals to Rome gave instead an appeal 'for lack of justice' to the King in Chancery.¹ This was exercised for nearly 300 years by the Delegates, and has been transferred to the Judicial Committee.² There is some reason to suppose that this appeal 'for lack of justice' was not intended to empower the Delegates to decide cases of doctrine. Only seven cases³ even in the least affecting doctrine ever came before them. They only seem to have delivered final judgment in two of these cases,⁴ and even then do not seem to have decided, or to have attempted to decide, any point of doctrine. From the proceedings in the famous Whiston case in 1713, it appears that at that time it was a doubtful question whether the Delegates could decide cases of doctrine; and the Lord Chief Justice Dod refused to sit, saying he 'would be no judge of heresy.'⁵

It is possible that the appeal to the king was only intended for cases where 'injustice' was done, or 'justice' was refused, in the Archbishops' Courts, so that the appeal was *tanquam ab abusu*. No doubt the Temporal Courts would 'prohibit' the Archbishops' and other Spiritual Courts in case of excess of jurisdiction, but in most cases they were powerless to remedy abuses in matters within the jurisdiction of the Spiritual Courts, or errors in their procedure. And the condition of the

¹ 24 Hen. VIII. c. 12; 25 *Ibid.* c. 19.

² 2 & 3 Will. IV. c. 92; 3 & 4 *Ibid.* c. 41.

³ See Rothery's *Return*, preface, p. xxi.

⁴ *Woodward v. Atwood* in the year 1663 (Rothery, No. 48); and *Jones v. Pusey* (Rothery, No. 118).

⁵ Br. and Fr. 330. See also Rothery, No. 132.

Ecclesiastical Courts at the Reformation clearly showed that some further supervision was imperatively needed. Possibly this may account for the care with which the Judicial Committee repudiated the idea that they were trying the truth of doctrine. They felt their incompetence in every sense of the word. So they fell back on the theory of interpreting Church formularies by the same rules of construction as other written documents. And this method of non-scriptural interpretation seems to have had a reflex effect on the Court of Arches.

It is humiliating to contrast the position of the Church of England with that of Scotland. In the Established Church of Scotland Holy Scripture is the primary authority. The Westminster Confession, though sanctioned by Statute, and the Catechisms, both 'Longer' and 'Shorter,' are only subordinate standards. The Kirk Session, the Presbytery, and the Synods, form the inferior Church Courts, while the General Assembly is both the Supreme Legislature of the Church, and the Supreme Court of Appeal in all Ecclesiastical cases. So long as the decisions of these Church Courts are given in the lawful exercise of their judicial powers, and in matters purely ecclesiastical, they are not subject to the review of any Civil Court. No appeal lies from the General Assembly to the Court of Session, the House of Lords, or the Privy Council.¹ If they exceed their jurisdiction they are liable to proceedings in the nature of prohibition. But it seems they are supreme judges of doctrine. Of course the Established Church of Scotland is not independent of the State, but its relations with it are of a far more satisfactory character than our own. No doubt Parliament could pass an Act conflicting with what the General Assembly considers to be the teaching of Holy Scripture and of the Church: but, as Mr. Elliott² has correctly stated,—

'Parliamentary interference with the affairs of the Church of Scotland, if carried any length, would raise an outcry against Erastianism amply sufficient to bring such interference to an end, or, if it continued, to cause a fresh disruption, and even the downfall of the Church.'

It is not our intention in this paper to discuss at any length the nature and extent of the changes necessary in our Court of Final Appeal. We look forward with the deepest concern to the expected Report of the Royal Commission. We have only insisted strongly on one view of the subject which comes home to the minds of sober-minded religious

¹ See *State and Church*, by the Hon. Arthur Elliott, M.P.

² *Ibid.* p. 162.

people. We must commend to the attention of the Royal Commission and of the Church generally the condition of affairs in Scotland. It is a ready answer to those who think that union of Church and State means that the Church, for some temporal benefits, must give up its guardianship of the faith, and the stewardship of the mysteries of God. It is also an answer to those who think that 'Church' claims mean necessarily the acceptance of High-Church doctrine, or a tendency to Romanism. The most moderate acquaintance with the subject will satisfy everyone that the Established Church of Scotland in its formularies uses the strongest possible language against Rome, and everything resembling Romish doctrine. And the same may be said of Early English Puritanism.

It is a curious fact that, since the Canon Law is founded on Holy Scripture, the law of the Church of Rome has a Scriptural foundation, while our own 'Scriptural' Church, under the present state of things, is forced to regard Statute Law as the ultimate authority. We have said the Canon Law has a Scriptural 'foundation.' Much that is erroneous or imperfect may be built upon it. There may be 'hay, wood, and stubble,' as well as 'gold and precious stones.' There is at least the true foundation. But it is otherwise with the law which is being gradually moulded and shaped by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Nobody pretends that modern statutes are founded on Scripture. And even though the formularies of the Church are themselves founded on Scripture, yet, to obtain their true interpretation, a perpetually fresh recourse to the Divine fount should be had.

For next in importance to right law is true interpretation. To say that the law of the Church is simply Holy Scripture, and nothing else, would be incorrect. As far as history can tell us, this never was the case. And long before the Judicial Committee was empowered to decide on Ecclesiastical cases, Lord Coke tells us that Convocation had jurisdiction to deal with heresies, schism, and other mere spiritual and Ecclesiastical cases, and that therein they did proceed *juxta legem divinam et canones sanctæ ecclesiæ*.¹ Here, then, we find suggested the true mode of interpretation. It must professedly be founded on Scripture, or documents not disagreeing therewith. Of course, Lord Coke never intended to suggest that the Statute Law of that period, which was then considered to be consonant with Scripture, should be ignored by any

¹ 4 *Inst.* 332. Of course the Delegates had also power to try cases, and so had the High Commission, until its abolition.

court. Nor do we in any way desire the repeal of many very useful statutes which have been enacted. We may not admire the almost hopeless confusion of the Church Building and New Parishes Acts, but they need codification, not abolition. But we must have no law or interpretation contrary to the Divine Law.

But even when we have right law, and true formularies interpreting it, there still remains the selection of judges to administer the law, and interpret both the law and its written interpretation. This is the province of the highest Court of Appeal in Ecclesiastical cases. To be at all satisfactory, it must have two qualifications, viz. sufficient learning in the law which it has to administer, and competent jurisdiction. As our present subject is the law, rather than the court, we shall not enlarge further on this subject, except to say that, beside the above qualifications, every judge should also be a believer in the religion which he is to uphold, and himself obedient to the moral laws which he is to enforce.

Neither man nor Church can hope to understand the deep things of God without the aid of His Spirit. The meaning of the words of the Most High are revealed only to the prayers of His servants. So it was customary in the old Court of Arches to begin the work of the term with prayer,¹ in accordance with the statutes of Archbishop Winchelsey.² But who ever heard of Lord Penzance's proceedings being commenced with prayer? And the practice-books of the Judicial Committee are unaccountably silent as to this. There is reason to fear that such prayer has become obsolete. The fact of bishops being present at its deliberations, whether as judges or assessors, will not compensate for the absence of the old recognition of the authority of the Holy Scriptures. Bishops assisting to decide on Church doctrines and practice by human law, instead of Divine law, are not an edifying spectacle.

We have spoken hitherto almost wholly of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, as they are the Supreme Court of Appeal in Ecclesiastical cases; but Lord Penzance's Court (which is styled the Court of Arches in Canterbury Province, and the Chancery Court in York Province) and the Bishops' Courts stand very much on the same footing, for they are all bound to accept the judgments, reasons, and decisions of the Privy Council. Thus Sir Robert Phillimore gave several judgments which were reversed by the Privy Council, and he was obliged, against his better judgment, to follow their decision in future cases.

¹ Law's *Oughton*, 2nd ed. preface, xvii.

² A.D. 1295.

We have not inquired whether the learning of the Judicial Committee in Ecclesiastical Law is sufficient ; nor have we complained that they have never received any authority from the Church, and so have no spiritual jurisdiction. We have not even enlarged on the startling effect of deprivation of cure of souls by them, or the surprise with which the Church would regard any 'excommunication' they or Lord Penzance might issue. The objection which we are now urging is the purely human and secular foundation which the modern tribunal claims for its self-assumed spiritual jurisdiction. Supposing a number of bishops were added to the judges in the Privy Council, and both bishops and judges were taught Ecclesiastical Law, this would not supply the deficiency. And suppose, in addition to this, the Church, in her Convocations, were to sanction such a Court, it would be of no use if such Court were to be bound by the past judgments and the present principles of the Privy Council. If the Church does not repudiate the Privy Council, it cannot expect to stand in the evil day, for it will cease to wear the whole armour of God. It lays aside the Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, and takes instead the Statutes of the Realm, which form a weapon by no means well adapted for the combat with the principalities and powers, the rulers of the darkness of this world, and spiritual wickedness in high places.

ART. IX.—NATURAL RELIGION.

Natural Religion. By the Author of *Ecce Homo*. (London, 1882.)

It is now sixteen years since the reading world was fascinated by the book entitled *Ecce Homo*. That work was designedly and confessedly a fragment. But the preface promised us a sequel which should serve to complete, or at all events extend, its treatment of the question. 'Christ as the creator of modern theology and religion' was announced as the subject of another volume, which was certainly, though not immediately, to appear. This wished-for sequel has never seen the light ; and we have here instead of it a work, the design of which is to prove that both theology and religion exist among us in many forms, of which Christ is so

far from being the creator, that those who entertain them wholly reject His claims.

The present work possesses many of the merits which attracted so much attention to the former. The freshness and charm of style are the same. The subject is of certainly no less pressing interest, for it concerns the actual work of minds around us. And yet the reception of the book has been so cold that the contrast of former triumphs can scarcely be pleasing to the author. We think we can, even at the outset, point out one source of the difference.

The power of the author does not lie in exhaustive analysis or completeness of reasoning, but in brilliant suggestiveness and incisive novelty. He not only is content, but often prefers, to arrest attention by some bold defiance of ordinary reason, and to leave his statements in a glaringly defective form, subject to all kinds of unanswered objections, and capable of all kinds of developments which he does not carry out. To work out a subject into all its relations would occupy more time than he is willing to spare from the many other suggestions of thought which he desires to make. This want of thoroughness was comparatively unimportant in treating a subject so familiar and so dear to all as the life and work of our Lord. The reader gratefully welcomed the fresh and vivid lights which were thrown upon it: that they did not display the whole was of little moment, for the picture was already filled by the Evangelists. But when the subject to be dealt with is so shadowy and unfamiliar, if not so imaginary, as the religion of men who declare themselves to have no religion, we absolutely require more thoroughness of treatment to assure us that we are dealing with reality at all. The suspicion grows on us as we read that perhaps after all there is nothing before us but a lay figure set up to be invested with a clothing of epigrams. We seem to be looking at one of Mr. Whistler's 'arrangements,' in which we find, indeed, lights and colour skilfully managed, but great uncertainty as to what the actual thing is upon which the light falls, or whether there is anything at all.

The intending reader of this work must put entirely aside the meaning of the words 'natural religion' which previous study will have taught him. In the pages of a hundred well-known apologists, religion is taken in the sense which universal consent has attributed to it, of a power to connect us with something beyond the visible world. The question which these apologists considered was, whether nature gives us any such reason to look beyond nature. Our author's use

of the term is different. With him the word natural is more emphatic than the word religion ; and it implies that which arises in our minds by the investigation of the universe, while we deliberately set aside that connection with anything beyond which has been hitherto implied by religion. His question is, whether the contemplation of nature in itself does not furnish us with a religion, even after it has rejected all that went by that name. The subject is one of high interest, since it raises the whole question of the connexion between the faith of the Church and the highest thoughts of those many noble minds around her which reject her claims. But we must say at once that the new and peculiar meaning thus attributed to the term natural religion appears unreasonable and misleading. For, on the one hand, all religions appear to the unbeliever to have arisen by a natural process ; he professes to be able to show us how all our supernatural beliefs are really the most natural things in the world, and the restricted application of the term religion is contradictory to all his science. On the other hand, the believer cannot be expected to allow that science or art are, in any of their processes or conclusions, at all more natural than that exercise of mind and spirit which leads him beyond nature to God. Everyone, therefore, of every opinion, is bound to contest the exactness of the meaning which the nature of the work imposes upon the words of the title.

It would be but a small matter to object that the words of the title can with difficulty be restricted to the meaning here intended. But this difficulty rests upon another which touches the whole substance of the book. It is impossible to believe that the natural religion which is the subject of the book is unconnected as matter of fact with that supernatural religion which the book not only distinguishes from, but opposes to, the natural. Upon our minds the effect of the work has been to strengthen our convictions, on the one hand, that man cannot do without a religion, and, on the other, that no attempt at a religion of any kind is or can be made among us which does not proceed from the influence of Christianity, and logically lead to Christianity. Nor are we absolutely sure that this conclusion is contrary to the intention of the author. We should feel rather ashamed to express so much uncertainty regarding the purport of a work which we are about to review, if we did not perceive that the same doubt has been felt by other critics. The *Spectator* and the *Pall Mall Gazette* are journals remarkable for critical ability, but to the former it appears that the author of *Natural*

Religion himself accepts Christianity, while the latter declares that the assumption that all the fighting is over, and that orthodoxy can no longer keep the field, underlies the whole of the argument.

Neither of these intelligent critics would find himself at a loss, if he were challenged, to support his view by passages from the work itself. On the one hand, we have the express statement of the author that he 'can conceive no religion as satisfactory that falls short of Christianity.' On the other hand, the staple of the book consists of systematic attempts to prove that there can be real religions which reject Christianity. And it is certainly not thought consistent with genuine conviction upon any other subject, if the supposed possessor of it dispenses with any attempt to show other people that their beliefs in any way lead to his, or that they would be at all the better for adopting it.

To us it appears that no mind which has really accepted a faith can ever consent to regard it as a peculiar or subjective possession of its own. Though grasped, as every belief must be, by the internal powers of the mind, it yet (supposing it true) leads to great and comprehensive outward facts, having manifold relations to men and things. And when phenomena present themselves which are in the nature of religion, the presumption to a believer will always be that they result from the great realities to which his faith points him: just as a man who possesses a scientific theory of any class of natural phenomena will by absolute necessity regard other imperfect theories as founded on the facts which his own explains in a better way, and as leading in consistency up to it.

This would be true even if there were no historical reason for connecting the appearance of religion in unbelievers with the operation of God and His revelation. Even if the persons in whom the author discerns these religious symptoms had never heard of God or of Christ, it would still be natural and reasonable for all who do believe in Him to think that it is because He exists that His children have been led to feelings which look so like His work. But the case becomes far stronger when we know as an historical fact that these persons live in the midst of a society in which He is recognized, and have themselves, for the most part, been brought up to believe in Him. We are in absolute contradiction of the known laws of heredity if we treat their religious tendencies as unconnected with the faith in God which lives and works around them. The observation cannot be better stated than

in the words of the preface to the fifth edition of *Ecce Homo* :—

‘If a high and complete morality exists outside the Church, it does not often exist independent of it. The atmosphere of Europe has been saturated for some fifteen centuries with Christian principles, and however far the rebellion against the Church may have spread, it may still be called the Moral University of the world—not merely the greatest, but the only school of virtue existing. While this is so, it is idle for any virtue which springs up in its neighbourhood to claim to be independent of it.’

This is the very consideration which compels us to regard the deeply interesting facts to which this book calls our attention as incapable of the independent treatment which it bestows upon them.

The first chapter opens by reminding us with truth that the very same dislike to unrealities which has set the Christian mind in opposition to the wisdom of this world is now shared by science, and produces opposition, not only to the learning of the schools, but to the accepted theology. Indeed, it is not alone school learning which finds itself thus assailed, but also ‘the homely and popular wisdom by which human life is guided.’ The words which are in common use among men to express the commonest ideas of life and conduct, such as mind and matter, morality and expediency, virtue and vice, find themselves brought into doubt, and labour under suspicion of belonging, along with metaphysics and theology, to the class of shams pretending to be true knowledge, and which the mind, bent upon genuine truth, must call in question and perhaps put aside ; and thus the sense of human insufficiency, extending even to distrust of ourselves, finds a sphere in scientific thought, as it has found one from of old in that which is Christian. But can this scientific distrust, though it rejects religion, be itself religious ? It appears to our author that it can. Having analysed the system of belief which has been supposed absolutely necessary to religion into the three principles of a Personal Will as the cause of the Universe, the perfect benevolence of that will, and its interference by miracles with the order of the universe, he comes to the conclusion that indeed there may be not only religion but theology without the admission of any one of the three. For, firstly, miracles may be regarded by those who believe in them as no more supernatural than any other events. No event comes to pass without the will of God working beneath the laws which govern it ; and it is but the same will of God which exerts itself in miracles, working in them no more and no

less according to law than it does in the most ordinary affairs. Thus an inquirer who does not believe in the occurrence of the particular events which we call miracles, may yet have no stronger notion of the orderliness of nature than that which a Christian would claim to possess. He cannot, therefore, on this ground, be pronounced incapable of religion; nor, secondly, can disbelief in the benevolence of the supreme will be pronounced a decisive religious disability. For many nations have believed in gods of a mixed and sometimes of a malignant character. And it may even be doubted whether the God of the Old Testament or the God of Calvinism can be described as purely benevolent.

Thus two of these three propositions may be denied, and yet theology remain possible. The conception of a Personal Will as the cause of things may well appear more essential. But even this, the author thinks, may conceivably be dispensed with. For in many a theology the conception of *cause* has been little thought of, and the personality of its deity has been merely the *unity* of certain phenomena. Such was the relation of Poseidon to the sea, and Athene to the sky. And it would surely be possible to conceive a religious system whose deity should be not the cause of phenomena, but 'the separate phenomena of the universe, or the universe itself altogether conceived personally.' Though God and Nature are capable of being set in opposition to each other, and are set in opposition by modern science, which denies God and refuses to go beyond Nature; yet these great ideas are not so opposed as controversy has represented. It is but a partial view of theology which would represent it as disregarding Nature. Nature is and must be a revelation of God. Is it not then true that he who studies Nature is studying God upon one side, and possesses so far a theology—less consoling it may be than that of the Christian, and yet in some respects even greater? 'That man believes in a God who feels himself in the presence of a Power which is not himself, and is immeasurably above himself, a Power in the contemplation of which he is absorbed, in the knowledge of which he finds safety and happiness.' To the man of science the words Infinity and Eternity, which are little more than words in the creeds, become practical realities, as he searches in detail the contents of time and space, and finds them inexhaustible. Nature gives him a law of life, since a first principle of modern science is that happiness depends upon knowledge of the laws of nature, and conformity to them. Nature with its infinite beauty and interest inspires him with awe, with fear,

even with love. Nature is very nigh him: so nigh that though he can gaze upon her from without, he is yet all the time conscious of being a part of her. And though he speaks of Nature where the Christian speaks of God, these considerations show that he is not without a theology. Such is the view set before us.

Now, we disclaim all desire to exaggerate the differences between religion and science. We regard it as madness to consider any as enemies of religion who do not proclaim themselves to be such. We desire to make the very most of the religion which scientific men display. Therefore we anxiously concede the utmost weight possible to the considerations above suggested. When the author pronounces the idea of supernatural interference with the laws of nature to be unessential to theology, he is but rejecting a conception of miracles and a conception of the laws of nature which many defenders of Christianity have entirely rejected.¹ When he maintains that religion may exist without belief in the pure benevolence of God, the contention may also be allowed. Bishop Butler long ago remarked that the goodness of God was a matter with which some speculations made very free, and plainly showed his belief that limitations must be placed upon our desire to comprehend all views of God's character under that particular conception.² But a man may be perfectly prepared to renounce the belief in any interference of God with nature, except according to order and to law; he may be perfectly ready to submit his conceptions of God's benevolence to the test of experience and the facts of nature. Yet he may be quite unprepared to allow that there can be religion where the mind does not rise beyond the order and law discerned in nature at all, and where men not only refuse to a Supreme Being the attribute of benevolence, but refuse to concede that we know the existence of any Being, beyond phenomena, of whom we can predicate either benevolence or any other attribute whatever.

Even as to the Personality of God we are willing to go with the writer as far as we can. It seems to us, indeed, mere trifling to say with him that personality, as we know it, involves mortality and a body. These accompany personality, but no one supposes them involved in the idea. But it is quite true that various difficulties of thought arise in applying to God even the purest conceptions of personality of which we are capable. Yet all this, though granted to the

¹ See Butler's *Analogy*, part ii. chap. iv.

² *Analogy*, part i. chap. iii.

fullest extent, does but little to establish a common ground between the man who believes in a Being whom he calls a person, acknowledging at the same time that He is inscrutable, and the man who not only denies that he sees beyond nature a personal Being but any being at all.

The awe and the interest which scientific pursuits arouse cannot be called religious in themselves, unless one is to extend that term to every engrossing interest and every emotion of awe which man is capable of experiencing. They are subjective feelings, and may or may not accompany the pursuits of science. Nay, it is commonly, and we think rightly, supposed, that while science opens up vast new regions to the awe and admiration of those who are capable of such emotions, the habit of scientific research is not in itself productive of the emotions but the reverse. It is an intellectual and not an emotional attitude of mind. The author quotes Balzac's *Recherche de l'Absolu*. He will remember the scene in which the hero consoles his wife in her grief by analysing a tear.

It is claimed that science furnishes a guide to conduct because it is a first principle that happiness is to be found in conformity to nature. But, though religion is a guide to conduct, it by no means follows that whatever is a guide to conduct is religion. A man crossing a railway believes that happiness is to be found in keeping out of the way of the train; Gil Blas, in the house of the Archbishop of Granada, believes that happiness is to be found in conformity to the whims of his master; and these constraints and direction of conduct are the parts of nature to which, for the time being, it concerns these people to conform. But no one would say that there was anything religious in their action or in the principle from which it proceeds. And if others be more deeply informed as to what nature demands, and act more systematically upon the principle of conformity, the degree of their information does not convert their principle into religion so long as they are merely avoiding dangers which, as matter of intellectual certainty, will assail them if they put themselves in the way.

The intimate union, extending indeed to identity, which exists between nature and the observer of nature is not at all of that kind which can be called religious. 'This God is our God' is the expression of religion; 'this God is ourselves' would be the negation of it. An illimitable outlook upon matter and force somehow attaining consciousness in ourselves, and with which we can feel sympathy only by doubting whether our consciousness is anything more than matter

and force—what is there in this of the religion which comes from belief in a Being who, not being ourselves, is, for that very reason, the object of our admiration and the supply of that inward deficiency which we experience?

We have the greatest doubt whether the worship of an Unity of Phenomena offered by a mind which declines to recognize a cause of them can really be maintained as a reality. No doubt heathen religions have put back from them the conception of a first cause. But surely their divinities were regarded as causes in their various departments, so far at least as to overrule and guide the phenomena. However these divinities may have been originally mere embodiments of phenomena, the conception of them as persons having an existence behind phenomena and apart from them shows the religious necessities of the human mind. It does not appear what real unity in phenomena there can be for a mind which does rise to anything beyond them, or how it could offer any worship which would not be consciously false as being founded on a deliberate figment of its own; the self-indulgent and idolatrous pretence of a unity of which it really knows nothing.

No doubt it is true that to know the laws of nature is to know the laws of God: all who believe in Him must believe that those who are in contact with nature are in contact with Him. And we must believe that He views with love and approbation the resolute pursuit of truth in His world, and will allow for the involuntary errors of those who have pursued truth in earnest. If the young lions, roaring after their prey, do seek their meat from God, and the whole animal creation is said to wait all upon Him, although it knows Him not consciously or by name, much more in the highest efforts of the human intellect must we recognize a special appeal to Him, sure, if it be genuine, to meet its reward from Him. Yet these efforts are not a religion to those who use them unless they are, in some degree, conscious of Him. Man, unlike the lower creation, is capable of a consciousness of God, and it is a degradation to man to be content with that sort of external contact with His laws which can exist without any acknowledgment of Himself.

In what we have said we are so far from depreciating the religion of men of science that we hold our author himself to have very much exaggerated their want of religion. In the first place, he makes too much of the opposition between science and religious belief; and, in the second place, he supposes that nothing but science influences scientific men.

'Science,' he says, 'opposes to God, Nature.' We do not so read the verdict of science. So far as we know, science does not, by its best accredited representatives, claim to fill with nature the place which we give to God. Where we place God, science, at the very worst, proclaims a void: it acknowledges that an unknowable something lies behind, if, indeed, that which is unknowable can be called something. But the idea of an unknowable known to exist is impossible to grasp; there is an essential contradiction in the terms of the proposition, 'I know that there is an unknowable.' It is but a kind of attempt to approximate to the expression of an idea. The clearness which is wanting in the proposition itself must be supplied by the mind which assents to it; and it can do so only by throwing greater or less stress upon one or other of the terms, and bringing into prominence either, on the one hand, the fact that we know, or, on the other, the fact that what we know is unknowable. To say that in these matters we know, is to believe in some species of revelation; but the strongest believer in revelation cannot deny the term 'unknowable' to an object which we cannot search out to perfection. To pronounce it unknowable is to be an Agnostic; yet no Agnostic can deny that he has some kind of knowledge of that to which he knows the term 'unknowable' to belong. The formula of the Agnostic is therefore the same as that of the believer, only with a greater emphasis laid upon the mysterious and inscrutable element in our knowledge.

There is then a gap in the circle of knowledge which the veriest man of science can draw around himself. And it is through this gap, as we conceive, that those feelings enter which the author terms 'the religion of science,' and which he ascribes to science itself. Hence must come the sense of unity and the worship of it, for neither can be found in the phenomena themselves. Hence must come the religious desire of conformity to nature, for nature in itself can only supply lifeless physical rules to which, in themselves, it is impossible to pay any reverence. The religion of the man of science must be found in something beyond science.

This being so, is it reasonable to forget that he is, by the nature of his position, something more than a man of science? By the very make of his human mind science cannot be everything to him. There must be many hours in which it sleeps, and the feelings awake through which mankind have sought refuge in religion. Moreover he is a man born and bred in a religious tradition. His own principles forbid him to regard himself as an isolated being who can believe

and feel as he chooses. If he would obey, in the highest sense, his own law of conformity to nature, he must seek some brotherhood with the rest of mankind in their deeper experiences. And this, to our mind, is the real common ground between the religion of the man of science and of the theologian. It is a real community both of principle and feeling. The one knows and feels something of what the other knows and feels. The knowledge and feeling may be more indefinite in one who only believes in the revelation of an unknowable Power in the totality of phenomena than in one who believes in God revealed through Christ. But there is genuine common ground. And to point this out seems to us more hopeful for the cause of final agreement than to give the man of science permission to forget his spiritual kindred and his father's house, and make believe that he can find a religion where he will never find it, within the bounds of unassisted science itself.

The second chapter opens with a mournful declaration. The author informs us that the idea of 'a God revealed in nature' has been suggested by him not as worthy of replacing the Christian view, or even as a commencement from which we must rise by logical necessity to the Christian view, but because this is the God whom the present age actually does and, in spite of all opposition, certainly will worship. It is a monstrous exaggeration of the existing unbelief to imply that the present age has ceased to worship the God of Christianity. But what is implied is even more than this. The author is not speaking of those in the present age who worship nothing at all; his persuasion is that those in the present who worship, worship rather a God revealed in nature than the Christian God. Our estimate of the case is very different. We hold that while the number of those who still worship as Christians is vast, the number who, having abandoned Christian worship, retain any worship at all, is infinitesimally small; and of those who do, very few indeed would describe themselves as worshipping 'a God revealed in nature.' That is a form of expression which has a definite and recognized meaning. It means that God is one thing and nature another, and that through nature we come to know God. This theory does not appear to the author to be one from which, by logical necessity, we rise to the Christian view: we distinctly claim that it is. We are bound by the strictest reason to proceed from it, not indeed to Christianity, but to the Christian view of God. For the Christian view of God is that of a Being distinct from the universe, and capable

of revealing Himself as a being by facts known to man. Now, a 'God revealed in nature' must be just such a being. We are astonished the author does not perceive that this conception opens the way directly to the question whether God is revealed in the facts of Christianity which claim to be tangible facts of nature as much as any others that meet us in the world?

What can have persuaded the author to the doleful preface which stands at the head of the next chapter?—that a view which he regards as unsatisfactory, and unworthy to replace the Christian, is yet one which the age will, in spite of all opposition, certainly adopt. Such prophetic anticipations of what the age is going to do come quite naturally from those who hail the anticipation with pleasure. But to hold that the age is irreversibly committed to a downward progress is a pessimistic condition of mind which gives us little hope of aid in the difficulties of the time from the mind which propounds it.

The object of this chapter is the abuse of the word Atheism. No wise believer will desire to fix that awful charge upon any party which itself disclaims atheism. But we really cannot go with the author so far as to consider that it matters little whether a party calls itself atheistic or not. We must confess that to us it matters a great deal. We suppose that if any party calls itself atheistic it must understand its own mind, and little hope of real conciliation is to be found in assuring it that, however it may think itself atheistic, we know better.

An atheist, we are informed, is not a man who disbelieves in the goodness of God, or in His distinctness from nature, or in His personality. Atheism is disbelief in the existence of God. Now the question whether atheism is distinct from disbelief in the goodness of God, or from belief in His personality, depends entirely upon the definition of the word God which we give. But we do not ourselves perceive how anyone who disbelieves God's distinctness from nature can be regarded otherwise than as a disbeliever in God. If nature is to be taken in the common sense of the expression, it means the visible and tangible universe with its movements. And to say that we can believe in God without believing Him distinct from these appears to us as absurd as to say that you can believe in a steersman who is not distinct from his rudder. Of course anyone might use the word steersman in such a sense as to include rudder. But it would be a wholly new use of the word. And even then the word would

denote something distinct from rudder, because it would mean the rudder and something more.

Disbelief in the existence of God means, we learn, not disbelief in the distinctness of the idea which the word conveys, but disbelief in *any* regularity in the universe to which a man must conform himself under penalties. The real atheism is moral atheism, and the purest form of it might be called by the general name of wilfulness. We know not where, either in the general agreement of thinkers, or in any argument which he himself advances, the author has obtained licence thus lightly to identify the idea of any regularity in the universe with that of the existence of God. We indeed cannot tell whence the idea of the regularity of the universe, not only as regards the part of it which has been observed, but as regards that part which is unknown or future, can be obtained without belief in a superintending mind which secures it. Still, the idea of the regularity of nature and the idea of God, however connected, are, in themselves, distinct. And if a man does manage to believe in the regularity of the universe, while refusing to follow out his belief to anything beyond the universe, we discern true atheism in his condition of mind, however conscious he may be that he must, under penalties, conform to this regularity. For his conformity may take place without any moral consent. He may display wilfulness in its worst forms. His acquaintance with the regular sequences of the universe is a mere intellectual knowledge, and he may use it as the instrument of a thoroughly godless will. A Napoleon using his knowledge of the principles of war, and of the circumstances of his time, for the purposes of ambition is a striking example of conformity to the laws of nature; he is an equally striking example of wilfulness. Nor will you be able to divest conformity to the laws of nature of the same character until you arrive at the belief that there is something essentially moral in the government of the universe, and that there can be no true conformity which is not moral. This belief will be felt by most men to point directly to a God, working indeed through and in nature, but distinct from it in His own existence.

The author draws powerful and gloomy pictures of a mind which, pledged to orthodoxy, feels the system give way, and pushes forward in despair and in defiance the most vehement assertion of that which is really felt to be most doubtful, and at last secretly confesses itself on the wrong side, a conscious hypocrite, an atheist of the most genuine kind.

We are far indeed from denying either the hatefulness of the type or the possibility of its actual occurrence. But the superior hatefulness of secret murder does not deprive the proceedings of a cruel conqueror either of their murderous character or of the mischief which they spread on a scale far wider than that of the secret assassin. He who deprives the mass of mankind of the idea of God and of moral law is a genuine atheist both in belief and in action, even though he himself may derive from the Christian society into which he has been born, or from the habits and interests which his intellectual pursuits excite in him, a law of life for himself which may be rigidly moral.

Most readers will find very great difficulty in accepting an assertion which seems to the author evident: namely, that 'the theology of the book of Job, of many of the Psalms—e.g. the 104th—of many passages in the Prophets, of many discourses of Christ, of many passages of the Epistles, would remain unaffected if Supernaturalism were entirely abandoned.' To us the one thing evident is that the author must use the word 'supernatural' in a sense different from that which we have been accustomed to attribute to it. He must consider the expression to denote supernatural facts as distinguished from supernatural existences. For it is impossible it should escape him that the distinctive intention of the 104th Psalm, and all such like passages, is to ascribe the events of nature to a supernatural power—namely, God. He must then actually refuse to include such a Power under the term 'the supernatural.' But we maintain that this is a most unreasonable restriction. The word is far more properly applied to existences beyond the world than to facts in the world. It has been already pointed out by the author himself that the propriety of applying the word supernatural to any facts is of very doubtful correctness, because it may probably be the case that there is no power whatever, in any sense of the word power, employed in a miracle which is not also employed in some different form in the ordinary operations of nature. Natural and supernatural will in this case be applicable to all facts alike according to the way in which you look at them. On the other hand, we may be quite sure that there must be something above nature in the Being who sets these powers in operation. He Himself, though He works in nature, must be above the system of operations which we call by that name. God is supernatural, and while you may deny that this or that fact, or that any fact, out of the course of His ordinary work in nature, has ever happened, you yet cannot

deny the possibility of a supernatural existence without denying Him, thereby becoming an atheist. The author of the 104th Psalm would certainly have deemed it self-evident that the Lord Who rejoices in His works must be above His works.

The third chapter, however, opens with a passage which shows us very plainly how the subject just mentioned presents itself to the author. Let it be granted, he says, or let it be denied, 'that Nature is merely the collective name for a number of co-existences and sequences, and that God is merely a synonym for Nature.' The same questions, he acutely remarks, may be raised concerning the human as well as concerning the Divine Being. Some may consider the human body as the habitation of a soul which is distinct from it; some may deny this. Some may regard and some refuse to regard man merely as the collective name for a number of processes; and some may ascribe to him freewill, others think of him as the necessary product of physical influences. Important as these distinctions may be, 'they do not affect the fact that the human being is there, and they do not prevent us from regarding him with strong feelings.' And the same is true of the Divine Being.

This is an all-important illustration of the religious question. And our remarks upon it would be two. Firstly, that it is too much to say that the habit of regarding man as a number of processes and as the necessary product of physical influences does not hinder us from believing that the human being is there, or from regarding him with strong feelings. It does not, indeed, wholly do so, because it is difficult to carry out this view to practical completeness. But such a way of thinking has a real tendency to make us doubt whether the human being is there after all. It throws doubt, and if completely believed it would bring actual annihilation, upon the very conception of a being. Equally sure is it that such a view of man must tend to the extinction of strong feelings regarding him. We may by a certain inconsistency feel anger or love towards a number of processes or the product of physical influences: if product be not too strong an expression of real existence to be applied to mere phenomena. But the more consistently we are able to feel in this way about men, the less will be our anger or our love. And if we were able to feel so altogether all possibility of anger or of love would be gone.

And our second remark is that this obscuration of the sense of being and this abatement of feeling occur with far greater strength in our relations to God than in those we

bear to man. In thought about God the determination to recognize nothing but processes and products of physical influence lead point-blank to the declaration that no being is there where men have been used to find God. In whatever way we think about man, there remains at all events under our eyes a certain unity or concentration of a number of processes at the point where former thinkers would have recognized the being called a man. But there is no such unity and no such concentration cognizable by us to stand for the notion of God. He is not phenomenal, and if the succession of phenomena be all that we can recognize, then the very appearance of His Being is gone. And it is almost needless to say that with the power to recognize His Being we lose all power to regard Him with any feelings either of resentment or of affection. Without belief in the supernatural there can therefore be no theology.

These considerations introduce the question whether, if theology could exist without the supernatural, religion could do so too? In order to understand this question we are invited by the author to apprehend the difference between two kinds of knowledge, the one of which he calls practical, familiar, or imaginative knowledge, the other theoretic or scientific knowledge. The former has precedence in order of time. All natural objects are grasped experimentally by the mind before the theory of them is known. And sometimes it appears as if the practical knowledge grew weaker in proportion as the scientific advanced. Witness the instinctive skill of savages in apprehending physical phenomena and their connexions. This kind of knowledge is far the more interesting and fascinating, for it takes hold of the possessor by the most plastic side of his nature. But just because it is so fascinating it has mischievous consequences, being apt to fill the mind with prejudice and hasty misconceptions. These science, when it arrives, seeks to correct, and a contest between the two species of knowledge ensues, which causes bitter pain, but results at last in the triumph of truth. Yet imperfections accompany the victory. The mind is placed in a new relation to the universe. Its victory over superstition has been won by restraining imagination and feeling. In order not to be misled by feeling it has been forced artificially to deaden feeling. And so, as the scientific spirit becomes more and more supreme, a shudder of discomfort passes over those whose business is with realizing and not with testing knowledge. An imaginative eclipse obscures in turn the material universe and man and God. First, the natural mythology which found objects

of love in trees and streams becomes incomprehensible to us. Next, man reckons his own being among things more than half explained, and still more surely the mind absolutely sinks into an incapacity of grasping the idea of God. What is the remedy? The author believes it is to be found in the study of nature becoming universal. In this he holds there may be found, though not the same encouragement as in Christianity, yet enough encouragement to keep men, even though precariously, from crime, from apathy, and from suicide, the awful spirits to which the man is in danger of surrendering himself who, measuring the force within him against the necessity without, feels the force too weak and the necessity too strong.

We desire to point attention to that distinction between two kinds of knowledge upon which this whole speculation rests. The distinction is in the highest degree suggestive. Yet we doubt whether the author himself perceives its full significance. As we understand him, he conceives the substance of the knowledge to be in both cases the same. But for the mere man of action the knowledge is helped on the one side, warped and perverted on the other, by the aid of the imagination; for the man of science it so entirely loses these helps and additions as to be stripped, not only of its errors, but also of its practical force. Now, to us it seems that the two species of knowledge differ, not only in respect of imaginative additions, but of their means of attaining truth, and that science with all its gains is apt to lose, not only the pleasure and active use of the truths which the simple heart knows, but also much of the truths themselves.

Thus stands the case. Man, like the plant or like one of the lower animals, is an organism in the midst of an environment; for him as for them the problem is how best to adapt the organism to the environment. But for him the problem is more complicated, and involves both higher promise in cases of success and greater dangers of failure. The intellectual effort to ascertain the nature of the organism itself, and the nature of the environment, is part of the process of adaptation. But this intellectual adjustment has no precedence over adjustments of feeling and emotion. They are but parts of the same process of action and reaction between the man and his surroundings. Truth is the name for right adjustment between the mind and itself, and between the mind and outward things. And there is a subjective truth of feeling and of the moral nature when we feel and act rightly, just as of the intellect when we think rightly. Also there

are objective truths which correspond to our emotions and our consciences, as well as to our minds. The objects which correspond to our feelings and moral powers can only be apprehended by those faculties ; and accordingly the intellect can only recognize the truth of those objects by accepting the teaching of the feelings and the conscience.

The most obvious instance of this is perhaps to be found in our intercourse with our fellow-men. The characters of the persons with whom we have to live, and the proper way of ordering ourselves toward them, are departments of truth in the strictest and most momentous sense. But they are truths which cannot be apprehended by the exercise of thought alone. Our affections and consciences must be alive in order even to understand, and much more to solve, the problem, what is the nature of these people who live near us, and how may we guide ourselves truly toward them. It is because so much truth is matter of feeling and morality that these faculties wrongly exercised are capable of leading men into so much falsehood. If truth were merely matter of intellect the feelings might indeed beguile us into forgetting to exercise it. But it is because the feelings themselves are organs for the apprehension of truth, that when they act wrongly, or refuse to act, men go so hopelessly wrong.

Thus the truth of our own nature and of our state, which after all is what we mean by knowledge, comes to us through a mass of mental impressions, intellectual conclusions, and emotional feelings. The ideal condition of man—that which would assimilate his state to that of the rest of the creatures, each in its place—would not be a state in which any one of these faculties should gain the exclusive possession of the man or claim to be the sole organ of truth, but one which they should aid, correct, and limit, each the other. On this basis science first presents its claim ; a just claim, and founded on deep necessity. For it is found by experience that the affections and the fancy, with all their uses, are full of possibilities of error. The profession of science is that it will tell us what is truly around us and within us. It is but common sense systematized. Evidently science, in performing this useful office, should have regard to all the relations of man to things, and all the guidance which all his faculties rightly exercised are capable of conveying. As it proceeds on its way science comes at last to regard man himself not merely in his active relations to things around, but in theory, as part of the system of things. In this way man becomes as much an external subject of contemplation to himself as any other

part of the universe. But this method involves a great danger. The men who use it have not two minds, with the one of which they can feel while they theorize with the other. They have but one mind, which as it is more and more cast into the frame of theory becomes less and less capable of that species of natural exercise in regard to things around, by which so much of the knowledge of what is outside of us, and of our proper relation to it, must be furnished. It is not merely that some of the adornments and charms of knowledge vanish, but some of the materials of knowledge itself. And science, which began by promising to tell us what is around us in order that we may feel rightly, ends by destroying our feelings, so that we become incapable of thinking save as science tells us we must think. When in Balzac's wonderful study Balthazar de Cl  es forgets his love to his wife and children in his devotion to science, he loses not merely some of the ornaments or aids of truth, but truth itself: the truth of his own nature and its surroundings, which can only be found by the free exercise of all his faculties, and is lost when these are fettered by his science. And it is but too easy to imagine a man, or a race of men, in whom this failure in furnishing to himself the materials of a full study of life should be not merely a forgetfulness of freer judgments in the past, but a permanent disability tending to perpetuate itself. Our author finds the remedy in the study of nature. Possibly he may be right, but, if so, nature and the study of nature must be taken in a wider meaning than he hints at. Science, not finding in itself all the materials for a study of that most important part of nature, the mind of man, should seek it in an ample and discriminating consideration of the history of that mind; a study in which no preconceived theory should hinder recognition of the facts.

Religion affords the most striking instance of the operation of these principles. Of course we are not ignorant that science has professed to recognize the necessity of a wide accumulation of the facts of man's religious history, and that considerable advances have been made towards carrying out that object. It is found that throughout the whole history of man there has grown with his growth, and persistently asserted itself against all opposing influences, a belief in his actual contact with the supernatural. As this supernatural always seemed to him to transcend all the limitations of his own consciousness, it may be called a contact with the infinite; as it always seemed to him to mingle with his life, it may be called a consciousness of revelation. Amid all the

varieties of human religions, including even those which like Buddhism recognize no personal God, this consciousness of contact with the infinite is an universal fact, and equally universal are attempts at worship and service of the infinite thus known.

The facts could not be better stated than they have been in the recent *Discours de Réception* of M. Pasteur, who, we suppose, has a right to speak on behalf of science. M. Littré had defined Positivism as 'all that is done in society in order to organize it according to the positive, that is to say, the scientific, conception of the world.'

'I am ready,' says M. Pasteur, 'to accept this definition, provided that rigorous application be made of it; but the great and palpable gap in the system is that in its positive conception of the world it takes no account of the most important of positive ideas, that of the infinite.'

'Beyond this starry vault, what is there? New starry heavens. Be it so: and beyond those? The human spirit, urged on by an irresistible force, will never cease to ask what is beyond. Would it stop at any point either in space or time; as the point where it stops is but a finite greatness, only greater than all those which precede, the mind has scarcely looked at it when the inevitable question recurs, without which its curiosity cannot be appeased. It knows not what to answer; beyond are spaces, times and extensions without limits. No one understands these words. He who proclaims the existence of the Infinite—and no one can escape from it—concentrates in this affirmation more of the supernatural than there is in all the religions; for the idea of the Infinite possesses this double character, that it forces itself on the mind, yet is incomprehensible. When this idea seizes on the understanding one can but prostrate oneself. In the piercing anguish of such moments we must leave the domain of reason; all the resources of our intellectual life threaten to give way; we feel that we are about to be seized by the sublime madness of Pascal. These positive and primary ideas, with all their consequences in the life of societies, positivism gratuitously dismisses.

'I see everywhere the inevitable expression of the idea of the Infinite in the world. By it the supernatural is at the bottom of every heart. The idea of God is a form of the idea of the Infinite, and as long as the mystery of the Infinite shall weigh on human thought, so long shall temples be raised for the worship of the Infinite, whether the God be called Brahma, Allah, Jehovah, or Jesus.'

What, then, should be the practical and permanent result from these observations to the man of science, who makes them? Surely this, that in order to be true, as science tells him he ought to be, to the essential facts of his humanity, he ought to find in himself, and to use in his life, a concep-

tion so essentially the heritage of his race as religion is. And yet the study of Comparative Religion, and of the history of religious development, appears often to leave men without any religion of their own. It places them in a permanent condition of observation; it fetters in them that very action of spiritual forces which science itself teaches them to be natural to man. The true conclusion from the persistence of the religious idea amidst the differences of religions is that there must be something in it, and that we must surrender ourselves to the religion which seems to us the best. And the narrowest of fanatics, who holds to his own belief without even knowing the existence of any other, is more true to the religious traditions of mankind, than the man of science who, with the completest information about religious theory, possesses no religion of his own. In acquiring the power of knowing religion from without, he has lost the power of knowing it from within. He has habituated himself to a method which is proper to a disembodied intellect, regarding all human life as a subject of study, but not to a man who is partaker of human life himself. And this is a clear loss not only of knowledge, but of that kind of knowledge which is most proper to our state, and most in harmony with the way in which the other creatures look forth upon the world.

That which science surrenders in assuming its peculiar mental attitude is therefore knowledge in the proper sense of the word. Science, then, is little likely to find in its own sphere anything which can supply the place of that which it has lost. In order that the knowledge of nature should have this effect, it would be necessary that nature should be known, not only with the accompaniment of feeling and emotion, but also with the sense of a mysterious Power underlying nature, and to which the heart of man owes adoration and allegiance. It is undoubtedly possible, it is even natural, that the mind of man should thus come in contact with nature. But the scientific method does not, of itself, include this species of contact. Science only concerns itself with processes. Nature, in the view of science, means only the collective processes of nature. The knowledge of nature which can supply either theology or religion is of the very same kind which Christians find in Christ, and which enables them to see God manifested there. And if the man of science would be partaker of this knowledge of nature he must determine not merely to add on a certain amount of imagination to his knowledge, but to know things in a different way,

to place himself in contact with the Power from which nature, and man as a part of nature, proceeds, instead of merely noting her methods of procedure.

The chapter entitled 'Three Kinds of Religion' abounds, like those which precede it, in suggestive thoughts and charming expressions, but also, we must say, in the perverse identification of things absolutely and admittedly different. The worship of humanity, we are informed, belongs to the very essence of Christianity itself, and only becomes heretical by being separated from the worship of Deity. But the worship of humanity does not exist in Christianity apart from the worship of Deity. It is not capable of being thought of as a separate thing. The worship of humanity is in no other sense the essence of Christianity than breathing some one of the constituent gases of our air can be said to be essential to life. It could not be breathed alone, nor could humanity be worshipped alone by any Christian. And that for several reasons, among which we need only mention two: that humanity is not a deity which has a real existence; and, secondly, that it is not worthy of our worship. Humanity raised to union with Deity is the object of Christian worship, but the union of the two great ideas is essentially different from one of them alone.

With respect to the Religion of Nature, we find it equally impossible to forget, ignore, or in any wise obscure, the difference between the worship of a being manifested in nature and the worship of nature itself. The name of Wordsworth is offered as an example of this religion. But Wordsworth named the name of God, and meant what he said. Wordsworth showed in his Ecclesiastical Sonnets, as in many another place, that the same habit of mind with which he studied nature was carried to the study of mankind and of the Church; and that this habit was one which worshipped not them, but a Spirit seen through them. It may be true, indeed, as Mr. Myers in his admirable monograph contends, that while he united the religion of the philosopher with that of the Churchman, he could not unite the religion of the philosopher with that of the saint. Still it seems to us quite intolerable that any man should profess to know Wordsworth's faith better than Wordsworth himself, and say that the man who so distinctly believed in God and worshipped Him can ever be said to 'worship trees, and fountains, and flowers for themselves and as they are.' And, indeed, who could have supposed that the same writer who indited these words could, a few pages further, give this description of Wordsworth's

religion?—‘From the Eternal Being, among whose mountains he wandered, there came to his heart steadfastness, stillness, a sort of reflected or reproduced eternity.’ How is it possible, consistently with seriousness of thought, to talk of the same mind as worshipping the flowers for themselves, and again as deriving steadfastness from the Being whose are the mountains and, we suppose, the flowers too? It is impossible for anyone who believes in a Being whose are the grand and beautiful things of the world to worship them without the thought of Him.

The Second Part of the work bears the title ‘Natural Religion Applied.’ The First Part has not, indeed, left us without hints enabling us very well to understand what is the best application of his natural religion which the author knows how to make. But the practical use and power of any religion is, after all, so much the most important point in it, that we turn with considerable interest to this further development of the subject. We find, in the first place, a chapter entitled ‘Religion and the World.’ Religion is of three kinds: there is the religion of humanity in its various forms, of which the most conspicuous is Christianity; the religion of visible things, or paganism, which, though generally a low type, yet, in its classical form, became the nurse of art; and the religion of God, which worships a unity, conceived in one way or other as holding the universe together.

We really cannot let the last phrase pass without observing that a unity cannot hold things together. Nothing can do that but a Power. It would be unnecessary to make this obvious remark if the confusion of two ideas so distinguishable to everybody as that of the unity of things and the Ruler of things were not habitual with the author. But to proceed. In these times, we are told, the ancient religion of humanity, which has so long reigned under the name of Christianity, is assailed on the one side by the higher paganism under the name of Art, and on the other by a peculiarly severe and stern form of Theism under the name of Science. Art and science, we are told, are not secular, but have the nature of religion. They are capable of that in which, according to the author, religion essentially consists—namely, habitual and regulated admiration. And if we thus regard them, and recognize on the other hand that secularity consists not in the absence of one of these kinds of worship but of all, then we shall see that ‘the world’ is not favoured but very emphatically repudiated by the spirit of the present time.

This would indeed be a happy discovery, but we must beware of adopting it too hastily. It has ever been the resource of easy-going governments to put an end to rebellions by proclaiming the rebels the very good friends of order; and that the world is emphatically repudiated by the spirit of the present time would, we fancy, be pronounced by Professor Huxley, or Mr. Matthew Arnold, or Mr. Ruskin, no less than by ourselves, to be much too good news to be true. We shall begin what we have to say about the matter by the observation that habitual and regulated admiration, while doubtless it is a necessary part of religion, is yet a very incomplete definition of the whole meaning of the word. To define religion as admiration is to regard it purely as a subjective state of feeling. But religion is not merely a state of feeling. It carries through its every phase its original implication of a constraining Power. It comes to bind the various faculties of the man and to bind the various minds of many men together. This authority which it has over the various faculties implies, of itself, that it has sympathies with many various parts of the mind, and can make its entrance by specially appealing to any one of various faculties; but it also implies that when religion has made its entrance there shall be nothing incomplete in its work upon the man or the society, but that, in one way or another, it shall be felt throughout the whole.

Christianity has, as must be granted, displayed the most wonderful power of appealing to various faculties in man and to men of various minds. But can Art claim to have done so? Art, we readily admit, is a constituent of religion; we will not even quarrel about the question whether it might not, of itself, be said to be a religion. But, if so, you would have to take the word art in a much wider meaning than that which is ordinarily applied to it, because you have to call upon it to do a work in human life which is now done by influences to which quite other names are given. You would have to bring home the idea of beauty to more than the few select spirits who now cultivate it; you would have to teach an art of human life as well as one of painting and sculpture; above all, you would have to establish external models and authorities of art which might urge people who have no feeling of beauty to attempt the acquisition of it, and those who possessed it to improve it in themselves under the constant pressure of a sense of duty and obedience.

When you had attempted all this, you might, perhaps, conceive the suspicion that Christianity had been for eighteen

centuries teaching the religion of art with better effect and success than you are likely to compass. What we call 'the arts' have flourished under Christianity, and received from it not merely patronage but vital inspiration. But this is a very small part indeed of the work Christianity has done for the religion of art. To estimate this as a whole, you would have to consider how the conception, or rather, let us say, the unconscious and instinctive pursuit, of the beautiful has been extended among men and made a constraining influence upon them. From the one Person of our Lord, as we see Him in the Gospels, poetry, order, fitness, the nameless spirit of beauty, or whatever else you can conceive to belong to art in its highest sense, have made their way among vast masses of the most uncultivated of men, and through ages in which except for it every gleam of art would seem to have been absent; and now a certain section of men, devoted to art and nothing else, who have never found the secret how to make art a constraining or uniting power, claim to represent the religion of art as opposed to Christianity. It is much as when doctrinaire statesmen claim to represent Liberty as against the British Constitution. It is true that they think of nothing else but liberty, and Englishmen through their history have followed many other principles besides; but it may be that these principles are necessary to make liberty an actual possession among men, and, at all events, there is a strong presumption in favour of a system which has shown itself able to work.

The parallel is very exact. For a religion must surely, like a government, be able to assert itself as an institution among mankind. And what we doubt is whether art alone, any more than liberty alone, could do so much. Let us, for the moment, grant that our author is justified in excluding so many elements from the idea of religion which have been hitherto thought essential to it. Let us stigmatize with him the recognized principle of morality as mere decorum, and allow that a religion may be a very good religion though allowing considerable relaxations in this respect. This is much to grant, for to our mind the morality of an Art Religion—that is to say, morality regarded as beautiful conduct—ought to be as pure and untainted as the morality of a sterner source. But even supposing Art Religion could dispense with morality altogether, it must at least contain elements to secure its own continued life and propagation. What religion of mere art has ever done so? How long did art in Greece continue to live after the old Greek faith had ceased to be a reality,

and so left art to its own resources? In order to continue a vigorous existence as a religion, art must supply to its votaries industry, perseverance, discipline; instead whereof it has always been found that when art has been left to stand alone it has speedily decayed for want of being able to supply from its own stores the moral qualities necessary to secure its own continuance. Certainly the art of our own day gives little promise of possessing the fibre to exist as a guiding principle of human lives if it were separated from the help of that Christianity which it, or our author on its behalf, so much despises.

It is a hardy thing to set up art as opposed to Christianity for a religion. But it is still more daring to claim a divorce and separate maintenance on the part of 'that worship of God which is the soul of all philosophy and science.' You thus refuse the name of philosophy and science to the pursuits of that considerable section of the seekers for physical and metaphysical truth, who would altogether decline to be placed in opposition to Christianity, or to seek their worship in philosophy and science alone. And you would have to cast yourself upon a section which would with equal decision deny that any worship of God furnished the soul of their pursuits at all. We believe that their estimate is perfectly correct. They do not claim to possess a religion, and they have none. Although contact with the laws of God's kingdom in nature is undoubtedly contact with Him, and knowledge of them in a certain sense knowledge of Him, yet it is not knowledge of Him to minds which deliberately refuse to recognize it in that character. There is indeed an unconscious knowledge of God. The New Testament speaks of the pre-Christian generations as being in contact with Christ, moved by His Spirit on the one hand, or on the other tempting Him by their sins. But these generations had not possessed and rejected the opportunity of knowing Him consciously.

The study of the laws of nature is certainly no more to be called a religion than is the study of theology. In respect of theology, it has always been recognized that a man might be a learned and curious inquirer, and yet never assume the religious attitude of mind towards the truths which he studied. He may indeed find, as may any student of any subject, enough of interest in his pursuits to call him away from sensual indulgences or worldly ambition. He may acquire the most truthful and careful habits of search and proof; but he may be roused to none of those emotions, none of that spiritual contact with a Presence behind the things of which he thinks, to which the

title Religion properly belongs. And indeed it has been found in respect of theology that reflection and inquiry are so different from religion, that it is difficult for the same person to excel in both. The theologian may also possess religion; but so far as his peculiar work in life is concerned, he will be laying up stores of truth which others will feed on more than he has been able to do. Is it not probable that the same thing will take place in respect of the laws of nature; and that, even if they be capable of furnishing a religion, it will be for those who have not been so occupied with them as subjects of inquiry as to be hindered from using them in the way of submissive and devotional feeling?

And when you have passed on your natural laws to minds of the religious character, you will find that these minds have been obliged for religious purposes to alter them exactly in those points on which they have seemed in conflict with the Christian theology. These laws, in order to furnish practical religion, must be endowed with intellect and love. And for men who have come to regard laws in this way, there will be absolutely no difference of principle from the faith which recognizes the intention and the love of God for man revealed in Christ, except this, that the Christian faith openly and truthfully acknowledges the personal Being in whom it finds rest: the nature-worshipper must presume for his worship a personality not given in his thought.

Christians then have reason to believe that whatever effort of faith they have to make must be made by anyone who practises a religion of any kind; and none can make it with the same reason and decision as he that believes in a God who has revealed Himself. Our author, however, reserves all his charity for those who profess—or if they knew themselves as he knows them would profess—the religion of science. He has none to spare for us poor Christians. Here is the description of our religion:—

‘Its system is full of survivals, its text-books have been left too long without revision, its teaching is so archaic as to be in great part scarcely intelligible without the aid of ancient history, while the method of tests and exclusions has drained it of intellectual vigour, and has left it mainly under the control of anxious, nerveless minds; so that it is hardly listened to by men of the world except on the ground that Anility and Puerility after all are forces, and might do untold mischief if they were needlessly provoked.’

These sentences we fear may be ascribed to a desire to convince us that we are dealing with a very superior person indeed. But so contemptuous an utterance merely assures

us that its author is little fitted to treat the religious phenomena around him. Whatever is to be said of the Christianity of the time, it is the only religion of all he has described which is doing the work which universal mankind have agreed a religion ought to do. It alone, among the prevalent theories, has cast its morality into a distinct form, and gives intelligible reasons to men why they should adopt it. It alone can offer men an object of worship comprehensible either to heart or mind. We have been waiting long for our despisers to produce their religion in a working system, and we have waited in vain. Their religions are in the clouds. And to addict oneself to the study of unformed imaginations, and despise the phenomena which actually exist is a proceeding which on all other subjects is stigmatized as unscientific.

This is precisely the character which belongs to the book under review. The chapter on Natural Christianity reveals to us the opinion of the author that if we would bring out the idea of religion as such we must take some pains to look away from Christianity. We cannot find what religion is in itself by contemplating a single religion exclusively! No one asks that in such an investigation Christianity should be contemplated exclusively. But when you cease from exclusive contemplation of a subject you need not necessarily look away from it. You may give it its proper place among the rest. The author has looked away so persistently not only from Christianity, but from all else which has borne the name of religion, that the religions which he has contemplated have been those only which nobody but himself has supposed to be religions at all. The chapter in question does little to repair the omission. We find in it one more of those futile attempts which so many writers have made to state the leading principle of Christianity in a form which may be used without belief in the great Christian facts. This time the solution offered is that the Bible grasps firmly the fundamental antithesis between Dead and Living Morality. The author seems, unfortunately, to have forgotten the lesson which his former work went so far to teach—that Christianity derives all its power from the Person of its Founder. Not in an ideal humanity, however inspired or free, but in Christ Jesus, heard, seen, looked upon, and handled by men, is the central force of Christianity. The author of *Ecce Homo* once knew this: why does he forget the knowledge now?

But we have occupied fully as much of the reader's time

as we can claim, and we must confess that we have all the while been dealing with a book whose prospects of life or influence are but small. The subject, however, of the semi-religious states of mind which surround Christianity in a severed or half-severed condition, and of their relations to the faith, is one of deep interest. Perhaps our author could write something of importance upon it if he were not led away by the temptation to say things novel and surprising. But if, in real truth, his book contains the best specimens which can be offered of religion founded on the rejection of Christianity, the attempt is to our mind a demonstration that no such religion is possible. Christianity is the best religion the human race has ever known. Those who have experienced it can never again retreat upon faiths which may have possessed reality for those who knew no better. They must subsist upon the spiritual gifts which Christianity forces on them in spite of themselves, or else they must do without religion altogether.

ART. X.—THE CHURCH IN 1882.

1. *The Guardian*, January–August, 1882.
2. *Hansard's Debates*, 1882.

WITHOUT any doubt the most important ecclesiastical incident of the late months has been the silent session of the great Commission which is revising our ecclesiastical judicature. This body has been singularly successful, considering its size, in keeping its proceedings concealed from the inquisitive scrutiny of bystanders. It is, however, matter of notoriety that the examination of witnesses has closed, and that the Commissioners are busy reaching conclusions. Rumour also bruits about that the scrutiny of these learned men has thrown unexpected light on some dark passages of the Reformation. A report will it is supposed be reached by the close of the year, assuming as we may be happily allowed to do that the life, so valuable on all accounts, of the Archbishop of Canterbury will be spared. In face of this we offer no excuse for the silence which we have maintained upon a question about which we have thought much and felt deeply. It would have been unpardonable levity to have trifled with an issue as delicate

as it is grave by prematurely discussing the question in the darkness of unrevealed conclusions. If we could have helped Mr. Green out of prison by being a little disorderly, we might we fear have welcomed disorder. But of course no one who knows how business is done could have encouraged us in any such fond anticipation. Mr. Green goes on suffering cruel and unmerited suffering, while the Attorney-General chops Erastian quibbles, the Home Secretary is impressive on law-breaking, the Prime Minister holds his tongue, and a Vicar-General writes that for which he has to apologize in his own name. All this is very sad for Mr. Green, but very good for his cause, for the reform of ecclesiastical judicature, and for the interpretation of the ritual rubrics in the light of common sense and possible grammar. We trust that Mr. Green will be spared in liberty, health, and strength, to see these good results.

The record of Church legislation during the completed part of the session was an absolute blank. Two Bills carried through the Upper House by the Archbishop of Canterbury—one to create a Cathedrals Committee of Council in aid of the Cathedral Commission, and the other a temporary measure to release Mr. Green—were both counted out in the late days of August. A perverse measure, due to the Bishop of London, for promoting the demolition of City churches with increased facility, happily failed in finding any member who would take it up in the House of Commons. Of measures originating in the Lower House, Mr. Stanhope's Church Patronage Bill was talked out on the second reading, after a speech from Mr. Raikes marked by much judicious discrimination. Mr. Brinton's Burials Fees Bill was quietly dropped in favour of a Select Committee, which met for many days under the chairmanship of Sir Alexander Gordon, and after examining many witnesses and collecting much evidence, of which a large portion was singularly worthless, produced a long report, mainly noticeable for leading up from miscellaneous premisses to a diatribe in condemnation of iron rails. The fact was that of two competing conclusions, that of the chairman and that of Mr. Richard, each was defeated by a different combination of the members of the Committee, and so the document had to appear in an acephalous form. At all events it became abundantly clear as the inquiry went on that the Liberationists were spinning a mighty grievance out of very petty inconveniences. Mr. Carvell Williams was forced to own in his evidence that his party were nursing the question for ulterior ends. Mr. Dick Peddie's motion for Scottish Dis-

establishment, of which so much was heard in the recess of 1881, was not so fortunate as to secure a day for its discussion, and in the meanwhile there seem to be signs in Scotland itself that the agitation was fictitious and the people far from anxious to precipitate a catastrophe.

But the Parliamentary fight of 1882, the importance of which throws all others into insignificance in the eyes of Churchmen, is that which took place in the House of Lords over the second reading of the Bill for legalizing marriage with a wife's sister. It cannot be denied that the narrowness of the majority of four, with which the proposal was negatived in a very large House, was a painful surprise. Inopportune and indefensible influences had been at work with a vigour which was not anticipated. The event is no reason for despair, while it is a warning which it would be cowardly to neglect for increased, concentrated, and unsparing exertions on behalf of our old marriage law. So far as personal exertions count for anything, the other side has lost that material aid which has, we cannot say for disinterested reasons, so unsparingly been at the disposal of the wrong cause, and it would be a shame if no counter influence could be found equally zealous in a cause where the simple object is the glory of God and the purity of the marriage tie.

Happily the sittings of the Houses, which will be resumed at the end of October, will be a continuation of the session of 1882, so the measure cannot be renewed. But we must be prepared for 1883, and on this we wish to offer a little advice founded on some experience of Parliamentary procedure and tactics. If the question should come before the House of Commons, its opponents, we make sure, will make the best fight in their power, and we say the same of the House of Lords. But in order to do that they must be able to assert that they are backed by the respectable public opinion of godfearing men. At Church conferences, ruri-decanal meetings, and gatherings specially called together on the question, only properly guarded against surprise and invasion from the other side, the trumpet must sound loud and clear. Above all, many constituents, particularly constituents of weight and activity in regard to members of Parliament, and in regard to Peers, friends, neighbours, and acquaintances must not be shy. If they have an opinion, they must express that opinion, and make their representative or their friend feel that with them it is a question of conscience. They must show that the question lies out of the line of common politics, and has its

roots in the deepest recesses of our social and religious polity. In particular and emphatically, the women must show that it is a woman's question. Women have done much good work in the affair already, and they can do a great deal more. To mention nothing else, it would be an occupation well suited to their industrious and methodical habits to circulate leaflets and pamphlets. There is, we are convinced, even among educated and religious people, a vast amount of amazing ignorance upon the question, which can only be dissipated by patient, gentle, and assiduous teaching.

The question of petitioning remains, and upon this we desire to make ourselves clear. The direct value of petitions may not be great. They have in fact been removed from the direct ken of the House of Commons since the new way of presenting them came in. Formerly the member in charge of a petition had to stand up and name it; now this is optional and seldom done. The usual course is this: on each side of and behind the Speaker's chair hang three big bags, and the member who has petitions drops them into one of these bags. The notices which appear in the newspapers are sent up by the members themselves. Still there are cases in which the absence of petitions would be made use of as evidence of apathy, and the marriage question might be one of these. That which is, however, more important is that the act of petitioning is good discipline to the petitioners. To draw up a petition, to canvass for a petition, and to sign a petition, is to have your attention directed to and your interests engaged in the question. There is something even more important. To sign a petition is to take your side, to pin yourself to your conviction, to enlist in the service for the cause on behalf of which you mean to fight. With this object, working up petitions against the change in the marriage law would be a laborious enterprise, and one, for the reasons which we have given, likely to be attended with conspicuous *éclat*; but it would be useful, solid work—bread thrown upon the waters. Petitions ought always to be in duplicate to the two Houses of Parliament, and it cannot be too widely known that a petition sent by post to a member of either House, *with the ends open*, and with 'Petition to Parliament' written upon it, travels *post free*. As to the policy of choosing the member to whom to entrust it, it is not so easy to give general advice. There are obvious reasons of course for taking your own members, county or borough. There are obvious reasons for cheering the good and true man, and strengthening his hand. There are obvious reasons for making the opponent feel that

it is not all one way in the constituency which he wishes to keep in good humour. On the whole, the question must generally be settled according to particular circumstances. We own to somewhat of a preference to keeping the petitioners' own member in order, if he happens to be on the wrong side, by charging him with the petitions of his constituents.

The deliberative organization of Churchmen has taken a long forward step during the two last years by the constitution of a Central Council of Church Conference, intended as a bond of union between bodies which might otherwise run in different directions. Nearly all the dioceses have now joined it, one of the latest having been Canterbury, which gave its adhesion at the conference held last summer at Lambeth. This council is the latest achievement due to the untiring activity of Archdeacon Emery. The meeting of the Church Congress at Derby will be going on as this number of our *Review* is published. The Diocese of Lichfield will have been the only one in which the Church Congress will have met three times and under three bishops: at Wolverhampton, under Bishop Lonsdale a few days before he died; at Stoke, under Bishop Selwyn; and now at Derby under Bishop Maclagan. Worcester is still a diocese where yet the Congress finds the key inside the door, but the various Lichfield meetings have none of them been far from its borders. We suppose that at Derby an impulse will be given to the Bishopric of Southwell. Of Sir Richard Cross's six sees four are now in existence.

We have elsewhere spoken of the Grahamstown judgment. The tidings of Bishop Merriman's death was a sad sequel to a scandalous vexation, and in a few more days the Church in Africa was doubly widowed by the loss of Bishop Steere. Mr. Mountague Bernard must not be forgotten for so much good work so modestly and industriously done for so many years by one who might, if he had been more ambitious, have turned his talents to a different account. Will the Oxford of the future be fruitful of men of his stamp? Of still older Oxford Mr. W. G. Ward was once a most distinguished representative. We have had occasion in another article to call attention to him.

We veil our faces at the announcement that Dr. Pusey has passed away. Words of ours cannot add to the import of the tidings. In Mr. Wellesley, Dean of Windsor, the Church has lost one who, with much moral courage, followed out, in the face of considerable difficulties, a course of consistent Churchmanship. Canon Robertson, of Canterbury, and Mr. Evelyn Shirley, must be added to the signal losses of the Church in the present year,

SHORT NOTICES.

The Book of Wisdom: the Greek Text, the Latin Vulgate, and the Authorized English Version; with an Introduction, Critical Apparatus, and a Commentary. By WILLIAM J. DEANE, M.A., Rector of Ashen. 4to. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1881.)

THIS is a work of great labour and industry, and one which, it may be hoped, will be a permanent boon to Biblical students, as well as a means of directing attention to the most interesting portion of the Apocrypha—a range of study and inquiry which, as Mr. Poole observes, ‘has suffered a curious neglect in modern times.’ (*Modern Review*, July 1882.) Mr. Deane’s work has received so many favourable notices that this fact alone would lead us to anticipate that this much-neglected subject is beginning to receive its due share of attention. In his Prolegomena Mr. Deane traverses a large area, beginning with a short digest of the history of Greek philosophy, and then giving some account of its contact with revelation in Alexandria. To this preliminary discussion, and to the collateral question of the relation of Philo to S. Paul and the books of the New Testament, a considerable space is assigned. The subjects treated of are mostly to be found in text-books and other accessible sources, whilst the literature more directly bearing on the Book of Wisdom is to some extent of a more scarce and recondite character. We are disposed to agree with Mr. Poole, that the space would have been more profitably devoted to a fuller discussion of the various tendencies of Jewish philosophy in Alexandria and elsewhere than to the collateral inquiry as to the alleged traces of Philo’s ideas in the New Testament.

Mr. Deane’s general estimate of the Book of Wisdom agrees in the main with that of the Article in the *Church Quarterly Review*, April 1879 (vol. viii. p. 77). He considers, with the writer of the above, that the Neo-Platonism ascribed by Brucker and others to the Pseudo-Solomon consists in the use of verbal expressions derived from Greek philosophers, and not in the adoption of their tenets, his teaching being orthodox, and based upon the prophetic books of the Old Testament, and especially upon Isaiah. This is expressed in page 10 of the Prolegomena:—

‘Of the Greek learning displayed in the Book of Wisdom we have spoken further on, when noting its character and language. We may here give an instance or two of the writer’s acquaintance with Western philosophy. The term *νοερόν*, applied to the spirit of Wisdom (vii. 22), reflects the Stoic’s definition of God as *πνεῦμα νοερόν* (Plato, *Plac. Philos.* vi.); the enumeration of the four cardinal virtues (viii. 7), justice, temperance, prudence, courage, is quite Platonic (*Rep.* lib. iv.). That the world was created *ἐξ ἀμόρφου ὕλης* (xi. 17) is an orthodox opinion couched in Platonic language; it is a philosophical expression for that “earth without form and void” from which this our globe was evolved. The pre-existence of souls was a theory common to many systems of philosophy as well as to Platonism; and the author, in saying (viii. 19,

20) "I was a witty child, and had a good soul ; yea rather, being good, I came into a body undefiled," showed that he was well acquainted with this opinion of the schools, while his statement was grounded on the language of Scripture' (Is. xlix. 1, 5, lvii. 16 ; Jer. i. 5).

Such a view of the author, as being under the constant influence of the Hebrew Scriptures, and restricted by their teaching in his adoption of philosophical ideas, does not appear to us (as to Mr. Poole) to militate with the view of the book as a development of Jewish thought. It is the work of one who searched the Scriptures to find points of contact with the best conceptions of Greek poetry and philosophy, in the belief that the heathen world was under the control of God's Providence, and pervaded by the power of the Divine Spirit. The effect of the contact of the Jews with Greek culture may have been in some instances to secularize Hebrew thought, and to substitute maxims of worldly prudence for those of faith. But with such writers as the author of *Wisdom* it appears to have been rather a widening of sympathies, a persuasion that the worship of the God of Israel was to become a universal religion, because God is a lover of souls, and the wisdom which He communicates is a spirit of philanthropy. This appears to us the chief point of contact between *Wisdom* and the New Testament, as preparing the way for the admission of the heathen world to the privileges of the New Covenant, by showing that God never hated or despised the souls which He created, or cut them off from His mercy. Mr. Deane seems to go further than this, and to claim a distinct authority for the Book of *Wisdom* on the ground of the 'coincidences of thought and expression which exist between it and the writings of the New Testament.' 'Allusions to its phraseology,' he says, 'are frequent in S. Paul's Epistles.' He denies that there are 'any internal marks of error or inferiority in the book,' and urges that 'the absence of sufficient proof of canonicity is the chief ground for assigning it a lower place than the other writings of the Old Testament.' But if the Book of *Wisdom* is, in almost all the passages quoted for doctrinal purposes by the Fathers, a paraphrase upon the canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament, and in full harmony with their spirit and meaning, there seems to be no necessity to claim for it this deuterocanonical authority in order to justify the use which the Church has made of it. Nor can it be truly said that there are no internal marks of inferiority in a book which contains the manifestly apocryphal element of the author's assumption of the name and character of Solomon. Again, few divines have expressed a higher admiration for *Wisdom* than Dr. Thomas Jackson, and yet he sees in the latter part of the book manifest symptoms of the disease or delusion which was common to the whole Jewish nation—

'That because they were the seed of Abraham they were the only righteous seed ; and however the Lord God of their Fathers did often chastise and correct them, yet all His corrections were filial, that He would not or could not at any time plague them as He had done the unrighteous heathens, or punish them with like blindness of mind and hardness of heart as He had done the Egyptians.'

And this is the error, he observes, which is expressly combated in the Epistle to the Romans, the book of the New Testament which, more than any other, shows coincidences of thought with the Book of Wisdom (*Works*, vol. ix. p. 416). It might almost be inferred that the author felt a necessity of thus balancing his strong assertions of God's care for the heathen in order to justify himself in the eyes of his fellow-countrymen. But as a paraphrase upon Scripture, the Book of Wisdom may be said to merit most of the high estimation it has received in the Christian Church. The second chapter, as a paraphrase upon Isaiah liii., has a true relation to the Passion of Christ; the immortality of the souls of the righteous, and their entrance into peace, is derived from Isaiah lvii.; and the doctrine of the omnipresence of the Divine Spirit was found in Psalm cxxxix. The belief in the restoration of Adam was inferred from Genesis iii., where the serpent alone is cursed; and it is perhaps to be regretted that Mr. Deane, in his note on chapter x. i., should have cited *in English* a fanciful application of the words by S. Augustine to Christ's descent into hell. Such a passage should, if introduced at all, have been quoted *in Latin*, as it throws no light upon the mind of the writer, and is of very doubtful value. Mr. Poole appears to take it as Mr. Deane's own exposition of Wisdom x. i., whereas it is only an illustration of the 'general opinion of Jews and Christians' that Adam was not finally excluded from the Divine favour.¹

Mr. Deane says that his aim in the Commentary has been 'to give the plain, grammatical, and historical meaning of each passage, illustrating it by references to the writings of Philo, Josephus, the Alexandrian writers and early Fathers.' Mr. Poole, while he desiderates a more comprehensive view of the position of the author of Wisdom, admits that for philological purposes the Commentary is exact and complete. Mr. Deane has supplied his readers with ample materials, from which they can form their own conclusions.

Opera Patrum Apostolicorum. Textus recensuit, adnotationibus criticis exegeticis, historicis illustravit, Versionem Latinam, Prolegomena, Indices addidit, FRANCISCUS XAVERIUS FUNK, SS. Theologiæ in Universitate Tubingense Prof. P. O. Volumen II. (Tubingæ, In Libraria Henrici Laupp. MDCCCLXXXI.)

THIS, the concluding volume of Dr. Funk's work, contains the two epistles 'De Virginitate' of S. Clement of Rome, with a *Martyrium* or biographical *éloge* of the same saint; the longer recension of the Ignatian epistles, with the so called 'Laus Heronis,' and various Martyria. Some other fragments of Papias, some extracted from the works of Irenæus, and an anonymous Life of Polycarp, which, though in no sense historical, our author treats with respect, calling it 'monu-

¹ We should also take some exception to the note on chapter ii. 5, where the words put into the mouth of the ungodly are quoted as if they expressed the author's views as to the future state; whereas the author's own language, in chapter xvi. 14, might be quoted as pointing the other way—viz. that whilst man can only kill, God can recall the soul and raise the dead.

mentum antiquitatis Christianæ,' and assigns it to the fourth century or the conclusion of the third, make up the remainder of the volume.

In his previous volume (pp. lv-lix Prolegomena) he had disposed on the one hand of the claims of the longer recension of these epistles, and on the other of the Syriac form, the shortest of all, as to which he says, 'recensionem illam brevissimam quasi somnium suave tandem evanuisse,' and had included in that volume the remaining seven epistles as genuine. In this volume are included the others, or Pseudo-Ignatian, twelve in number, with the curious fictitious correspondence between S. Ignatius and S. John the Evangelist, and with the Blessed Virgin Mary. In his view upon these he agrees for the most part with the latest editors. He is of opinion that the 'falsarius,' to whose ingenious imagination these supposititious letters are due, was a Syrian living at the beginning of the fifth century, and apparently a favourer of Apollinarian views. This last conclusion does not, however, rest on very secure grounds, and the editor himself seems not to be perfectly satisfied with the evidence of agreement between the two: 'et si ipse a Pseudoignatio in eo discedit, quod Christo non tam animam quam mentem humanam vel τὸν νοῦν abjudicavit, plures ex ejus asseclis etiam in hac re cum illo consentiebant.' We should not omit to mention that the bibliographical element in these volumes has been carefully compiled, and that the lists of editions, and such like, are particularly full.

Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum sæculi secundi. Edidit Io. CAR. TH. EQUES DE OTTO. Volumen V. *Justini Philosophi et Martyris Opera.* Tomi III. Pars II. *Opera Justini Subditiicia.* Editio Tertia plurimum aucta et emendata. (Lenæ, Fischer, 1881.)

THE present volume is a second part of the spurious works ascribed to Justin, and completes Dr. v. Otto's third edition of his writings. It consists chiefly of the *Quæstiones et Responsa ad Orthodoxos*—a collection of replies to 146 questions of miscellaneous theology, ranging from the gravest matters of dogma and exegesis to the idlest of Scripture 'discrepancies' and the most trifling details of ritual observance and monastic casuistry.

There can of course be no doubt about the spuriousness of a work in which Justin discusses the Manichees, and refers the reader to an *onomasticon* of Origen. Yet it has some merit of its own, and its real date is not hard to ascertain. It seems to have been written at a time when heathenism was already conquered, but the apologist's work was not yet quite done. The Nicene faith also was so far settled that it could be discussed without immediate reference to Arianism, and yet without any allusion to the great Christological controversies which broke out before the Council of Ephesus. These data point to some time near that of Chrysostom. Julian's reign is in any case a positive limit; for it is only after his time that we begin to hear of monks and of miraculous cures before the tombs of the martyrs.

The text of the present edition has been revised with the help of one new manuscript, which, however, seems to contain a good many variations. Thus we now have four manuscripts in all. Specially interesting among the new notes is that on the passage on *Quæst.* 74, which seems to be quoted from S. Clement's *Epistle to the Corinthians*, but which, now that we have the *Epistle* complete, we know for certain was not contained in it. The allusion is to the so-called Second *Epistle*, but its language is not even yet free from doubt. Bishop Lightfoot meets the difficulty by emending the text, while Otto adopts Hilgenfeld's theory of a lacuna, making the quotation refer to a lost passage.

Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, editum consilio et impensis Academiæ litterarum Cæsareæ Vindobonensis. Vol. VII. *Victoris Episcopi Vitensis Historia Persecutionis Africanae Provinciae*, ex recensione MICHAELIS PETSCHENIG. (Vindobonæ, Geroldssohn, 1881.)

THE seventh volume of the Vienna series is none the less welcome for its appearance before the fifth and sixth. Victor Vitensis lived during the worst part of the Vandal persecution, and is our primary authority for its history. Procopius dismisses it in a few words; and in truth he was too much of a freethinker to understand its meaning like the African confessor. Victor's merit, indeed, is subject to large allowances for his wild invective, for his carelessness of chronology, and above all for his greed of miracle. Yet, after all deductions, we can hardly doubt the substance of his narrative. His picture is all one colour, but its outlines do not seem untruly drawn. Nor is his violence unnatural. We need not look beyond Tertullian's *De Spectaculis* to see that the African character was not one to suffer wrong submissively. And through four generations before the Vandal conquest religious passion had been lashed to fury by the alternate provocations of orthodox intolerance and Donatist fanaticism. Even the wise Augustine brought himself to join the cry for persecution. When, therefore, the persecutors found themselves rewarded double for their evil work, we can understand their cry of fierce amazement.

The present editor has done his work well. His prolegomena include a careful account of nine manuscripts—mostly from his own neighbourhood in south-eastern Germany—and of their relations to each other. The text has a full collation of various readings, and the indexes are as complete and serviceable as in the other volumes of the series.

The Epistle of Barnabas, from the Sinaitic Manuscript of the Bible, with a Translation. By SAMUEL SHARPE. (London: Williams and Norgate, 1880.)

MR. SAMUEL SHARPE is well known by his works on Egyptian hieroglyphics and antiquities. In a work on the *Journeys and Epistles of the Apostle Paul* he was led to maintain a theory of an estrangement on doctrinal grounds between Paul and Barnabas. This he inferred from Col. iv. 10, 'Marcus, sister's son to Barnabas, touching whom

ye received commandments: if he come unto you, receive him.' These words, contrary to the general opinion of commentators, he referred to Barnabas, and not to Mark; and he supposed that 'Paul had sent to the Colossians some private warning against Barnabas's teaching, which he had latterly found reasons for disliking.' This theory Mr. Sharpe thought the contents of the Epistle ascribed to Barnabas appeared to confirm, as 'offering the earliest example of the Gnosticism which was creeping into the Christian Churches, very much to the trouble of Paul.' The statement of Bishop Lightfoot, on Gal. ii. 13, that 'whenever S. Paul mentions Barnabas, his words imply sympathy and respect,' and that the controversy at Antioch had produced only a temporary feeling of distrust, appears to us a juster view of the relations of the two Apostles. But Mr. Sharpe would identify the teaching of the Apostle Barnabas with 'the enticing words' (Col. ii., 1 Tim. vi. 20) and that seductive form of thought against which S. Paul warned Timothy.

'The Epistle,' he says, 'shows few signs of original thought, except in his foolish conceits and far-fetched interpretations of passages in the Hebrew Scriptures.' It shows his 'conceit of his superior knowledge,' and contains 'something of the Gnostic admiration of the Pagan philosophy, and thence the wish to rest good conduct and our happiness on the understanding rather than on the love of God.' 'His strong dislike of Judaism and the Jews was as much political as religious. A Levite of Cyprus, when he came up to Jerusalem, was probably treated as an inferior by the proud priests of Jerusalem; and like the Israelites of Galilee, and the common people of Judea, he may naturally have felt some jealousy against that upper portion of the nation, who claimed to be the only true Jews.' 'As Cyprus, of which island Barnabas was a native, was much under the influence of Alexandria, we might guess, without the evidence of this Epistle, that it was Barnabas's leaning towards Gnosticism that displeased Paul.'

Thus Mr. Sharpe attempted to overcome the objections derived from internal evidence against the genuineness of the Epistle. Some of these objections may be of less weight: for instance, the exultation over the destruction of the city and temple of the Jews, which is alleged to be incompatible with the character of a writer who was a Jew by birth (Cunningham, *Epistle of Barnabas*, p. xxi), is not without parallel in the Apocalypse. So also the author's disparagement of the legal rites appears to be of less weight than his errors concerning them. With regard to mysticism and the use of numbers as containing hidden meanings, and other features of the Alexandrian teaching, it is doubtful whether they took their origin in Alexandria, and were not rather borrowed from Jewish and other sources by the Alexandrian eclectics. The quotation from Enoch, and the points or contact with the Fourth Book of Esdras, are also remarkable features in the book. The expectation of the rebuilding of the Temple, 'Lo, they who destroyed this temple shall themselves rebuild it,' has been taken as a proof that the Epistle was written after the destruction by Titus: but Mr. Sharpe conjectured that the author may have written whilst the fate of the Temple was in suspense, Titus being anxious to save it as an ornament of his conquest.

The translation is on the whole literal and accurate, but shows traces of the author's views, both in renderings and punctuation. It is not likely to supersede the careful version given in Mr. Cunningham's exhaustive volume. The following translation seems to us forced and fanciful : ' And wishing to write many things (not as a teacher, but as becoming one who loveth), I hastened to write from places which we purposed not to leave (ἐλλείπειν). Therefore we notice your defilement (περίψημα) in the last days.' In Mr. Cunningham's version we have, ' Now wishing to write many things, not as a master, but as beseebeth one that loveth, I, your offscouring, was zealous to write those things of which we must not come short. Wherefore let us take heed in the last days' (chap. iv. 9). Mr. Sharpe, though apparently anxious to evade the expression ' your offscouring' here, agrees with Mr. Cunningham in chapter vi., ' I am the offscouring of your love.' In chapter iv. he renders περίψημα ' defilement,' and quotes Dr. Roberts as translating it ' purification : ' but in chapter vi. it is agreed that it is a phrase applied by the author to himself.

There seems also to be no sound reason for rendering the common word δικαιώματα in chapter ii. as ' acts of justification by the Lord.' ' Statutes,' ' precepts,' or ' requirements' (Cunningham) would have sufficed for the sense. On the whole, Mr. Sharpe's work has not contributed much of any value in addition to the full and exhaustive treatment of the subject in Mr. Cunningham's volume.

The Book of Adam and Eve, also called The Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan ; a book of the Early Eastern Church, translated from the Æthiopic. With Notes. By the Rev. S. C. MALAN, D.D., Vicar of Broadwindsor. (London : Williams and Norgate, 1882.)

MR. MALAN has already given to English readers two Apocryphal treatises from the Æthiopic—the *Conflicts of the Holy Apostles* and the *Epistle of Dionysius the Areopagite to Timothy*, and a third from the Armenian, the *Rest or Assumption of S. John the Evangelist*. He has now added a fourth, derived, as he supposes, from an Arabic rather than an Æthiopic source. Mr. Malan's version of the *Book of Adam and Eve* is made from the Æthiopic edition of Dr. Trumpp of Munich, who compared the Æthiopic with an Arabic text, which Mr. Malan supposes to be the original. Of the legendary literature derived from Abyssinia and Egypt, some is purely Jewish in origin, whilst other works are Christian adaptations or compilations from Jewish sources. The Koran, also, and its commentators are supposed to have drawn extensive materials from the same source. We may perhaps hesitate to describe the *Book of Adam and Eve* as an ' Orthodox book of the Early Eastern Church,' considering that it is so largely composed of the ' Jewish fables and genealogies' to which S. Paul called especial attention, as constituting one of the dangers that threatened the purity of the Christian faith. On the other hand there is an orthodox tone about the treatise, and it avoids many of the extravagancies of the Talmudic legends, as may be seen

from a comparison of the text with the notes and illustrations in Mr. Malan's appendix.

The book consists chiefly of a Life of Adam after his expulsion from Eden, and a description of his fasting and penitence, and a long series of assaults upon his faith and constancy from Satan. In each case 'God sends His Word to Adam and Eve, to raise them from their death : ' as in the Book of Wisdom (ch. x. 1) it is said that Wisdom brought Adam again from his fall, and taught him to rule the world. Their appointed abode is the Cave of Treasures, below the Garden, towards the West. They are not suffered to approach the sea on the north, lest they should wash and think themselves pure from sin. Adam and Eve are described, as in other legends, as standing for thirty-five days in the water and praying. They seek protection from the wild beasts, who are no longer afraid of them. They seek clothing ; and the manner in which this is provided for them from the skins of beasts, sewn together by an angel with thorns, is given at some length. The skins of the dead beasts denote the death that has come upon them. Eve is described as continuing a virgin for a long period after the fall ; and the first suggestion of her marriage with Adam proceeds from Satan, though it afterwards receives Divine approval. The author's views may be compared with those of the author of Tobit : 'Then the angels commanded Adam and Eve to arise and pray forty days and forty nights ; and after that, that Adam should come in to his wife ; for then this would be an act pure and undefiled.' The mention of the angel Raphael is another point of contact with Tobit. The darkness of night is described as a part of the punishment of sin ; but 'it is only of twelve hours : when it is over daylight will return.'

Satan is said to have fallen through the sin of 'seeking the God-head,' and not, as in the Koran, for refusing to worship Adam. The angels appear to Adam, and relate how he gathered together his hosts and deceived them, and, after fighting with God, made war with the faithful angels. The serpent was at one time the most exalted of beasts ; but when it was cursed, it went on its breast and belly : it was also struck dumb. Here there is also a concurrence with the Talmud and Josephus. Satan and his angels have their 'abode in burning fire,' and they cease not their evil doing, no not for an hour. He kindles a fire around the cave ; and from this Adam learns that the fire will encompass both him and his seed when they hearken to his behest ; also they shall go down into hell after they are dead, and there shall be no deliverance from it until the coming of the Word. After remaining Himself within the rock three days and three nights, He should bring him forth.

The story of Cain and Abel is embellished with various fancies. Each is born with a twin sister : Cain's twin sister Luluwa is designed by her parents to be the wife of Abel. This excites Cain's jealousy. The Scripture account is reversed : Abel brings of the best of his 'sowing ;' whilst Cain brings the smallest of his sheep. He beguiles Abel into a field by describing its beauty. He fetches a staff because of wild beasts. With this he stuns Abel, but

completes the murder with a stone. He attempts to hide his body, but the earth casts it up again. The sentence is, as in the LXX, that he shall be 'trembling and quaking' upon earth; but it is spoken in mercy, that he may repent. The Jewish fiction concerning Adam's second wife is represented as one of Satan's delusions, who appears to him in the form of a beautiful woman. Lamech is blind, and shoots Cain with a bow and arrow, mistaking him for a wild beast or a robber, who had come to invade his son Atun's flocks.

Adam's dying charge to his children includes directions as to the disposal of his body. It was to be wound up with myrrh, aloes, and cassia, and laid in the Cave of Treasures. The Deluge is then foretold. It was then to be taken into the ship, and afterwards laid in the middle of the earth. Noah, by direction of Methuselah, charges his son Shem to entrust it to Melchizedek for this purpose. When Noah brings the body out of the cave, the other dead bodies speak, and that of Adam replies. It is laid on the eastern side of the third story of the ark. After the flood, Melchizedek, by direction of an angel, seeks it from Shem. They obtain access to the ark and remove it. It is then conveyed to the place where the Word of God should suffer and be crucified: here the rock splits asunder, and the place destined for it is thus discovered. Melchizedek remains by the body, and offers bread and wine.

In the interpretation of Genesis vi., 'When the sons of God saw the daughters of men,' &c., the book follows the opinion of Christian writers of the fourth century, and condemns the view of some of the earlier Christian authors, that the angels were the parents of the Nephilim. 'God forbid such a thing, that angels, who are spirits, should be found committing sin with human beings. The sons of God were children of Seth, that dwelt on the mountain, while they preserved their innocence and their glory like angels; and were then called "angels of God."'

In the confusion of languages the number of tongues is said to be seventy-two, thus nearly agreeing with the Targums on Deut. xxxii. 8. Hagar is given to Sarah by Pharaoh when he restored her to Abraham, as in the Targum of Jonathan, with which the book also agrees in the account of Er, Onan, and Tamar. The bush to which the lamb was tied, in Gen. xxii., is the very place into which the tree of the cross was planted. In that mountain David saw the angel with the sword, and Abraham saw by the Holy Ghost the Son of God suspended there. Here, also, Christ was circumcised.

The reign of Hiram over Tyre lasted for five hundred years. Then he exalted himself, and said, 'I am God, and no man,' and was slain by Nebuchadnezzar. Solomon 'died in his denial of God and in his sins.' Asa, or 'Asaph' took his wicked mother Anna, and threw her down from the roof of her house, because of her adulteries—a confusion of the Scripture stories of Maachah and Jezebel. The prophet Isaiah was sawn in two from head to foot, and his body cast to the beasts.

In the account of the Captivity, it is said that there was an entire loss of all the records and sacred books, the chief writings

alone remaining which had been translated before the ruin of Jerusalem. The author here follows the legend contained in the Fourth Book of Esdras, xiv. 21, 22, &c., adding that Ezra prayed over the ashes of the Books, and then the Spirit came upon him. The restored temple is said to have occupied forty-six years in building, applying the saying in S. John ii. to the work of Zerubbabel, and not to that of Herod the Great.

The star which was seen by the Magi in the east assumed the form of a young virgin sitting among the stars, as it were carrying a little child of a beautiful countenance, and there was a cloud of light around the child's head like a crown. At the conclusion of the book, after a brief mention of the death and resurrection of Christ, it is added, 'And He went down into hell, and saved Adam and Eve and all their righteous seed, according to his first and firm promise. And thus He fulfilled all that the prophets had prophesied concerning him.'

It may be observed that the book contains no reference to the legends, whether Jewish or Mohammedan, which connect Adam's penitence with India or Ceylon. The Peak of Adam, with the sacred 'footstep' at the summit—venerated by Buddhists as Gautama's, by Hindus as Vishnu's or Siva's, and by Mohammedans as 'Adam's,' with the two-fold ascent, the paths of Adam and Eve respectively—finds no place among this collection of myths and fancies. Of the other fictions in the collection of Fabricius, the greater number will be found paralleled and amplified here.

Of the date, Mr. Malan says :—

'It must have been written before the ninth century, judging from the numerous extracts from it, word for word, given by Saïd Ibn-Batrik, or Eutychus, physician, and also Melkite Patriarch, who lived in the ninth century, when he wrote his *String of Gems*, or *Annals of the World from the Creation to his own time*.'

Breviarii ad usum insignis Ecclesiæ Sarum Fasciculi I. et II. Labore ac Studio FRANCISCI PROCTER, A.M., et CHRISTOPHORI WORDSWORTH, A.M. Typis atque Impensis Almæ Matris Academiæ Cantabrigiæ. (MDCCCLXXXII.)

THE time is long gone by when all illuminated manuscript service books were called Missals, and we no longer have to endure the jealousy of the unreformed service books which existed formerly, or the fear of the use of them which was a natural consequence of the secessions which followed on the Tractarian movement. The service books of the unreformed Church are now acknowledged as an ecclesiastical necessity for us, and the two old Universities prepare new editions of them. This shows the growth of knowledge in the Church, and its increased stability, and is of good augury for a future position over against the rest of Christendom.

Oxford has republished Mr. Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia*, and Cambridge has worthily taken the lead with the Breviary, which is of especial value for that part of the reform of the Prayer-Book which will fit it for the wants of our time. For it is plain that devotions

which suit a mixed congregation once a week are not the best for those who go to church daily, still less for the sisterhoods and religious communities which are growing up around us.

For all persons of religious tastes the Breviary, with its mixture of Psalm and Anthem and Prayer and Hymn, all hanging one on the other, and connected into a harmonious whole, must be deeply interesting. Poets of old have worked on the hymns to make them, and now at last to translate them. Poets and musicians must work on the anthems. We have sometimes thought that instead of having one long anthem in the Cathedral service, not always in intelligent relation to the rest of the service, it would be well that, as in the Psalter of the Breviary, shorter anthems were placed between the Psalms, giving as it were the key-note to each ; while the reading of Scripture might be accompanied by the grand responses which gathered up the meaning of each portion of Scripture in the variable part of the Breviary Service. It might or might not have been expedient at the Reformation to cut off these parts of the service (which are rather for the combined worship of advanced Christians than for use by mixed and uneducated congregations), and the Reformers only followed Cardinal Quignon and his coadjutors in doing so.

The two parts of the Breviary now published form a whole in themselves. The whole of the Breviary is now given, except the *Commune Sanctorum*, which contains the Scriptures and the legends and sermons proper to the Saints' days. An elaborate table of contents of the whole work is given at the beginning of the *Fasciculus* most recently published.

The reason why the second *Fasciculus* preceded the first is that the whole service depends, in theory at least, on the weekly use of the Psalter, according to an arrangement of very great antiquity, the reasons for which are not apparent on the face of the book, unless it be that the Psalms are taken in order for the most part as they stand in the Bible : an arrangement which has necessarily been departed from for the greater feasts, just as our Prayer-Book provides special Psalms for Easter, Christmas, &c. In process of time, however, through the multiplication of Saints' days, it has come to pass that the Psalter has been well nigh disused as a whole, and there has been substituted what our Transatlantic brethren would call 'Selections of Psalms,' which are obligatory, not, as in America, optional at the discretion of the minister. The Psalms thus directed to be used for each holy day cannot be effectually pointed out except by reference to the Psalter, which has been therefore of necessity printed before the part which precedes it in the edition of 1531.

It may be well to mention here that the ancient arrangement of the Psalter was departed from by Cardinal Quignon in 1535, and by those who advised Colbert in 1679, and in the modern French Breviaries, now unfortunately gone out of use, having been supplanted by the Roman Breviary. This is not the place to discuss the merits of the different foreign arrangements of the Psalter ; the Ambrosian at Milan was different from the Roman and from ours.

Of the Sarum Breviary now reprinted there were two different

kinds or recensions : one a large thick folio, of which there were two editions ; the other nearly all quartos, octavos, and duodecimos, and in two volumes. These two volumes, as well as the four into which the modern Breviaries are for the most part divided, are each of them complete for a part of the year. The Psalter and other necessary parts being repeated, it follows that the great Breviary, now partly printed, differs a good deal from the others in the arrangement of parts. The word Breviary seems to mean abbreviation, and they have indeed abbreviated away with a vengeance. So far as we know, there is no material difference of Psalms and Collects and Anthems and Rubrics ; the differences, many of which are noted by the learned and most diligent editors of these books, being matters of detail and of no great importance. But the lessons are cut down in the shorter books from those in the larger, which are themselves open to the censures of the author of the *Crede Michi*, of Quignon, and the Revisers of our Prayer-Book, in that the books of Holy Scripture are begun and never finished. Perhaps it may be well, however, to say that completeness and perfection, such as printing now gives us, could not be had five hundred years ago, and that we do ill to blame men for defects which it was well nigh impossible for them to avoid.

In the reprint now undertaken there was no course open but to take the larger and more complete edition, and to print from that. Editorial completeness would require collations of Rubrics—Psalms, Prayers and Anthems might, perhaps, be left alone for the present—and comparison of the Lections with those in the published Lctionaries, and in the smaller Breviaries. These things have not been forgotten, and have been done in part ; but the Editors have been wise to print as they have done without waiting for complete collations, which will be better made hereafter by different men with copies of the newly printed books.

It is to be hoped that hereafter the Universities will vie with each other in providing critical editions of these books and of the others, with collations of the Sarum Ordinary,¹ and of the other MSS., so as to show us in a manner correct and intelligible how the different service books were put together and built up, and what are the dates of the introduction into use of the different parts of them.

A great deal of what is required to make the Breviary intelligible has been done by Mr. Procter and Mr. C. Wordsworth. They have added to the *Tabulæ Hysteriorum* new figures of their own to correct those given there—made necessary through the changes caused by the correction of the calendar and the lapse of three hundred and fifty years. These *tabulæ* are the rules of the Pie (reflected on in the Preface to the Prayer-Book), and which are given in the Breviaries interspersed with the different parts of the book wherever a new Book of Holy Scripture was begun and was supposed to be read through, and there must have been much labour given to this necessary work.

¹ We observe that in col. xlv a reference is given to the Tractate of S. Osmund, which shows that some attention has been given to this work of collation.

The calendar is a most puzzling part of the edition of the Breviary or Missal, from the multitude of small variations. The difficulty is got over in great measure in the present edition by the disclaimer that at present it is not intended to put forth a critical edition. The Editors have given the calendar in the edition of 1531, with a few necessary additions.

The calendars of the Breviaries and Missals seem to have been the same, and all of them, from the nature of the case, referred to the Breviary rather than to the Missal. It seems, therefore, that if the calendar and its variations are worthy of special study, the results should be given separately. The things which to the mind of the middle ages seem most to have marked the variations of service belonging to days of different Ritual importance were the repetitions of the Invitatorium, the first anthem at Matins just before the *Venite*, which might have to be repeated twice or thrice, and the number of lessons in Matins. These were disposed in three Nocturns for all the more important days, having in each three Lessons for the Seculars and the Friars, and four for the different orders of Monks who followed the rule of S. Benedict. Matins have now for many ages been celebrated in the previous evening. The Nocturns carry us back to the times when 'about midnight Paul and Silas were praying and singing hymns unto God, and the prisoners were listening to them.' And at some time between 1136 and 1166 we find Bishop Robert, in his deed creating a Dean at Wells (*Monasticon* 2, 293), giving as a reason for his munificence, 'ut nocturnæ canonicorum vigiliæ aliquod solatium sortiantur.' He grants funds for bread 'canonicorum qui matutinis interfuerint usibus profuturum,' showing pretty plainly that then the Canons were supposed and expected to attend the matins service in the night.

A useful introduction gives concisely a description of the different portions of the three parts of the Breviary, and then follows a good conspectus of the contents of the Psalter and the other matter, of a very miscellaneous kind, which makes up the second part.

The Altus of St. Columba. Edited with a Prose Paraphrase and Notes by JOHN, MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T. (Edinburgh : Blackwood and Sons, 1882.)

S. COLUMBA himself, in a Gaelic poem, speaks of 'My *Altus* angelic and holy.' The *Altus* is a Latin ode of twenty-three stanzas, each of twelve rhyming lines, in an octosyllabic iambic metre. Each stanza begins with a letter of the alphabet successively from A. to Z. The Hymn is of great interest in all ways. It is difficult to procure. Lord Bute has done good service in reprinting it from Dr. Todd's *Liber Hymnorum*, and furnishing it with an English paraphrase and an apparatus of notes. Beginning with a stanza as to the Omnipotence of the One God in Three Persons, S. Columba describes first the creation of the angels, then recounts the fall of Satan and his legions; next he follows Genesis in an account of the several days of the Creation, and of the temptation and fall of man. This occupies eight stanzas. In the six following stanzas, the second division of the poem treats of the material universe as manifesting the power of

God. The concluding stanzas describe the Day of Judgment and the reward of the blessed. The whole ode is a kind of Creed. Lord Bute even surmises that the author must have been acquainted with the actual words of the Athanasian Creed. It is, however, even more interesting in its evidence of the opinions held by Columba in regard to physical science than for its theology. Thus his conception of the earth is still the Homeric one of a central continent surrounded by the stream of the river Oceanus ; and he imagines the tides to be caused by the periodical diminution of the volume of the sea by means of waterspouts which carried up sufficient water to form clouds and rain. Below the waters he supposes that there is a netherworld wherein are confined the giants of the antediluvian ages. In the same region also there is a Hades, both for the wicked and the good. The editor's opinions as to Purgatory seem to obscure here his comprehension of what S. Columba really describes. It would seem that the poem imagines the Garden of Eden to be still existing, and that it will be again the home of the blessed. We quote one stanza which, as we agree with Lord Bute, is not unworthy of comparison with the *Dies Iræ*. 'Tuba primi Archangeli—Strepente admirabili—Erumpent munitissima—Claustra et polyandria ;—Mundi præsentis frigora—Hominum liquescentia—Undique conglobantibus—Ad compagines ossibus—Animabus ætherialibus—Iisdem obeuntibus—Rursumque redeuntibus—Debitis in mansionibus.' This is a very interesting brochure, and Lord Bute has performed a difficult task exceedingly well.

Kritischer Commentar zu den Psalmen nebst Text und Uebersetzung.
 Von DR. H. GRAETZ, Professor an der Universität zu Breslau.
 Erster Band. (Breslau : Schottlaender, 1882.)

IN the work of a Jewish commentator, who has seemingly departed even from the standard of Hebrew orthodoxy, the Christian reviewer will naturally expect to find a great deal which he cannot possibly agree with. Professor Graetz's commentary on the Psalms forms no exception to this. There is much, and notably the total absence of all Messianic interpretation, which no Christian, and certainly no Catholic, theologian would for one moment be able to tolerate. Yet inasmuch as the maxim *fas est et ab hoste doceri* holds good in the matter of Biblical exegesis also, we think that this, the latest commentary on the book of Psalms, will not be without its value for English students. Dr. Graetz intends his work to be in a measure a new departure in the textual criticism of the Psalms, and by the substitution of positive emendations on the text of the Psalms in place of the merely negative criticisms of the received Hebrew text with which former critics have been hitherto content, to make a step forward in the direction of a better understanding of the Scriptures. In the face of modern scepticism nothing but the most severe positive textual criticism can restore the value of the Holy Scriptures and their influence upon our generation.

The Introduction begins with a chapter on the character and importance of the Psalms. The Psalm is a peculiar production of

the Hebrew race. No other nation, whether Aryan or Semitic, possesses anything akin to it. As the history and development of the Hebrews were totally different to those of all other nations, so their national poetry differed from the poetry of any other people. None but a people possessed of a monotheistic religion, and brought by their adherence to that monotheism into striking contrast with their neighbours, could have produced a lyric poetry of a national and at the same time a religious character.

The book of Psalms as we possess it is in a measure an instance of the 'survival of the fittest.' Many psalms were written (we have instances of fragmentary ones in several books of the Old Testament), but only those remained which were found to fit themselves to the services of the synagogue and the Temple.

Like the Pentateuch, the Psalms are divided into five books, and inasmuch as they furnished rich material for homiletic exegesis they were read in the synagogues *pari passu* with the sections of the Pentateuch. The latter, as we know, was read in a cycle of three years, and for that purpose was divided into 150 sections, to correspond with which we have the 150 sections, of the book of the Psalms. We must not, however, suppose that the present division of the Psalms is necessarily the original one. In some cases we find that what ought to be considered as but one poem is in our text divided into two or even more separate Psalms (e.g. Pss. 42-43, 95-100, 135-136). On the other hand, we have instances of what may be called composition-psalms, where for liturgical or other purposes several distinct Psalms have been blended into one. For instance Psalm 108, which is entirely composed of fragments of other Psalms (57-60), can never have been an independent composition.

With regard to the authorship of the Psalms it is Dr. Graetz's opinion that we are entirely in the dark. Not one single Psalm, not even the eighteenth, which is elsewhere (2 Sam. xxii) distinctly ascribed to David, can be *certainly* ascribed to the author mentioned in the title. It is true that Dr. Graetz does not agree with Delitzsch's theory that the *Lamed* does not denote the author; but, retaining the old interpretation *Lamed nomen auctoris significat*, he simply ascribes the titles to the guess-work of the compiler.

If we set on one side all those Psalms which are evidently composed by a royal composer, it is Dr. Graetz's opinion that almost all the others were composed by Levites. As a matter of fact we know, both from Scripture and from Josephus, that certain families of the Levites (the sons of Korah, Asaph, Heman, Jeduthun and others) were families of singers; and inasmuch as in ancient times poets always sang their own compositions, the inference would be that these singing Levites were also the composers of their songs. This is borne out by the Talmudic tradition that the request in Psalm 137, 'Sing us one of the songs of Sion,' was made by the Babylonian captors to the Levites.

A religious conflict none the less real because but faintly alluded to in Holy Scripture is, in our commentator's opinion, foreshadowed in the Psalms.

There is nothing commoner than for the Psalmist to express his longings for the Temple and its worship, or else his firm resolve to abide in the house of the Lord for ever. This fixes the authorship of such Psalms upon the Levites and other ministers of the Temple.

Again, there is nothing more common than for the Psalmist to describe himself as being 'poor and needy,' and at the same time as being 'of an humble spirit.' The words *anav* and *ani* have the two meanings of *miserable* and *meek-spirited*; and it is probable that these words were used to denote a class of men of Levitical race, devoted to the pure monotheistic creed of Abraham and Moses, and persecuted accordingly.

The Levites, as we know, had no possessions in lands, and were dependent upon the tithes and freewill offerings of the wealthy. Hence they were to a certain extent in a state of subjection to the wealthy laity. Again, they were subject to the authority of the priestly class, the sons of Aaron, to whom they were bound to render service and assistance. Hence the Levites were doubly in a state of inferiority. We can therefore easily imagine that a conscientious Levite testifying to the integrity of the Mosaic law, might come off very badly in a contest with a worldly and idolatrous laity and an acquiescent high-priesthood. He could be suspended from the temporalities and spiritualities of his office.

Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxxi. 4) ordered the restitution to the Levites of their 'portions'; and Nehemiah made provisions afterwards for the continuance of the same. This seems to point to a time when the offering to the Levites ceased; and although with regard to the period of the captivity we can find many reasons for their ceasing, the same cannot be said of the time before Hezekiah. There can then but have been one motive. The people were alienated from the Levites and withheld their offerings. Again, we know that many of the priests in the reign of King Josiah had been guilty of assisting at the idolatrous worship which had become so fashionable in the reigns of Josiah's predecessors. The prophet Jeremiah endured persecution at the hands of the sons of Aaron; and we know that, with the exception of the sons of Zadok, all the family of Aaron were in the transgression (Ez. xlv. 15).

'History is silent,' says Professor Graetz, 'about the fate of these religious Helots.' Yet it is not so hard to imagine their fate. The pagan worship, especially the Baal worship, introduced at Jerusalem was always of a persecuting character. It could only subsist by the stern suppression of the true worship. Therefore, the select few who did not bow the knee to Baal would have to pay the penalty of persecution for their non-conforming spirit. But the silence of history may be well supplied by the plaintive wailings of the Psalms. 'Help, Lord; for the godly man ceaseth; for the faithful fail from among the children of men.' Or again, when cast out from the Temple: 'O send out thy light and thy truth, that they may lead me and bring me to thy holy hill and to thy tabernacles.' The composition of the plaintive psalms were Levites of ~~the Temple~~ as Professor Graetz calls them—the poor

Jehovah, to whom the promise 'in the time of dearth they shall have enough' was no mere phrase, but a reminder of a terrible reality; the 'generation of them that seek thee'; the 'congregation of saints'; the 'people of God.'

These *Anavim* Professor Graetz finds mentioned in Isaiah xi. 4, 'With righteousness he shall judge the poor, and reprove with equity for the meek of the earth'; and again in Isaiah xiv. 30, 'The firstling of the poor shall feed, and the needy shall lie down in safety'; as though in the reign of Ahaz the *Anavim* had been disturbed in their security. Under Hezekiah the true worship was re-established, and the *Anavim* experienced a corresponding change for the better. We shall expect to find in the Psalter (if this theory be correct) songs celebrating this change of condition. 'Truly God is loving unto Israel, even unto such as are of a clean heart.'

From the death of Hezekiah to the captivity the *Anavim* would again experience persecutions. To this period belongs the exhortation of the prophet Zephaniah urging the meek of the earth to seek the Lord, to seek righteousness and meekness (Zeph. ii. 3). The few years of King Josiah's righteous reign would form an exception to the prevailing distress. If we accept the doctrine of the *χρηστοίτες* and suppose that there was such a personage as a Deutero-Isaiah who lived towards the end of the kingdom of Judah, we may, perhaps, with Professor Graetz, find traces of the *Anavim* in the expression 'they that mourn in Sion,' and in other kindred expressions.

The sharp contrast between the *Anavim* and the worldly ones was continued during the period of exile. Whilst the former had their thoughts continually set upon Sion, the latter were doing their utmost to make the best of their circumstances, and to adapt themselves to the manners and customs of the land of their enforced adoption.

This contrast will serve to explain such passages as Isaiah lxx.—lxxvi. (supposing it to be the work of the Deutero-Isaiah). The *Anavim* would seem not only to have protested against the idolatrous conformity of their countrymen, but even to have started a zealous propaganda of the faith. Hence the appearance of proselytes at Babylon (Isaiah xiv. 1). Such Protestantism and such zeal cannot fail to have met with serious opposition both from conforming Jews and from heathen priests. Deutero-Isaiah speaks distinctly of dark prisons, prisoners, and tortures, and Isaiah liii., whatever may have been its further interpretation, referred in the first instance to the sufferings of one of these faithful *Anavim*. The Psalms of the period of exile (e.g. Psalm cxii.) seem to have an additional light thrown upon them by this theory.

After the return from the captivity the distinction between *Anavim* and others gradually fades away. When the temporal sovereignty had gone for ever, and the people learned to look rather for a spiritual supremacy, the whole nation became intensely monotheistic, and the poor, meek-spirited *Anavim* no longer had to bear persecutions on account of the faith. Still we find reminiscences of the conflict in some of the later Psalms—e.g. 147, 'The Lord lifteth up the meek : and casteth the wicked down to the ground.'

The book of Psalms, then, represents the triumph of faithfulness over the world, and in the poor, oppressed, but consistently pious Levites we are to look for the composers of most of the Psalms. It is a pretty theory and very plausible, and deserves to be more carefully worked out; the only pity is that it lacks the authority of age. Olshausen would seem to have broached a theory something like it.

Professor Graetz divides the Psalms chronologically into five periods. 1. Pre-exilic. 2. Exilic. 3. Post-exilic—from the return from Babylon to the time of the Maccabees. 4. Maccabean. 5. Post-Maccabean.

To the Maccabean period he only assigns about ten Psalms: (*a*) such as lament over religious compulsion, desecration of the Temple, prophetic silence, &c.; (*b*) such as express joy for restoration from deep depression, with continual remembrances of past sufferings; (*c*) such as contain clear references to the assembly of the Chassideans; and (*d*) Psalm 144. To the post-Maccabean period he assigns Psalms 134, 135, 136, on the ground that they contain a distinct reference to the ceremony of the Drawing of the Water at the Feast of the Tabernacles, a ceremony only instituted under the Asmonean queen Salome-Alexandra (B.C. 78–69). This seems to have been the only evening service in the Temple; so that the expression 'Ye that by night stand in the house of the Lord' can have referred to nothing else. We should have thought that it could more easily have been explained as referring to the continuous service by night as by day given by the ministers of the Temple.

There is a good chapter on the liturgical use of the Psalms and the musical accompaniment to the same; for although Dr. Graetz is of opinion that the Psalms were not originally composed for purposes of worship, still he does not deny their liturgical use. In this section the Talmudic authorities are very fully quoted.

The final recension of the Psalter Professor Graetz assigns to a period between B.C. 70 and A.D. 30. The choice of Psalms for the daily liturgy, as denoted by the titles prefixed to them, points to a time posterior to the loss of national independence. The 1st and 2nd Psalms, which form, as St. Basil points out, a short poem (*βραχὺ ποίημα*) to the whole of the book, are full of reference to the Messianic hopes of the nation; and are therefore assigned to the reign of Herod, when those Messianic hopes began to take a more definite hold of the national mind. And the collection seems to have been made not so much for use in the Temple as in the Synagogue. For the expressions 'Alleluia' and 'Amen, Amen' were never in use, so says Professor Graetz, in the Temple, but only in the Synagogue. Moreover, the collection cannot have been made on chronological principles, else the Psalm which bears the name of Moses (90) would have come first.

Many causes seem to have militated against the preservation of the text of the Psalms. There was no standard copy preserved in the Temple, as was the case with the Pentateuch, until a comparatively late date, when the Masora was regarded as an authority for

textual genuineness. Written originally in the old Hebrew character, it was at a subsequent period transliterated into the modern character. Here was an opportunity for copyists' errors ! Again, certain Rabbinical copyists were in the habit of writing out the Scriptures from memory ! and although safeguards preserved the text of the Law from debasement, no such safeguards existed for the preservation of the Hagiographa. Hence the Masoretic text itself cannot be regarded as infallibly the original text of the Psalms.

But if the text of the Psalter be more corrupted than other parts of the Old Testament, we have more helps to restoring a pure text here. We have first the rhythm and metre, which can help us infallibly in detecting errors. We have next the multitude of ancient versions, which often must have been based on readings totally different from those of the present Hebrew text : and from the very errors in these we can often restore the original readings.

Space unfortunately prevents our going more fully into the details of the variants which Professor Graetz considers in his introductory essay ; nor yet into the criticisms on any of the sixty Psalms which are commented on in the first volume of his book. Perhaps when the second volume appears we shall be able to consider this subject more fully.

There is, as we said before, much in this book with which we cannot possibly agree. We do not care to change the Psalms of David for the 'Songs of the Anavim' ; we still hold that the great King of Israel wrote many of the Psalms which have for so many centuries been the comfort and strength of so many of the saints of God. Still Dr. Graetz has written a remarkable book ; and in laying it down after perusal we cannot but feel that we have gained a very considerable insight into the Psalter. It is a book which deserves the serious consideration of good Hebraists in England, and we hope that the result of our notice may be to procure for it that attention which it so richly merits.

A Practical Commentary on the Gospel according to S. Mark. By JAMES MORRISON, D.D. Third Edition, Revised. (London : Hodder and Stoughton, 1882.)

THOUGH the number of explanatory works upon the Gospels is already great, yet another intelligent and thoughtful commentary, such as this, cannot be otherwise than welcome. Dr. Morrison begins by rightly assigning, according to early tradition, 'S. Peter's teaching within the circle of the early catechumens' as the chief source of this Gospel. The lengthy section (occupying pp. xix-xxxvii of the Introduction) on the relation of the Apostle Peter to the Gospel is unusually clear and full, and of quite exceptional value. It is perhaps the most notable feature of the volume. The suggestion made on p. xix that S. Mark was himself the 'young man' referred to in xiv. 51, 52, is both probable in itself, and has been made and supported by Wordsworth, Greswell, and others, and it does not appear in fact from what other source a knowledge of the incident could have been derived, unless S. Mark had himself been

the person concerned. Certainly not from either of the apostles, for in the preceding verse it is stated that 'they had all forsaken' the Lord 'and fled.'

The suggestion is curious that the young man Mark had a purpose or instinct leading him to become an evangelist, *i.e.*, the writer of a gospel, and that as this had not been satisfied in either of his earlier chiefs, S. Paul or S. Barnabas, it was on that account he attached himself to S. Peter, and derived from him the information from which this Gospel was compiled.

The able *excursus* on chap. xvi. 9-20 also deserves special notice, and is an excellent summing up of the evidence ; though it seems to us inconvenient that it should be divided into two separate parts.

The Hulsean Dissertation for 1880. Jewish Christians and Judaism: a Study on the History of the First Two Centuries. By W. R. SORLEY, Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Shaw Fellow of the University of Edinburgh. (Cambridge : Deighton, 1881.)

A WORK of this sort is of necessity much occupied with a discussion of the Tübingen theory of the Apostolic age. Its main subject, indeed, is the relation of the Jewish Christians to Judaism, whereas the Tübingen controversy turns on their relation to S. Paul. But it is just this difference which enables Mr. Sorley to put his criticism from an unusual point of view. Since on one side there is no doubt what Pharisaism was, and on the other Baur and his opponents are fairly agreed about S. Paul's doctrine in his four 'universally received' Epistles, we can determine the position of an intermediate party by referring it to either of these fixed standards. The nearer it is to one, the further it must be from the other. Thus, though the Tübingen writers are usually encountered with a direct proof that the Jewish Christians did not differ on essentials from S. Paul, it will be just as effective a reply to show that they did differ on essentials from the Jews.

The latter is Mr. Sorley's plan. Avoiding disputed evidence like that of the Acts, he reviews the history in order to show that the Jewish Christians on one side found their whole system determined for them by their obedience to the Lord ; while the Jews for their part saw no distinction of guilt between Jewish and Gentile Christians. If, indeed, we may trust Epiphanius, the ברכה המינים, or daily curse against heretics, was expressly limited to the Jewish Christians. In fact, it was Jewish persecution which forced the most Judaizing of Christians to organize themselves from the first as dissenting sects.

The style is clear and simple, the materials are well arranged, and oversights are few. Yet, on the date of S. James the Just's execution, it is strange to find the legend of Hegesippus preferred to the clear statement of Josephus, especially by a writer who so well understands the relative value of the two authorities.

The Synod of Elvira, and Christian Life in the Fourth Century. An Historical Essay by A. W. W. DALE, M.A. (London : Macmillan and Co., 1882.)

IT was a happy thought on the part of the Hulsean trustees to set as the subject for the prize essay in 1881 the 'Synod of Elvira.' An obscure Spanish council of the fourth century (the place and date of which are matters of dispute) is perhaps not an inviting subject at first sight. But so much light is thrown by its Canons on the state of the Church, its internal discipline and organization, and its attitude towards society, that it is well for the attention of the student to be early directed to the rich store of materials for ecclesiastical history which is to be found in the history and acts of this and other Councils. It is the first of that great series which marks the early portion of the fourth century as a period of exceptional activity, and which exhibits to us the Church moving freely and easily in her own sphere, able to legislate and to organize without the dread of drawing upon herself the attention of a hostile heathen power—a dread which, till now, had been ever present to her, and had to some extent paralysed her powers of action. This fact serves to show the importance of the Council, and it may be said without exaggeration that a study of its eighty-one Canons is absolutely necessary for all who would gain a clear view of the inner life of the Church and of the social position and difficulties of her children in that age.

The trustees, we have said, were fortunate in their choice of subject. We wish that we could equally congratulate them on the essay to which they awarded the prize. Of late years we have become accustomed to demand a higher degree of excellence in the Hulsean Essay than is usually looked for in a prize composition. Mr. A. J. Mason's fascinating work on the *Persecution of Diocletian*, and Mr. G. H. Rendall's really solid contribution to our knowledge of the position of Julian the Apostate, may have spoilt us and made us expect too much. Perhaps it is scarcely fair to complain that Mr. Dale's essay fails to come up to these in either originality or brilliancy. It is certainly in many ways a painstaking piece of work, largely indebted, as is natural, to the writings of Mendoza and Hefele, and the *Kirchengeschichte von Spanien* of Dr. Pius Gams. In the opening chapter the place and date of the Council are discussed with care and considerable ability; and a good deal of vigour is exhibited in the treatment of some of the Canons, which are grouped round the following subjects: (1) Church organization and discipline, (2) Christian morality, (3) asceticism, sacerdotalism and superstition, (4) the relation of the Church to the heathen State and to heathen society, and (5) Christian worship. But the effect of the work, as a whole, is sadly marred by two faults, one of which we be grateful to have pointed out to him; the other, we should be slow to acknowledge as a fault. The first, which with a little care might have been avoided: is the unfortunate awkwardness of style, which makes the book an unpleasant reading. It is sometimes necessary to read a

sentence over three or four times before any meaning can be extracted from it; and the difficulty is increased by an extremely defective system of punctuation. In some cases it is only the graces of style that are wanting; in others the grammar itself is at fault. The following sentence, for instance, is not only awkward but ungrammatical: 'Though a second marriage was not forbidden them [viz. the widows] except by the ascetic sects, monogamy was encouraged even before the exhortations of Ambrose and Jerome had led to the reprobation of such a practice' (p. 160). Of course the practice alluded to is a second marriage. But the natural interpretation of the words as written is that which makes Ambrose and Jerome reprobate monogamy, and this on the part of *widows*! 'which is absurd.' So also on p. 70 by a remarkable piece of carelessness the 'sacraments and the discipline of the Church' are represented as the 'suffragans' of the Bishop!

It may be added that there is an unnecessary number of misprints scattered throughout the book; and we are afraid that 'satyrst' (p. 129) looks very much as if it was due in the first instance to the writer rather than to the printer.

Mistakes such as these can easily be remedied should another edition be called for. Far graver is the second fault to be noticed. Mr. Dale is evidently a disciple of Mr. Hatch, to whose *Bampton Lectures* he more than once refers with gratitude. Hence he is under the delusion that a complete and radical change passed over the Church in the fourth century. The Catholic Church, we are told, was 'still a dream of the future.' But to Hosius and a few other 'ecclesiastical politicians' is attributed the subtle design of entirely transforming the character of the Christian community.

'The autonomy of the individual churches was to be subjected to restriction similar to those which had already been imposed upon the freedom of the individual believer; positive law was to supersede local sentiment, and the power of the clergy was to be increased that it might serve as the framework of an organization which was to be universal and a unity. To this goal, dimly and imperfectly conceived as yet, the policy of the Synod of Elvira was mainly directed.' (P. 65.)

Elsewhere we read that 'the Bishops had monopolized the ministry of the word, and the ministry of the Sacraments' (p. 84); and we are assured that 'so long as the community of Christians retained the functions of the priesthood as a universal right, there would be no element in the Church to serve as a means of union; but with the development of a special class, entrusted with peculiar duties, and endowed with corresponding dignity, this deficiency would be remedied.' Thus it is reluctantly admitted that 'whatever errors and evils the development of clericalism may have entailed, it at least gave the Churches a personal bond of union' (p. 64); but it never seems to occur to the writer that this 'bond of union' had existed from the beginning and was familiar, not merely to S. Cyprian in the third century, but even to S. Ignatius in the second.

These extracts will be sufficient to show Mr. Dale's views on the growth of Church organization. It is needless to say that they are

not ours. It is a pity that they are thrust so prominently forward, as they form a serious drawback to what would otherwise be a useful and suggestive work.

Epochs of the Papacy : from its Rise to the Death of Pope Pius IX. in 1878. By the Rev. A. R. PENNINGTON, Canon Non-Residentiary of Lincoln. (London : Bell and Sons, 1882.)

THE title of this book is misleading. We opened it under the idea that certain epochs of the Papacy would have been selected for special investigation. We found it merely a history of the Popes, or rather, a series of disjointed remarks about the Popes, embellished with an abundance of what we suppose is intended for fine writing. As regards the historical part of the book the facts appear to be simply taken from Milman, Robertson, Von Ranke, and other historians, and as they were sufficiently well known before, we hardly see the advantage of reproducing them in this form. The reflections and comments of the writer consist in a series of railings at or rather scoldings of the Popes for not having acted on pure Protestant principles, and for having been so very troublesome to kings and emperors. Had the writer entered more fully into the real spirit of mediæval history, he would have known that things were not quite so one-sided as he has been pleased to represent them, that not all the Popes were ambitious and corrupt wretches, and not all the emperors and kings who opposed them pure and immaculate characters. As a specimen of the style in which the subject is handled, the following may suffice :—

‘The Popes now sat “as God in the Temple of God,” and compelled the nations of the earth to crouch in vassalage before them. They had enslaved alike the souls and bodies of their fellow-creatures. When we look at their antecedents, and observe the circumstances connected with their election, we shall see reason to wonder that the nations of the earth did not laugh to scorn the imperious edicts which issued from the Lateran. They would seem to us rather like the soft breath of the zephyr which ruffles the bosom of the lake, than like the mighty whirlwind, which, rushing forth from the fabled cavern of the mountain, lashes into fury the waves of the mighty ocean, and rends the giant oak, the monarch of the forest. A feeble old man, unconnected by any ties with his predecessors, often of mean extraction, possessing no political influence, ascends with tottering steps the throne of S. Peter. The chamber in which he was elected to the vacant dignity was the scene of the grossest venality, rivalry and intrigue. Or, as we have seen in the history of the tenth century, crimes, intrigues and assassinations determined his elevation. The Pope himself was an insignificant person, or else violent and licentious.’ (Pp. 145–6).

Our readers may probably be able to judge from this extract, which is by no means an exceptional specimen of this writer's reflections, his qualifications to write history. We may observe also that though Mr. Pennington has carefully laid under contribution the best-known books on the subjects which he handles, he has yet not been able to keep himself quite clear of mistakes. Some of them we have noted ; as when, in page 103, he designates the wild mixture of sectaries in

the south of France, who passed by the name of Albigenses, as 'a Church;' and, in accordance with this, notes a 'regular succession' of Reformers in doctrine, from the Albigenses to the Waldenses, and so to Peter de Bruys and Henry the Deacon down to Wiclif and Langland (p. 266). It occurs to us to wonder whether Mr. Pennington has really the least knowledge as to what these men taught. We can hardly conceive that if he had, he would describe their wild Manichean and Antinomian utterances as a 'succession of Reformers in doctrine.' On page 108 we are informed that the four orders of Mendicants date from the Pontificate of Innocent III., which is not quite a correct statement; and in the following page we are told that the Benedictines and *Augustinians* had 'hitherto been the standing army of the Papacy, and fought its spiritual battles during six centuries.' The Canons Regular of S. Augustine did not exist till the eleventh century. Mr. Pennington frequently refers to Matthew Paris. Is he under the impression that that worthy monk's History was edited by a person named *Watson*, for we find it thus quoted in a note to page 116? This would seem to imply rather a slight acquaintance with the original volume. We are not quite sure what is meant by the very high-flown phrase, 'The fragrant flowers of Hymettus might have been seen in those days blooming in the bowers which adorned the banks of the Tiber and the Arno,' but if the passage where it occurs is intended to imply that there was no Greek known in Europe before the taking of Constantinople, it is erroneous. On page 205, Mr. Pennington appears to imply that the Statutes of Provisors and Præmunire were due to the indignation against the Pope in the time of Wiclif; whereas they were passed long before, and re-enacted some ten years after his death. On page 220 the statement is made that 'Gregory made no difficulty about his resignation,' whereas he had been fighting the Council of Pisa's decree *à outrance* for some five or six years. It is news to us that the Council of Basle ordered Wiclif's ashes to be thrown into the *Severn* (p. 229). Mr. Pennington has written a *Life of Erasmus*, to which, indeed, he frequently refers. It is therefore somewhat strange to find him twice over (pp. 261, 271) describing the edition of the New Testament printed by Erasmus in 1516 as an '*improved version*.' That by *version* he does not mean translation is shown by the fact that he adds the words 'and translation.' Probably the putting (p. 304) '*Gesche*' for '*Geschichte*' may be a printer's error, though it is not marked as such; but to give us such a piece of history as the following is rather a tax upon our patience:—

'Henry was, as we know, by birth and education a bigoted Roman Catholic. But, as all students of history are aware, the hesitation of the Pope as to the divorce of Henry was the means of changing his sentiments, and led to the separation of England from the Papacy.' (P. 308).

There is an important misstatement on page 330 as regards Cardinals Pole and Peto. The latter is represented as having acted as Legate in England and 'constantly urged the Queen to violent measures;' whereas he never was allowed to land after the Pope's attempt to

make him Legate, and Mary never abandoned Pole, but compelled the Pope to withdraw his opposition to him. It would be an unwelcome task to point out the contradictions which are to be found in these pages, and the repetitions which abound. We would rather try and find something to commend in a volume which has evidently cost the writer considerable labour, and which appears to express his very earnest convictions. The most commendable point in it is the zeal which it displays, but we could wish to find in it greater charity and moderation of tone, and less of the Protestant claptrap which is in reality so utterly hollow and unmeaning.

The Reformation of the Church of England. Vol. II. By the Rev. JOHN HENRY BLUNT, M.A., F.S.A. (London: Rivingtons, 1882.)

THE purchasers of Mr. Blunt's first volume on the Reformation, published twelve years ago, have, we think, some cause of complaint for his long delay in finishing the work. Mr. Blunt explains, and the theological world is aware of the fact, that he has been occupied in other literary work; but why this work was to take precedence of the half-written book does not appear. Now that the concluding volume has appeared, it will, no doubt, be received gratefully by many, for it is written in a pleasant easy style, and contains some valuable information from MS. sources; together with comments and reflections on men and things which are, for the most part, tolerant and fair. Mr. Blunt is a good and practised writer, and he handles complicated subjects easily and dexterously, and is always readable. He is also thoroughly loyal to the Church of England, and nothing could present a greater contrast to some miserable parodies of the history of the Elizabethan times which have lately appeared than his sensible and well-judged sketch of that period. The book, however, cannot be fairly called '*A History of the Reformation.*' We are not sure, indeed, whether its author would wish to describe it as such. It is a pleasant and useful commentary on the history, but it is nothing more. In the first place, the author adopts the plan of sketching subjects rather than narrating chronologically, a method which is fatal to the learner. In the next place, he is not at all careful to preserve due proportion, giving, for instance, about 120 pages to the Marian persecution, a very short space to the reign of Elizabeth, and twenty pages to that of James I. Again, he makes omissions of most important matters, proceeding in an easy offhand way, as though these things were of no consequence. Finally, he is chargeable with some carelessness, and with several erroneous statements. These two latter assertions it will be necessary to substantiate by instances. With regard to the omissions, the reign of Edward VI. occupies 182 pages, and yet there is nothing said of the ground on which the legality of the Injunctions rested—namely, the Act of Parliament of Henry VIII., giving to the King's Proclamations the force of Acts of Parliament, and, more strange still, nothing whatever of the second Visitation and the second set of Injunctions. The opposition to the new Prayer Book is greatly underrated; almost

all the details connected with the drawing-up of the Forty-two Articles are omitted, and there is not a word said of the Catechism, drawn up by Poynt, to which the Articles were appended, and which formed so important a feature in the Convocation proceedings in the reign of Queen Mary. There is no mention of the Commission of 1552, so many important details of the proceedings under which have been lately published; no mention of the opposition made by the first Parliament of Mary to the restoration of the unreformed religion, so graphically described by Noailles. These omissions occur in the part of the book which is written at greatest length and with most of detail. In the reign of Elizabeth there is almost an entire omission of the details of the struggle with the Puritans, though an ably-written section is devoted to this subject. It is needless to say that the twenty pages devoted to the reign of James contain but few of the facts of that not unimportant period. We lament these omissions the more because Mr. Blunt writes so well and with such a command over his subject. We are inclined to think that the task of finishing his History, which had been hanging over him for so many years, has at last been performed rather hastily, to get it out of his way, that he may turn to more congenial work. On no other ground can we account, in a writer of Mr. Blunt's learning, for some of the mistakes which we find in this volume. On page 21 it is stated that the translation of the 'Paraphrase of Erasmus,' which was sent to the churches with a quasi-authority, was the work of the Princess Mary! This would seem to be sufficiently refuted by the well-known character of that lady and her theology, were it not abundantly known and recorded that it was the work of the Queen Dowager, Katherine Parr, or at least done by those employed by her. Mr. Blunt appears satisfied with the authority of the First Communion Office of Edward VI., and speaks of it as a Canon of Convocation. It is well known that it was never sanctioned by Convocation, but put out simply on the royal authority. Convocation had merely agreed that such a service might be made.

On page 151 it appears to be stated that Archbishop Holgate was sent to the Tower in the reign of Edward VI., whereas it was not till Mary's reign that he was sent. The marks of haste appear in the extraordinary repetition, three times over (pp. 95, 158, 285), of the antecedents of Bishop Hooper, and in the very remarkable confusion which appears at page 164. Here it is stated that Peter Martyr was first Regius Professor at Cambridge, and then Regius Professor at Oxford; that Martin Bucer was made Canon of Christ Church and Regius Professor at Oxford in 1550, and in the *same year* Regius Professor at Cambridge (pp. 165-6). Now, if Mr. Blunt has any authorities to prove that these two eminent foreigners were both of them Regius Professors at both the Universities at the same time, he ought to produce them to establish this altogether new fact. But if he has not these authorities, and does not mean to maintain this extraordinary jumble of appointments, but to follow the received account—*viz.* that Martyr was Professor at Oxford and Bucer at Cambridge—the carelessness is here somewhat reprehensible. We

confess never to have heard before of these dual appointments ; but we are ready to be instructed. We hold that Mr. Blunt has made a decided mistake, and has gone clean against the authorities, in describing Cranmer as being of a *harsh* disposition. The unfortunate Archbishop was far too easy and pliable ; and one of his few good qualities was his good temper. There is also no evidence whatever that he took any part in the trial and condemnation of Anne Ayscough (written by Mr. Blunt 'Askew'). Cranmer's degradation did not take place at S. Mary's (p. 326), but at the cathedral of Christ Church ; and we are inclined to think that Mr. Blunt has evolved the theory of the two recantations out of his own consciousness. It is very remarkable that a gentleman who has published the *Annotated Book of Common Prayer* should have dealt with the history of the Prayer Book as Mr. Blunt has in this volume. At page 349 not one word is said as to the way in which the 'Ornaments Rubric' found its way into the Elizabethan Prayer Book. It is implied that it came from the hands of the Commissioners like the altered 'Sacramental words.' But everybody knows that this was not the case, but that it was inserted by the Queen in Council after the passing of the Act. The Act of Uniformity describes the Elizabethan Prayer Book as

'The book authorized by Parliament in the fifth and sixth years of King Edward VI., with one alteration or addition of certain lessons to be used on every Sunday in the year, and the form of the Litany altered and corrected, and two sentences only added at the delivery of the Sacrament to the communicants, *and none other or otherwise.*'

There was no Ornaments Rubric in the book thus described, and the only way to account for its insertion is that it was put in by the Council afterwards. Of course, it had an equal legal authority with the rest of the book, being contained in the Act of Uniformity. But we look for accuracy of statement from commentators on the Prayer Book. There is a still more remarkable absence of this in the account given of the last Review. There it is stated that, after the Ely House Committee had drawn up the proposed alterations, and had presented them to Convocation, 'it does not appear that any further revision took place there' (p. 568). But what say the records of Convocation, with which Mr. Blunt ought to be sufficiently familiar ?

'Nov. 27.—The Prolocutor returned the part examined by the Lower House with a *schedule of emendations*.

'Dec. 10.—Some further emendations made by the Bishops beyond those brought from the Lower House.

'Dec. 12.—Petition from the Lower House for Conference, &c. The Prolocutor hands in *several sheets of emendations*, which are read and carefully considered and approved.'

We are sorry to find such slips in a volume which has so many excellences. Its general tone, and especially its concluding portion—on the Principles of the Reformation—we cannot praise too highly. We have already called attention to the very able sketch of the

reign of Elizabeth and the dealings with the Romanists. We do not know any historical work where we could find this better set out. If Mr. Blunt had consented to put his history into two volumes instead of one, the whole three might have served for a sufficient and very able account of the Reformation. As it is, they require considerable supplements.

History of the Church of England from 1660. By W. NASSAU MOLESWORTH, M.A. (London : Kegan Paul, Trench and Co., 1882.)

It is difficult to criticize this book seriously. It professes to be a history of the Church of England, but we have failed to find any history in it. It contains a certain amount of remarks on some leading points of Anglican Church history, showing, for the most part, a shallow understanding of their significance, but it takes no notice whatever of other important events. We should be inclined to say that the writer has not the slightest notion of what Church history is; nay more, that he has not the slightest notion of what the Church of England is, for at page 12 we find this deliberate statement :—

‘It is not, then, either from Christ and His Apostles, nor yet from the period of the Reformation, that we must date the foundation of the present Established Church of England. If we would seek out *its origin* we must come down to a much later period in the history of our country, reckoning from the time when the Stuart dynasty was restored in the person of Charles II., and the Legislature adopted that last great Act of Uniformity by which she recalled into renewed existence the Church she had previously abolished.’

After such a statement as this, it seems perfectly superfluous to proceed with the examination of the statements of this so-called Church historian, or to exhibit his strange opinions on the matters on which he undertakes to write. Thus he calls all the clergy at the Restoration era *Presbyterians* (p. 14). He gives us some new information about the Black Rubric—viz. that it was a composition of Dr. Gauden's to satisfy the Puritans (p. 67). He informs us that most of the bishops and higher clergy were non-resident in the eighteenth century, selecting Butler and *Paley*, whom he appears to regard as a bishop, as exceptions (p. 297). At the same time, however, he makes the ingenuous confession that he knows nothing of the history of the eighteenth century, and in his Preface he calmly informs us that he had not heard of the work of Messrs. Abbey and Overton until a great part of his book was in type. This is quite in keeping with the utter absence of research evident throughout the volume. We have not observed a single reference, and the quotations are all from the most commonly known authors. If this book is intended for a Church history for the Broad Churchmen we think they will be scarcely satisfied with it.

The Theology of the New Testament. A Handbook for Bible Students.
By the Rev. J. J. VAN OOSTERZEE, D.D., Professor of Theology
in the University of Utrecht. Translated by MAURICE J.
EVANS, B.A. 4th Edition. (London : Hodder and Stoughton,
1882.)

It is no doubt the case, that the science of Theology, like every other science, has had its period of lengthened and mature development, though essentially the same in the first century after the Ascension as in the fifth. Yet the one age exhibits the characteristics of growth, the other of maturity. The New Testament, and particularly its latter portion, the Epistles and the Apocalypse, considered as a literature, forms the record of the first workings of the theologic faculty within the Church of Christ, as it was inspired and guided by the Holy Spirit. The great lines of thought are here traced out, and the truth stated, in simple, popular, anthropomorphic language, which the genius of a later age was to enshrine in accurate formulas, and express in the logical order of a scientific theology.

The purpose of Dr. Van Oosterzee's work is to supply a compendium of the teaching of the New Testament, considered as a theology, or the starting-point of one. It is of course to be understood that his conception of theology is a Protestant one, and therefore imperfect and onesided. It is a thing to be regretted that theologians of the Reformed communions should have been forced into so strong an antagonism to Catholic theology, that their own is altogether non-sacramental in character, or even strongly hostile to the mystical element in religion. The former character predominates in the treatise before us. Learning, mental grasp, power of tracing and grouping facts, and a transparent fairness of intention, are one and all manifest in Dr. Van Oosterzee's work ; and we can only regret that he, as we have noted of theologians of his school, fails to appreciate the mystical, sacramental element in the Christian religion, of which the germs and something more are sufficiently evident in the New Testament.

He has prefaced his examination of the New Testament theology by five chapters on its 'Old Testament basis,' and then follows a division on the Synoptical Gospels, and one on the Gospel of S. John. Then he treats separately of the Petrine and the Pauline theology. The former apostle, he says, is 'the man of feeling and action, not given to abstract thinking, but living and moving in the sphere of the concrete,' more at home in a circle of historical than of speculative ideas, 'and in some respects inferior to more distinguished labourers,' but yet, after all, 'one of those unlearned and plain men by whom the form of the moral world was changed.' He describes Baptism as an act of obedience with which *is associated* the reception of the forgiveness of sins and the reception of the Holy Ghost, without, however, any supernatural efficacy being supposed to dwell in the baptismal water itself, a conception, as it appears to us, of which the several parts are incoherent, and which would be altogether alien to the mind of the Apostle of the Circumcision, to whom the

sacramental idea was of course familiar. On the other hand, with regard to the books composing the Sacred Canon he is strictly orthodox and conservative in his conclusions ; and he points out how, in the new school of criticism which impugns the authenticity of portions of the New Testament, 'something of an uncritical and arbitrary nature constantly usurps the place of thorough and impartial science.' This is well said, though it has been pointed out before. When he comes to develop the Pauline idea of the Church, his language respecting Baptism is again incoherent. He states two alternative views, and negatives both, leaving to himself no standing ground at all. Thus, he will not have it that baptism is a mere symbol, but neither will he allow it to be an 'immediate source of blessing,' by which he means apparently 'direct,' since in any view of baptism it is no more than a *mediate* benefit, a *means* of grace, and it is altogether an *ignoratio elenchi* to speak of baptism as not having ascribed to it by S. Paul 'in itself a magical power,' a thing which is maintained by no one. Apart from the radical defect apparent in such utterances as these, the treatise is of considerable value.

A System of Christian Doctrine. By Dr. J. A. DORNER, Oberconsistorialrath, and Professor of Theology, Berlin. Translated by the Rev. ALFRED CAVE and the Rev. J. S. BANKS. Vols. III. and IV. (Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark, 1882.)

MANUALS of theology there are many, and as various in character and value as they are great in number. The work before us is not of an introductory kind, nor intended for the student whose acquaintance with doctrine has yet to be gained. It is less historical in its method than the useful work of Hagenbach ; nor does it, like the valuable treatise of our own Bishop Pearson *On the Creed*, treat doctrine from the ecclesiastical point of view, and regard it as a system of truth revealed by Divine inspiration, resting on supernatural sanctions, and for which the only thing to be done is to adduce the bases, Scriptural and Patristic, on which our belief in it rests. Its title in fact, *System of Christian Doctrine*, is to a certain extent a misnomer. It is in reality a treatise on human thought, in so far as that has occupied itself with theology ; and it includes very much more of speculation, which cannot be called in any sense 'Christian Doctrine,' than of verities which have a right to that honoured name. In its discussions nothing must be omitted that bears upon the point that is being treated ; and therefore Arius and Eutyches, Nestorius and Pelagius, appear in it upon equal terms with Athanasius and Leo, and as equally factors in the evolution of thought. We are not saying this by way of blame, but in order to make it clear what is, and what is not, to be looked for in its pages. It is a treatise, able and profoundly learned, on the sequences of thought and speculation within the bounds of theology ; and much may be learned from it by a competent reader. The author's own sympathies are, so far as can be gathered, uniformly orthodox, though the 'ecclesiastical doctrine' regularly appears in his pages as only constituting an element in the web of theology ; and his own ecclesiastical position naturally tends to

limit and to bias his view of sacramental truth. But within the circle of high Lutheran orthodoxy his views are unexceptionable. He defines baptism, however, with a careful exclusion of the *opus operatum*, as 'an expression of the eternal faithful purpose of grace preventively applied to the child' (vol. iv. p. 300), and endeavours in vain to find a logical standing-ground between the merely subjective or Anabaptist view, which regards it as a 'badge of profession,' and that which asserts for it a mystical operation upon the individual soul. Similarly with regard to that which he calls 'the Holy Supper,' he apparently repudiates through misstating the 'Catholic' theory, which he confounds with the *Roman*, saying that according to it 'the visible elements are absorbed and become a mere semblance' (iv. p. 326). This is of course the doctrine of Transubstantiation. Of the really Catholic, *i.e.* the Anglican, doctrine, he does not seem to have heard. His language has much in it that is commendable, and may be read with profit. He criticizes the theory of Consubstantiation as defective: and apparently his own view is nearest to that known as Virtualism, though at times it goes beyond even this; and there seems no logical reason whatever why, having gone so far, he should not accept the whole truth. It is doubtless the attraction exercised by other parts of his doctrinal scheme which hinders. Erastian views on the subject of Holy Orders must, by mere weight of incongruity, prevent the attainment of a Catholic view of the Eucharist, and our author lays down not only that 'the power of the keys is not committed to an order, or still less to an individual person,' but that ordination is not to be regarded as a Sacrament, but as a '*solenis et publica testificatio vocationis*,' and that the ceremonies of it, prayer and imposition of hands, are only *accidents*, that 'the right of ordination' does not rest in the *clerus*, but with the Church, and that laymen may perform or co-operate in it.

Of course views like this carry with them of necessity the rejection of the Church's Eucharistic doctrine; and in fact the later sections of this work have far more the character of a polemical treatise than the former, and must be read with care. But as we have already said, the work may be used so as to be of great use to the student who desires to trace the connexions and links of thought bearing on theological subjects, without accepting the personal views propounded in the course of the investigation. It is a pity that the work is so generally lengthy and prolix. Its occasional indistinctness is perhaps inevitable.

Seventeen Opuscles by Juan de Valdés. Translated from the Spanish and Italian, and Edited by JOHN T. BETTS. (London: Trubner and Co., 1882.)

JUAN DE VALDÉS was a Spaniard by birth, a jurisconsult by profession, and Secretary to the Viceroy of Naples; of studious habit, and blameless life, given in no small degree to abstruse speculations and meditations. During some State business in the north of Europe, he met with Tauler; and the influence of that German mystic appears henceforward, mingled with quietism, in most of his works. Juan's

brother, Alfonso, was Secretary to the High Chancellor of the Emperor Charles V., and, both in acts and writings, the two have often been confused together; nor is it quite settled even yet how far each may have helped the other in the numerous works which bear their name. Certainly the 'new religion,' professed and favoured by men of such great Court influence, gained adherents rapidly in Spain; while in Italy—at Rome itself—a confraternity was organized under the designation of The Oratory of Divine Love,¹ among the members of which were Contarini, Caraffa, Morone, and Reginald Pole. Whether Juan de Valdés were the author of the famous treatise issued by this society in 1543, *On the Benefit of Christ's Death*,² or whether he translated it by his own hand, or that of a nameless disciple, at least the Spanish form, *Del Beneficio de Giesu Christo Crocifixso*, was commonly attributed to him, and became in Southern Europe the first trumpeter of his name. More than 40,000 copies are said to have been burnt by the Inquisitors in Italy alone. The influence of De Valdés in the north was neither extensive nor enduring, and the revived knowledge of him in England has been chiefly due to the exertions of the late B. B. Wiffen—the work begun by him being ably continued by other members of the Society of Friends. The writings of the two brothers were of extraordinary extent, and occupy for the most part a field of theology peculiar to themselves. They are Puritan enough in places, as, e.g., in the volume before us, *The Christian's Conception of Christ* (No. XII.), *Justification by Faith without Works* (No. XIV. and XV.), *Christian Assurance*, &c. (XVII.) and the seventh Doctrinal Letter, '*With what Intent one should go to the Most Holy Communion*.' But there is clearly in all 'a healthier spirit,' as Archdeacon Hardwick termed it, and a loftier one, than that of Lutheranism; and it is not difficult to see how Quakers, and other modern professors of quietism, are turning to these pages, so strangely preserved, to find in them an earlier authority for their system than they had believed.

None of these Opuscles have hitherto appeared in English, and several of them have been translated from Spanish MSS. that are now in course of publication, being printed, in fact, before the originals. German editions under Dr. Edward Boehmer, and Spanish by the two brothers Carrasco, have vied with those of our English enthusiasts—the Wiffens, and Mr. Betts; and it will probably not be long before all the Valdesian writings are accessible to us. Juan's *Commentary on the First Book of the Psalms* (i.-xli.) was a praiseworthy attempt to unlock the sealed language of the Jewish psalter, and bring it before the minds of his co-religionists in their own sweet vernacular; and, if we reflect what the Psalms have been to English Churchmen, we may cheerfully forgive the bias of De Valdés' commentary for the sake of his translation. The prefatory letter to this Spanish psalter, addressed 'To the Most Illustrious

¹ Cf. Hardwick's *History of the Christian Church during the Reformation*, p. 105.

² Hardwick says probably its author was Aonio Paleario, who was burnt by the Inquisition in 1570.

Lady Giùlia Gonzaga,' is the first Opusculum ; and if, according to its advice, the modern reader 'refrain from the imitation of David in those things which were peculiar to the spirit of the law and are alien to the spirit of the Gospel, and will weigh with great attention his (David's) most spiritual and most divine affections and thoughts which fully correspond with the spirit of the Gospel ; if, with the Christian spirit, he will aim to get further,' the perfection desired by this gentle mystic will be neared, we may think, without our recognition in David of the 'affections of justification' or a development of the like in ourselves. In short, the concluding words of this preface are an index to all the volume—the increase of 'that faith which consists in believing in God's words, and in confiding in the promises of God ;' of 'that hope which consists in patiently waiting for the fulfilment of the promises ;' of 'that charity which consists in loving that which is believed and that which is confided in ;' this growth, and enlargement of such a kind, and in so circumscribed a way, would seem to be the highest aim of De Valdés. And with all his keen insight and constant meditation, he never left the darkness of his theory of Substitution, nor declared a nobler gospel than that mutilated one which says of God's goodness and mercy that 'to give His kingdom to His people He executed the rigour of His justice upon His only-begotten Son.'

The Introduction to the Gospels (Opusc. IV.) is, to our mind, better reading ; De Valdés sees in the passion and death of Christ 'His obedience to God,' and therefore His voluntary humiliation ; and there is a very fine passage (p. 53) concerning those half-hearted Christians who would fain be transfigured with their Lord in glory, but not crucified with Him in shame.

The *Seven Doctrinal Letters*, which follow, were recently discovered in Vienna, where, in the Imperial Library, they had lain unnoticed for 340 years. The second, on *Three Ways by which Man is brought to the Knowledge of God*, may be commended as a specimen of Valdesian mysticism, as well as for its own worth : the contemplation of God 'in the creature,' the Scriptures, and in the person of Christ, being quaintly and curiously declared. No. III., on *Submission to the Rule of God*, and the succeeding letters on *Providence*, *Temptations*, and *Sickness*, are quietist and devotional. De Valdés, somewhat against the opinion of S. James (i. 13), held there were 'temptations with which we men tempt God, and temptations with which God tempts men' ; and in these, he says, 'the impious have no part' (p. 84). In fact, his whole exegesis here is very misleading ; but his words on the endurance of sickness (p. 106) partly explain this difficult matter more clearly, and atone for the earlier confusion. The last letter (Opusc. XI.), *With what Intent one should go to the Most Holy Communion* is sadly suggestive and instructive ; its argument from 1 Cor. xi. 29 (μη διακρίνων τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου) might be marked in opposition to the 'far-fetched interpretation' of Dean Stanley, or his revived explanation in Bishop Ellicott's Commentary (N. T., vol. ii., p. 333).

The Christian's Conception of Christ is taken from the CX. *Divine*

Considerations, thirty-nine of which have lately been discovered in their original Spanish, and is a very beautiful meditation indeed—hardly to be found fault with. Opusc. XIII. is the translation of a once famous tract upon *The Mode of Teaching the Fundamentals of Christian Doctrine*, being the first of the five *Tratatelli Evangelici* issued at Rome in 1545, four years after the death of their writer. *Eternal Life the Gift of God; Christian Assurance; Justification; Glorification*, &c.—the very titles are sufficient for us, with the knowledge gained of previous essays. A small point, however, may be noticed on p.175, a happy escape from some common errors incidental to our Authorized Version of 1 Cor. iv. 4, 'I know nothing by myself': De Valdés rightly reads, 'I am not conscious of any fault.'

In conclusion, grateful as we may be for the preservation of this interesting relic, and the light which it throws on the tenets of the Reformers in Southern Europe, we are reluctantly compelled to own no little disappointment in this chosen specimen of their work. Perhaps in it may be found a latent cause of their failure, and the success of the counter-reformation in Spain and Italy. It is difficult now to feel the force of these long-silent tractates and treatises; impossible to re-echo the opinion of Rogers already quoted, or that of Celio Secundo Curione,¹ who roundly says, 'No writer has soared to such a height, nor demonstrated so powerfully, nor reasoned so sweetly, nor with such majesty, nor with such authority, nor with such grace, as our Valdés.'

To comprehend a measure of his great success, and the astonishing results which for a while attended his efforts, and which eventually required all the power of the Inquisition to dispel, we must go back in mental as well as spiritual stature; and being in imagination dwarfed by the absence of that liberal theology which began with the revival of Greek letters, we shall best understand how the men of De Valdés' age rejoiced in the doctrine which he and his zealous brother spread abroad. But the days are past for us to fear any return to lasting influence of that section of Protestant Christianity which delighted most in legal fictions and forensic terms, from which an earlier and happier Church had been delivered; and with this assurance we may well consider the gentler meditations here restored to us, though we sigh for the bondage of so saintly a mind and devotional a soul as that of their author Juan de Valdés. On his name be peace.²

Traité de morale de Malebranche; réimprimé d'après l'édition de 1707, avec les variantes des éditions de 1684 et 1697, et avec une introduction et des notes. Par HENRI JOLY. (Paris: Thorin, 1882.)

MALEBRANCHE is still justly regarded as one of the most celebrated of the French Oratorians, and as the best representative of the Car-

¹ Prefixed to the first edition of the *CX. Divine Considerations*, in 1550.

² A curious account of De Valdés' retirement from the world, because he felt 'there ought to be a vacancy of time betwixt fighting and dying,' will be found in Walton's *Life of George Herbert*, pp. 269, 270.

tesian school of philosophy ; at the same time, whenever he is named, it is only in connection with his *Recherche de la vérité*, and few persons except professed scholars have heard of his *Entretiens d'un philosophe Chrétien et d'un philosophe Chinois*, and especially of his *Traité de morale*. The Abbé Blampignon may claim the honour of having first drawn the attention of the public to the last-named work.

The French Educational Council has repeatedly selected Malebranche's *Traité de morale* as one of the subjects for pupils anxious to obtain a university degree in metaphysics. This rendered a new, cheap, and accurate edition of the work absolutely necessary, and it has at last been done in the most scholarly manner by M. Joly, one of the ablest professors at the Sorbonne, and already known by several important philosophical publications. There are three editions of the *Traité de morale*, issued respectively in 1684, 1697 and 1707 ; it is this last, of course, which M. Joly has selected, but he has taken care to add the various readings of the two others. In the case of Malebranche, such a precaution was especially necessary, because it illustrates the author's psychological history, and it shows how scrupulous he was not to leave any statement which might excite the suspicion of theologians, or seem at variance with his own system ; to say nothing of clearness of style—a quality especially indispensable in a treatise on ethics designed for general reading. The best way of giving an idea of the contents of Malebranche's work will be, perhaps, to quote the following summary as we find it in the preface to the 1697 edition :—

'This treatise is divided into two parts. In the former the author proves that *virtue consists precisely in the habitual and all-prevailing love of immutable Order*. He then goes on to explain the two principal qualities which are necessary to acquire and preserve virtue—namely, *strength of mind and freedom of mind*. He next shows what are the *occasional causes of our knowledge and of our feelings* : that is to say, the actual assistance without which we cannot acquire the love of Order. Finally, he dwells upon the *occasional causes of certain feelings* which resist the efficacy of Divine Grace, so that we may take special care to avoid them. Thus nothing is forgotten of what we must necessarily know if we would be virtuous. In the latter part of his book, the author explains all our duties according to the generally received succession, but in an altogether new method. The necessity of making himself clearly understood has led him to avoid the names of the several virtues and vices. These names, he believes, often conjure up in the mind confused imaginings, and help the diffusion of dangerous errors, because the corruptions of the age, coupled with preconceived notions, have attached false and altogether heathen ideas to these magnificent names, which most people utter without taking the trouble of explaining them.'

M. Joly, after reproducing the passage we have just quoted, comments upon it with remarkable accuracy, and shows that if in the sphere of pure metaphysics Malebranche holds an intermediate position between Descartes and Spinoza, as a moralist he may be regarded as the precursor of Leibnitz. Like the German philosopher, he deems immutable Order to be the fundamental axiom of religion and of ethics ; this principle once admitted, it is not difficult

to ascertain what the will of God is, for God intends that the greatest possible amount of order should be attained. Accordingly, in His eternal decrees, the body is created first to subserve the spiritual part of our nature, then to try it, and thus to give us the means of winning a purely spiritual existence. The spirits, in their turn, are made for God ; the life which now is has been ordained as a preparation for that which is to come ; temporal society fits us for the eternal one which is to follow ; and order requires that the interests of the present life should be subordinate—nay, sacrificed, if needs be—to the interests of the future existence, prepared as that existence is for the glory of God and the perpetual manifestation of His adorable perfections. Whatever disturbance has been introduced into nature by human passions and by *the Fall*, such is the immutable order, the order willed by God, even when He seems to postpone its realization for a season.

If we examine carefully the ethical system of Malebranche, we cannot help being struck by its essentially Christian and catholic character. He may in some of his speculations appear to have a leaning towards Pantheism, but his good sense soon shows him the errors of Epicurus and Spinoza, and it would be impossible to find in the whole catalogue of evangelical divines a theologian who believed more firmly than he did, and preached more convincingly, the doctrine of a Personal God. On the question of free-will he expresses himself with equal decision, and his pretension is to have guarded that cardinal tenet against the dangers with which other theories surrounded it ; lastly, in opposition to the Jansenists, he steadfastly maintained that the scheme of Redemption is designed for all mankind, and that there is no one who cannot by God's grace 'work out his own salvation.'

We recommend once more, in the strongest manner, M. Joly's edition of Malebranche's *Traité de morale*. The copious notes by which it is illustrated add considerably to its value.

Outlines of Primitive Belief among the Indo-European Races. By CHARLES FRANCIS KEARY, M.A. (London : Longmans, Green and Co., 1882.)

MR. KEARY is careful to lay down at the outset that the Primitive Belief which forms the subject of his work is only that of the Aryan races. It is important to bear this in mind throughout, as otherwise when 'primitive man' is spoken of we might be tempted to search for the elements of his religion in those 'records of the past' which have been so marvellously preserved for us in the tablets and cylinders of Assyria and Babylonia, and the papyri of Egypt. This, however, we are forbidden to do. It is ground from intruding on which we are expressly warned. And the fact that the investigation is narrowed within the circle of the Indo-European creeds, we are told, absolves the writer from the necessity of defending the results at which he may arrive 'against arguments and facts drawn from other fields of inquiry, from other language, and other literature' ; hence, by parity of reasoning, Mr. Keary's discoveries are

not to be urged as 'binding on investigators of the beliefs of other races.' We have grave doubts as to the possibility of thus isolating one race or group of tribes, and treating the history of its belief as if no other race existed, and the work before us confirms us in the doubt, as the author is from time to time unable to resist the temptation of quoting what appear to him analogies and parallels from races outside the circle to which he professes to confine himself, and excursions are made into regions with which he is apparently not too familiar. But, apart from this, it is no comparative mythology even of the Aryan races that is here given to us. The *history* rather than the *meaning* and *matter* of belief forms Mr. Keary's subject. Religion, according to him,—

'began with fetichism, with the worship, we will suppose, of an individual tree; it passed on to the worship of many trees, of the grove of trees, and it soon proceeded thence to a worship of some invisible belonging of the grove. This might be the sacred silence which seems to reign in the wood, or the storm which rushes through it, or any of the dim, mysterious forest sounds. From the visible and tangible things of earth religion looked farther away to the heavenly bodies, or to the sky itself. And then at last it emerged from the nature-worshipping stage; and the voice of God, which was heard once in the whirlwind, was now heard only in the still small voice within.' (P. 30.)

This will show our readers what to expect from this volume. Of the three stages, fetichism, nature-worship, and belief in a Personal God, the first forms the subject of Chapter II. We need not stay to criticize the theory thus offered as to the origin of religion. The advocates of the rival theories of fetichism and the worship of ancestors may safely be left to fight out the battle between themselves. But we cannot say that Mr. Keary contributes much to the cause of which he is the champion. Throughout this chapter he appears to be groping about in the dark. It is tacitly acknowledged that the material on which to form a judgment is but scanty, and conjecture (not always happy) plays a larger part here than elsewhere.

Passing from fetichism to nature-worship, we arrive at the main subject of the book; and here the author has a far wider range of matter at his command. Chapter III. is devoted to the gods of the Aryas; Chapter IV. to those of the Greeks. Then, after a discussion of the Greek mysteries, there follows an investigation of the belief of the Indo-European races touching the other world. This strikes us as, from a literary point of view, the least successful part of the work. It is wanting in arrangement and clearness throughout, and it was hardly needful to introduce into it so full an epitome of the *Odyssey* as that which we find on pages 296–324. A knowledge of the chief facts of the story might surely have been presupposed on the part of the reader. More interesting are the succeeding chapters on the beliefs of heathen Germany. Many of the German popular tales with which we are all familiar, such as the *Wild Huntsman*, the *Wandering Jew*, the *Pied Piper of Hamelin*, are here traced back to their source, and we are taken behind the scenes and shown something of the process 'which has transformed lovely

shield-maidens, the companions of a god, once the ideal of womanhood to the rude chivalry of the North, into wretched hags, riding upon broomsticks, upon trusses of hay, or upon sieves, to join the Prince of Darkness in his midnight orgies' (p. 510).

All this forms the most valuable part of the book, and whatever may be thought of Mr. Keary's theory of the origin of religion, and of his earlier chapters, there can be no doubt that he has succeeded in showing how largely the Christianity of the middle ages was interpenetrated by heathen customs and heathen associations, which lingered on, sometimes in spite of the efforts of a Boniface or a Willibrord, sometimes (we fear we must add) as a direct consequence of the policy adopted by churchmen. It was dangerous advice which was given by Gregory the Great to Mellitus (Bæda, i. 30) to substitute a festival in honour of some saint or martyr instead of 'the slaughter of many oxen in the sacrifices of devils,' that those but newly-born to the faith of Christ might 'celebrate the solemnity with religious feasting, and no more offer beasts to the devil, but both kill cattle to the praise of God in their eating, and return thanks to the Giver of all things for their sustenance; to the end that whilst some gratifications are outwardly permitted them, they may the more easily consent to the inward consolations of the grace of God.' Those who wish to see the confusion that arose from following such advice as this, and the strange blending of heathenism and Christianity in the popular superstitions of the middle ages, will find ample illustrations of it in Mr. Keary's pages.

Traits and Travesties, Social and Political. By LAURENCE OLIPHANT. (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1882.)

THERE is much in this attractive book to be recommended to our readers, although many of them may have read some of its contents before, under cover of English or American magazines. The versatility of Mr. Oliphant in affecting the *persona* now of a Turkish Effendi, a Japanese traveller, an Irish-American politician, and even a New York belle; and his power of delineating all these with great truthfulness, and often very subtle touches of character, cannot fail to be enjoyed by any citizen of the world; while his adventures as a correspondent of the *Times* in the Franco-German war are thrilling enough to satisfy most lovers of campaigning, and all its attendant horrors and charms. But our special reason for this notice arises from the third essay, on *The Reconstruction of Sheepfolds*, and the fifth, *The Autobiography of a Joint Stock Company (Limited)*. In the former, the author whimsically dilates on the requirements of the age, in words of mock earnestness, which may perhaps after all conceal a grave purpose, or at least make a confession of modern anxieties and needs. Instead of having the country only territorially divided for ecclesiastical purposes, he would have it spiritually divided as well—i.e. 'according to the special requirements of large classes and groups of individuals, and adapted to their occupations and positions in life.' For instance, a Bishop of Finance; a Dean and

Chapter, with special cures in the city, the most eminent being that of the Stock Exchange. Dioceses of trades, of fashion, of politics, all are pleaded for ; and, if only a tithe of Mr. Oliphant's innuendoes be true, there is ample room for pulpit specialists, expert in the denunciation of all the varied frauds and hypocrisies which may be classed under those several heads. At the present day, while 'positivists and social scientists' appear 'inclined to claim a monopoly of the loftiest motives of action, and the most disinterested love of humanity,' it seems to him that they 'should be met by a well-organized attack upon the vices which their philosophy condemns but fails to grapple with practically.' Certainly, the much-abused City churches might be put to worse uses than for clear and plain declarations of God's Word against all manner of trade and business sins ; and it were well to speak out equally plainly at the West End and elsewhere on the follies and sins of fashionable life, and the demoralization and corruption caused by political falsehood and intrigue.

The fifth article is a pitiless exposure of those 'City' tactics which have heaped disgrace on the good old name of merchant, and have well-nigh spoiled our English reputation for fair dealing in the world. It is moreover addressed especially 'to clergymen in remote country parishes,' than whom the writer knows of 'no more ignorant and confiding class of investors.' And, assuredly, if the constant deluge of neatly-addressed circulars and prospectuses be any index of the faith which company-mongers repose in the gullibility of the clergy, Mr. Oliphant's words of warning deserve good heed.

There is satire, confessedly, and plenty of it, in these pages, but nothing ill-natured or hostile to the Church's teaching ; and there is such a wholesome breath of disdain for all meanness and trickery, that even those who find their little weaknesses mirrored and portrayed will hardly be angry with the artist. The volume is both amusing and instructive in no ordinary degree.

The Harveian Oration, 1880. By JOHN W. OGLE, M.A., M.D. Oxon. (London, 1881.)

The Harveian Oration, 1882. By GEORGE JOHNSON, M.D., F.R.C.S., F.R.S. (London : Smith, Elder and Co., 1882.)

THESE books, widely different in scope and character, are equally proofs of the power of appeal which the wider literature of the medical profession exercises towards the general public. They are examples of the way in which, by a process counter to that of the extreme specialization of function, physicians and surgeons deal, like true masters, with an infinitely wide field of subject-matter, and with the admiration of many beside those to whom, in the first instance, such orations as these might be supposed to be addressed.

Dr. Ogle, regarding ingratitude to the past as a main temptation at the present time, devotes the chief part of his Harveian oration to a most lucid retrospect of the progress of medical science from the earliest ages with which we are acquainted. It is a most interesting history. We see how, in unconscious obedience to the lurking sense

that 'every good gift and every perfect gift is from above,' medicine was, from the very first, the acknowledged bounty of a more than human giver, and the earliest hospital was the temple of a god. We see medicine gradually emancipated from the constraints which astrology, superstition, and an erroneous theology exercised over it, and freed from the fetters of those *à priori* speculations which expected mathematical symmetry alike in the human body and in the arrangement of the mountain and river systems of the earth. We trace the birth of a true experimental method and, in immediate consequence, the immense advancement of the theory and practice of medicine. We cannot omit to mention the two important digressions as to the theory of evolution and the use of vivisection in medical investigation, which can hardly fail to be eminently reassuring to a wide circle of readers.

The notes which Dr. Ogle has attached to his Oration, and which occupy more than two thirds of the volume, are indeed a wonder. We have not only 'Notes,' but notes upon notes, covering a field of research that extends from the cultus of Æsculapius to the medical diagnosis of the disease that proved fatal to Queen Anne; and yet it would be difficult to say how the matter could be arranged more conveniently, and quite impossible to wish that it had been omitted. To name but a single instance: who could fail to be interested in the account of the history of Transfusion of Blood as a means of saving life, which occupies ten pages of this part of the book?

Dr. George Johnson's Oration occupies a far smaller space, and his notes are more in the usual proportion to the body of the work. The subject of this distinguished physician's Oration is the defence of our own Harvey against certain Italian professors, who have claimed on behalf of their own countryman, Cesalpino, the credit of the discovery of the circulation of the blood. The style and language of the Oration are, of course, more technical than those of Dr. Ogle's; but even an unprofessional reader can understand the point at issue, and appreciate the weight of Dr. Johnson's arguments.

The truth (and it is a most instructive fact) seems to be that Andrea Cesalpino has happened to use an orthodox nomenclature in connexion with a most erroneous theory. He uses the term 'circulation,' but only to express the partial and to-and-fro movement with which his predecessors had been acquainted: he uses the term 'capillamenta,' but only to express the filament-like termination of nerves. In no single passage of his works is there any mention of the capillamenta as channels by which the blood passes from the arteries to the veins.

It is easy to gather from this the nature of the grounds on which Dr. Ceradini, Professor of Physiology in the University of Genoa, claims for his countryman the glory of Harvey's great discovery. Dr. Johnson has fully demonstrated the worthlessness of such a claim when it is brought into comparison with Harvey's clear statements and exact reasoning.

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ART. I.—PUSEY'S S. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA.¹

S. Cyril, Archbishop of Alexandria: Five Tomes against Nestorius, Scholia on the Incarnation, &c. (Oxford, 1881.)

THIS volume has a full share of the melancholy interest which attaches to posthumous publications. It consists, for the most part, of the last contribution made by Mr. Philip E. Pusey to the cause of patristic literature. When his life was closed by a sudden seizure at the age of forty-nine, in January 1880, those who knew anything of him must have felt that he had also contributed more than he knew of to a cause which lay yet closer to his heart, the cause of Christian edification.

The retrospect of that life, to the outer eye so clogged and overshadowed, is in one view deeply pathetic, in another at once admonitory and inspiring. Deaf and crippled from early childhood, and debarred by his infirmities from the career and from the society of his equals, he might have been expected to drift into an invalid's habits of self-indulgence, content with just as much of intellectual exertion as might best beguile the weary days. But Philip Pusey had inherited no small share of his father's extraordinary energy of will, and had profited by the constant example of that father's supreme singleness of heart. He became himself, without in the least intending it, an example not only to sufferers, but to students. We venture to quote from some notes taken at the time of a sermon preached by Dean Liddell in Christ Church Cathedral, three days after Mr. Pusey's death. After alluding to 'the small emaciated form which all had seen swinging itself on

¹ [It is necessary to state that this paper was not only written, but in type, before the lamented death of Dr. Pusey.—ED.]

crutches up the steps of the quadrangle, or along the street, with such activity,' and adding 'Few of you knew what gentleness, cheerfulness, and activity dwelt in that frail tenement,' the Dean told how, wherever Philip Pusey had travelled in the course of his literary labours—of which more presently—he had 'won hearts by his simple engaging manner, and by the courage which was combined with his helplessness,' insomuch that 'the monks of Mount Athos had asked an Oxford visitor, *And how is Philippos?*'¹ What significance in that simple question! He went on to speak of 'the pleasant smile with which Philip had been wont to greet his friends, his courageous patience under life-long suffering, and what seemed in him an incapacity of complaining; his delight in children—the sure sign of an innocent and happy temper; his awe and reverence for Almighty God, and constant desire to obey and please Him. When it was made plain to him that he could not take Holy Orders, he only said that his one wish was to do whatever he was told would best promote the service of God, as he could, and when, and where.'

Piety, in the most comprehensive sense, was indeed the motive power of Philip Pusey's life, and the source of all his strength, active or passive. For him the Fifth Commandment was linked most closely to the First. The profound adoring earnestness with which he would mentally follow the Cathedral services, of which he could not distinctly hear a word, was of a piece with the beautiful devotedness which made him accept absolutely his father's directions as to the line in which he was to work for Him whom, in the notes to his volume, he repeatedly calls 'our Master.' Those directions will be best appreciated by turning back to a passage in Dr. Pusey's famous sermon on 'The Holy Eucharist a Comfort to the Penitent,' preached in 1843, wherein he adduces 'the words of a father who, in warfare with the Nestorian heresy, lived in the mystery of the Incarnation,' *i.e.* an extract from S. Cyril of Alexandria's comment on S. John vi. 53. With this let us compare Dr. Pusey's touching words at the end of the Preface to the present volume, dated 'Christmas Eve, 1881.'

'S. Cyril was my own early teacher on the connection of the doctrine of the Incarnation and the Holy Eucharist, which Hooker

¹ We believe that the question, as put to a distinguished Oxford tutor, who has travelled much in the East, was, 'And how is Philippos of London?'—London being, to the good monks, synonymous with England.

all but reached.' (The allusion is to *E. P.* v. 56. 9.) 'It was at my wish that, in his uniform filial love, my son took as the central work of his life, to make the text of his works as exact as it could be made. For this he visited libraries in France, Spain, Italy, Germany, Russia, Mount Athos, Cairo, Mount Sinai; and applied to this the knowledge of Syriac which he had perfected in view of another object which I had suggested to him, the re-editing of that now much undervalued critical authority, the Peshito. Almighty God was pleased to break off the work "in the midst of the years."'

Not long before Mr. Pusey's death, he had told a friend of the present writer that he had work before him for fifteen years if he should live so long. He had edited, first, *S. Cyril's Commentary on the Twelve (Minor) Prophets*—taking this at the outset, as ancillary to the work which his father was then completing on the same subject; otherwise he would surely have begun with the *Thesaurus*, or the Treatise against Julian. In the preparation of this edition he made a journey to the East; and, as he tells us in the Preface, 'of the nineteen monasteries on Mount Athos he visited all in which he had any reason to expect to find Greek MSS.' 'In the Monastery of Sphigmenius,' he adds with quiet humour, 'if there was a library, I could not see it.'

He was hospitably entertained at Moscow, by order of the venerable metropolitan Philaret, for more than a month; and in the West he found a helpful welcome at Milan, Madrid, and elsewhere. The two volumes were published in 1868, and dedicated with simple emphasis '*Patri Meo*.' He next undertook *S. Cyril's Commentary on S. John's Gospel*, which he published with certain other small works and fragments of works, making up three volumes, in 1872. The fragments were from *S. Cyril's* works against Diodore and Theodore, and against the 'Synousiastæ' or Apollinarians; and, as Dr. Pusey says in the Preface to the present volume, were 'collected with great pains from every source hitherto known, including a MS. "Defence of the Council of Chalcedon, by John, Bishop of Cæsarea," still extant in MS. in Syriac and in Greek, at Venice and at Cairo, where my son saw it. This collection of fragments is the completest collection extant' (Preface, p. civ). The Latin prefaces to both these portions of the projected complete collection of *S. Cyril's* text conclude with expressions of devout thankfulness for the Divine protection and preservation. Soon after the appearance of the *Commentary on S. John*, Mr. Pusey published in pamphlet form, 'for the use of the Theological School' of Oxford, what he designated *The Three Epistles of S. Cyril*, meaning the

second and third Epistles to Nestorius and the Epistle to John of Antioch (commonly called *Lætentur cæli*), 'with revised text and English translation.' They were re-issued together with the *Libri Quinque contra Nestorium*, the *Explanatio XII Capitulorum*, the two *Defensiones Capitulum*, and the *Scholia de Incarnatione*, in 1875, which were followed in 1877 by the *De Recta Fide ad Theodosium*, the *Dialogus de Incarnatione*, the *De Recta Fide ad Arcadium Marinamque*, the *De Recta Fide ad Pulcheriam et Eudociam*, the *Dialogus Quod Unus sit Christus*, and the *Apologeticus ad Theodosium*. A volume of the 'Library of the Fathers' had already appeared in 1874, containing part of S. Cyril's commentary on S. John in an English dress, with a preface to which Dr. Pusey himself contributed the largest part, on the great question of the relation of the Holy Spirit to the Son.

The present volume, also included in the same Library, and published forty-three years after its commencement, consists of an English version of the *Five Tomes against Nestorius*, the *Scholia*, the *Christ is One*, and the Fragments against Diodore, Theodore, and the Synousiasts or Apollinarians, together with a Preface which Mr. Pusey apparently had not time to finish, and to which Dr. Pusey has added a lengthy supplement.

To a Preface thus composed the attention of readers will naturally be directed, when they first take up Mr. Pusey's last volume on S. Cyril. And we must in the first place ask them to observe that, considering the circumstances which we have mentioned, it is but natural that the name of S. Cyril of Alexandria should be invested in Dr. Pusey's mind with specially tender and sacred associations; that he should feel towards him, in short, a kind of personal loyalty, distinct from the affectionate reverence which he would entertain, for instance, towards S. Athanasius, or S. Chrysostom, or S. Augustine. And, this being so, it could hardly surprise us if he were to avert his eyes as much as possible from certain points in the public conduct of his 'early benefactor' (Pref. p. cv), and to insist that this or that questionable step must have been right, because, in fact, it was taken; if, in a word, he were instinctively led on from doing due homage to a great Catholic Doctor into idealizing his character as conspicuously that of a Saint.

Now, we have the fullest conviction that Cyril's memory has been much wronged by writers of the modern liberal school.¹

¹ A reviewer of Milman in the *Christian Remembrancer*, Oct. 1854, says of him and of similar writers: 'If there are manifest faults of character in

It was comparatively little that they should not appreciate his eminence as a divine, or the great services which he rendered to Catholic Christianity. This was to be expected, of course. But besides this, they have exaggerated the faults of his public conduct, and ignored not only his high courage and his majestic force of character, but also his firm grasp of the Christian ideas of mediation and atonement, and that deep religious sense of 'the marvellous love of God, as manifested in the Incarnation,' which, as Dorner admits, was a sustaining motive of his polemical energy. Herein they have supplied another illustration of that *odium anti-theologicum* which, when excited by the names of certain famous hierarchs, goes far to contradict all professions of tolerance or charity. But then, if we were asked what was most likely to provoke an access of this unfairness, we should be obliged to answer, 'Indiscriminate eulogy—a disposition to look at Cyril from the hagiological rather than the historical standpoint.' And we fear it must be admitted that the preface before us goes some way in that direction. Dr. Pusey, indeed, in his own part of it, says that during several months in 430 Cyril 'waited,' having 'learned probably from his fiery adhesion to his uncle and early benefactor Theophilus, and its injustice to the memory of S. Chrysostom:' words which give but an inadequate conception of the deplorable letter to Atticus, wherein the young 'Pope' of Alexandria ranked the glorious confessor of Constantinople with Jeconiah, and even with Judas, by way of emphasizing his refusal to place the name of 'John' on the diptychs of his church, as a bishop who had died in Catholic communion.¹ Ere long, it is true, he yielded to circumstances, and to Isidore's exhortation not to imitate his uncle, nor perpetuate an ecclesiastical feud under the garb of piety.² And in the February of 430 he referred to 'John' as a standard of 'fluency' which, he intimated, Nestorius had still to reach.³ But it is hard to believe that he had really come to a better mind on the merits of the case, since we find him, in 432, praising Acacius

any one, his earnestness for religious doctrine is at once condemned as a mere excuse for personal quarrels or party aggrandisement; and, as in S. Cyril of Alexandria, no language of reproach appears too stern.' He 'is treated with uniform unmitigated severity.'

¹ See Aubert's *Cyril*, v. par. i. *Epist.* p. 206.

² Isid. Pelus. *Epist.* i. 370. Compare Photius, *Bibl.* 232. 'He [Stephen Gobar] states what sort of opinion the most pious Isidore of Pelusium had about Theophilus and Cyril, . . . how he spoke ill of them, because of their enmity to Chrysostom,' &c.

³ *Epistles*, p. 34.

of Berrhœa,¹ S. Chrysostom's one surviving personal enemy, for a speech uttered by him in Cyril's own hearing, 'when John was accused at the Holy Council of the Oak.'² But there is something else to be taken account of in any full estimate of Cyril's character, of what he had had to learn and to unlearn. To this Mr. Pusey has referred in p. ix of the preface, as follows:—

'S. Cyril's accession to the archiepiscopal throne of Alexandria brought him at once into a position of great power in Alexandria ; and brought too, in the early part of it, trials in regard of the disunion between him and Orestes, the governor, resulting from the Jewish insurrection against the Christians.'

Nothing but absolute hero-worship could have led Mr. Pusey to give this extraordinarily euphemistic summary of transactions which have become more widely known than many others in Cyril's life. We hardly need remind our readers that the prefect of Egypt had long been offended, as Dr. Neale says,³ 'at the enormous power assumed by the bishop,' who had begun, in Socrates' words, to 'go beyond the bounds of ecclesiastical administration, and to domineer in civil affairs.'⁴ Cardinal Newman, in the wonderfully vivid paper on Theodoret which appears in his *Historical Sketches*, says that the power of the Evangelical See was 'too great for human nature in times of external prosperity and in ordinary hands ;' that Athanasius was intrinsically too noble 'to abuse his power ;' but that 'when he was gone, and persecution ceased, and his place was filled by men of coarser grain,' it was otherwise. 'Scoundrel'⁵ as Orestes probably was, we can see that he had his own reasons, such as they were, for wishing to force a quarrel on Cyril. He listened to Jewish maligners, and caused a zealous lay churchman to be scourged. Cyril threatened the chief men of the Jews ; and they in revenge planned a night-attack on the Christians, which was only too successful. Thereupon Cyril, doubtless despairing of justice from the prefect, took the law into his own hands, led his adherents in force against the synagogues, drove the Jews out of the city, and gave up their houses to

¹ Of him Cardinal Newman writes : 'What is so dreadful to look upon as a hard-hearted old man?' *Hist. Sketches*, iii. 346.

² Mansi, v. 833.

³ *Hist. Patr. Alex.* i. 226.

⁴ Soc. vii. 7.

⁵ It is Kingsley's word, in *Hyppatia*, c. 20. Speaking of the rotten state of society in Alexandria, he says that moderns know as little of the pandemonium against which Cyril fought, as they do of the intense belief which sustained him in his warfare.

be plundered by the mob. Soon afterwards, acting on good advice, he attempted to be reconciled to Orestes, who, however, preferred to keep his grievance, and was obdurate. Then the Nitrian monks, among whom Cyril had been brought up, hurried in wild excitement to Alexandria, and one of them wounded the governor with a stone. 'The culprit,' says Neale, 'was arrested, condemned, and executed' by torture; whereupon Cyril proclaimed him to be a martyr, although ere long he 'was glad to let this monstrous canonization sink into oblivion.' Must we go on to the tragedy of Hypatia? It is indeed most unfair to fasten on Cyril personally the guilt of that hideous murder, which Kingsley has so piercingly described.¹ What Socrates says is, 'This brought no small disgrace on Cyril and on the church of Alexandria.'² The statement of the Pagan Damascius in the next century, to the effect that the Archbishop had prompted the deed, is unsupported, and evidently calumnious. But Cyril was responsible for having stirred up 'a force of passions which outran his own control.' His had been the error of thinking that in her strife with the world the Church must not disdain the world's weapons; and 'those who had shed Hypatia's blood at the foot of the altar were but bettering the instruction which had let them loose upon the synagogues.'³ These are not matters to be disposed of under such a phrase as 'trials,' as if Cyril had been in 414-5 simply the meek victim of the spite of Orestes or of the Jews. Of course the events in question constituted a 'trial' for Cyril; but the point is, how did he stand it? What Cardinal Newman says of his persistent hostility to S. Chrysostom's memory may be applied with yet greater force to the line which he took in the other case:—

'It is not honest to distort history for the sake of some gratuitous theory. Theologically he is great; in this respect Catholics of all succeeding times have been his debtors . . . but . . . we may hold S. Cyril to be a great servant of God, without considering ourselves obliged to defend certain passages of his ecclesiastical career. It does not answer to call whitey-brown white.'⁴

'Accept no person against thy soul, and let not the reverence of any man cause thee to fall.'⁵ One who is

¹ *Hypatia*, c. 29.

² Soc. vii. 15. Stanley says, 'The direct charge of Damascius is not contradicted by Socrates' (*East. Church*, p. 293), as if Socrates could have read Damascius; and thence he infers that 'Cyril was suspected, even by the orthodox, of complicity in the murder.' Even Milman does not go this length (*Lat. Christ.* i. 191).

³ *Dict. Chr. Biog.* i. 764.

⁴ *Historical Sketches*, iii. 342.

⁵ *Ecclus.* iv. 22.

more inclined by habit to admire than to criticize should keep this maxim before him written large, when he has to speak of certain canonized Fathers—of Cyril, of Jerome, or even of Leo. He will then remember that his first duty is not to their honour, but to historical truth and the Christian moral standard; and he will not let the saintly prefix pervert his judgment on a question of right and wrong. When he comes across what is wrong in their recorded conduct, he will speak of it gravely, and as it were sorrowfully, with careful measurement of words, and with scrupulous appreciation of temperament, of difficulties, of provocations, and of counter-balancing merits. But he will not try to make it look like right, or to wrap it up so as to keep it from recognition, or even to omit it from a general estimate of character. Doubtless it was possible that the 'high-handed proceedings' of Cyril's early episcopate should leave no permanent mark upon his character; that within thirteen or fifteen years he should have so completely overcome the habits of his early training and the tendencies of his natural disposition as to be simply the loving, 'peace-making,' 'self-forgetting,' 'God-devoted' saint presented to us by Dr. Pusey's fervent affection. It was possible; but, on the whole, was it probable? and do all the facts verify this engaging picture?¹ That he was a man of 'strong natural love' for friends and adherents, as Dr. Pusey infers from one of his letters to Acacius of Melitene, proves too little. If we love those who love us and are loyal to us, what thank have we? Again, did Isidore, who knew Cyril intimately, and whom Cyril called his 'father,' think in 431, while the Council of Ephesus was sitting, that his 'son' and 'Pope' had been thoroughly softened and disciplined? He did not; for otherwise he would not have warned Cyril that if 'prejudice could not see clearly, antipathy could not see at all;' adding that 'many who were assembled at Ephesus charged him with prosecuting a private quarrel,' and observed, 'After all, he is Theophilus' own nephew.'² Dr. Pusey quotes this letter, but endeavours to break its force by setting it in parallel with another letter of subsequent date, wherein Isidore told Cyril that his acceptance of the Formulary of Reunion proved him to be 'either unstable or insincere.'³ But are the cases analogous? The second letter deals with the question of the consistency of certain

¹ Garnier admits that 'his temper, unless restrained by the bridle of Christian virtue, was *almost ambitious*,' and that 'even his sermons seemed sometimes *vix non iracundia accendi*' (Mar. Merc. *Op.* ii. p. xiii).

² Isid. *Epist.* i. 310.

³ *Ib.* i. 324.

theological statements, as to which the great abbot's *prima facie* view might be mistaken. The first is evidently prompted by anxiety as to the revival of dangerous impulses in Cyril's nature, which his spiritual 'father' knew too well. We do not say that this warning was needed; but it is too plain for question that Isidore thought it was, and that, as he had said in an earlier letter of rebuke, 'he must not be like Eli.'¹

At the same time, it is certain that Cyril showed nothing like impetuosity in, at any rate, his earlier proceedings towards Nestorius. He was altogether within his rights, nay, he was but doing his plain duty,² when in April of 429 he warned the monks of Egypt against errors disseminated from Constantinople, without naming Nestorius as the author of the sermons³ which contained them. His first letter to Nestorius, after that prelate had taken offence at the 'Epistle to the Monks,' is grave and earnest, but not bitter;⁴ it intimates some doubt as to whether the obnoxious writings were really by Nestorius, and assumes nothing to be his act but the rejection of the word 'Theotocos,' a rejection which he is entreated to cancel, and thereby to consult his own reputation, and to secure Christian peace. Nor does the inestimable 'second letter to Nestorius'⁵ contain a harsh or unbrotherly word. Cyril writes, he says, 'out of love in Christ,' and he explicitly guards his statement of doctrine from any appearance of the Apollinarianism with which Nestorius charged the maintainers of 'Theotocos.' The letter was apparently written at the end of January 430;⁶ and after Easter Cyril

¹ Isid. *Epist.* i. 370.

² See S. Cyril. *Epist.* p. 30.

³ The first of these sermons, which begins, 'The doctrine of piety,' and was preached at the end of 428, exists in Mercator, according to both Garnier and Baluze. It attacks the term 'Theotocos,' and uses 'incarnation' in the sense of an association between the Word and a man who was His instrument (comp. Cyril. *Ad Monachos*, c. 21), and who is said to be adorable for His sake. Garnier pieces together some fragments into what he ranks Nestorius' second sermon, preached very early in 429. To one of these passages Cyril clearly alludes in *Ad Monachos*, c. 10. A third sermon of the same date, as given by Garnier, seems referred to in *Ad Monachos*, c. 9, 12.

⁴ Neale indeed says, 'that it shows somewhat of the same spirit which had led Cyril to the vehemence displayed by him in his youth.'—*Hist. Alex.* i. 246. But this is rather too severe. See the letter in S. Cyril's *Epist.* p. 19, or Mansi, *Concil.* iv. 884.

⁵ S. Cyril's *Epist.* p. 22, or P. Pusey's edit. of S. Cyril, *Op.* vi. 2.

⁶ See Garnier, ii. 45. Mr. Pusey says, we know not why, 'that it was probably written before the close of 429.' We may here add that there seems to be an oversight in Pref. p. xxi, where a long extract from Nestorius (see it in Mansi, v. 761) accusing Cyril of garbling is prefaced by 'The passages of the letter to the monks referred to by Nestorius

wrote to Celestine of Rome, taking credit for his own patience, but indicating somewhat of the old Alexandrian jealousy as to the power of the comparatively upstart see of Constantinople.¹ This letter produced in August the synodical inquiry at Rome; after which Celestine commissioned Cyril to excommunicate Nestorius, unless within ten days he should agree with Rome and Alexandria 'as to the birth of Christ our God.' But it was not until the beginning of November that Cyril acted on this commission by sending the 'third letter to Nestorius,' with its accompanying anathematisms; so that Neale is warranted in saying that 'none can justly accuse Cyril of eagerness in procuring the downfall of his opponents but such as, to carry out their own preconceived hypothesis, dare to violate all truth, and to reject all testimony.'² Yet can we think that in proposing to Nestorius, as a *sine qua non* of communion, the adoption of these anathematisms, which Mr. Pusey again translates in his portion of the Preface, Cyril was doing precisely the best for the cause which he had so deeply at heart? To us it appears that he was not. The twelve 'articles' or 'chapters' in themselves were by no means calculated to reclaim the erring prelate, being aimed expressly and pointedly at language which he had used;³ and the abruptness of their tone, and a certain onesidedness which laid them open to criticism on the part of many who believed in a Divine Christ, but were jealous for the truth of His Humanity, were 'obstacles to their acceptance,'⁴ and a source of manifold confusion and discord. The all-sufficient proof of this is, that Cyril found it necessary to explain and to re-explain them, and that they

are,' &c. Nestorius is here complaining of the mode in which extracts were made from his sermons for Celestine's information in the spring of 430. On this point, see Tillemont, xiv. 346.

¹ Mr. Pusey says (Pref. p. xix), that 'there was still at Constantinople habitual soreness towards Alexandria.' Was not this soreness reciprocal? Garnier, as we have seen, thought so.

² Neale, i. 251.

³ Thus in the letter the crucial term 'Theotocos' is reserved for the eleventh chapter, the way having been carefully prepared for it, whereas it is thrust forward in the second clause of the first 'article' or 'chapter' or anathematism.

⁴ *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* i. 766. Dr. Pusey thinks their language 'so clear' as to make any misunderstanding a matter of wonder: but onesidedness is always open to misunderstanding. *E. g.*, they say nothing of the impassibility of the Word *as God*; nor do they, like the Formulary of Reunion (which, as we shall see, was not of Cyril's writing), set the 'Manhood' in parallel with the 'Godhead.' Undoubtedly, as Cyril explained them, they are an orthodox expression of one aspect of the Incarnation, and they give intimations of the other aspect.

received at most a tacit acquiescence in the Council of Ephesus, and were passed over by the Council of Chalcedon,¹ soon after which a Patriarch of Constantinople denounced them with almost inarticulate fury.² It is very well to say that they ought not to have been circulated without the epistle to which they were annexed, and which, if carefully read, would have corrected any misconception as to their bearing; but it was to them, not to the letter, that Nestorius was imperatively summoned to set his hand. 'What it is necessary for your Piety to anathematize is subjoined to this our letter.' And when Dr. Pusey adduces a letter of Cyril's to some of his own clergy resident at Constantinople as containing a 'frank offer' of peace, on condition that Nestorius should write a statement of 'Catholic faith,' and adds that Nestorius is thus 'tied down to no theological expressions, but to the simple faith,' the answer is that this letter was written about a year before, prior to this second letter to Nestorius,³ and therefore cannot be taken as qualifying the demand that he should sign the twelve anathematisms, or consider himself deposed.

We now come to the crucial question of Cyril's conduct in regard to the opening of the Council of Ephesus before the arrival of the Antiochene or Oriental members.

Let us recall the situation. The imperial summons of a General Council had cut clean across the policy shaped by Celestine and by Cyril. It suspended the action of their sentence, and upheld for the present the *status quo*. By obeying it, they were obliged to acknowledge Nestorius as not excommunicate, and not deposed. Hence it is not accurate to say (p. lxxxii) that Nestorius, when he arrived at Ephesus, 'had already been severed from the communion of the greater part of Christendom,' if this means that he was then excommunicate. Not only had he never previously been tried, but during the preliminary conferences it was the Bishop of Constantinople whom efforts were made to reclaim; and even during the first session of the Council he was spoken of as 'the most religious Nestorius.' Theodosius had ordered the Council to meet on Whitsunday, June 7, 431. But several bishops had not arrived, and the Emperor had also ordered that whatever was done should be done by 'common consent.'⁴

¹ They are approved by the next two Councils.

² Gennadius (*Facundus*, ii. 4).

³ See the two forms of it in Aubert, *Epist.* 8, and Mercator, ed. Baluze, p. 103, and compare Tillemont, xiv. 337.

⁴ Mansi, iv. 1120.

A fortnight passed. The Bishop of Antioch and his suffragans were still absent; the prelates at Ephesus were suffering seriously from the heat, and could not understand why the 'Orientals' did not arrive. It was apparently on Sunday the 21st that Cyril, who had just sent off a letter to John of Antioch to say that the Council was waiting for him,¹ received from John a kindly-worded note, to the effect that he was now only 'five or six halting-places' distant.² What was now to be done? The natural and regular course would have been to wait until the time specified, or at least, as Candidian (the Imperial Commissioner) requested, for four days; but Cyril and the majority, in spite of remonstrances and protests,³ decided to open the Council on the next day, and did so. Were they justified in this: or, since they clearly acted at his instigation,⁴ was he justified? Dr. Pusey argues for the affirmative, to the following effect: "'It does not require much humility to think that S. Cyril" had sufficient reasons for what he did. He "must have known" that he was incurring peril by disobeying the Emperor, and braving his commissioner, Candidian. But the thing to be done was to secure the deposition of Nestorius; and this could not well be secured if John and his friends were to arrive, bent (as Cyril might have just learned) on procuring a condemnation of the twelve anathemas, sure of Candidian's support in making this the first business of the Council, and likely enough to find backers ready for any violence, such as afterwards in that very city turned a Synod into a "Latrocinium." And after all, it could make no practical difference. The Church had spoken her mind. The Nestorianizers "were but a fraction. No injustice," therefore, "was done to Nestorius" by not waiting for John when they were close at hand; and the popular feeling at Ephesus was largely in Cyril's favour.' (Pref. p. lxxxii.)

We confess that the *argumentum ad verecundiam* has little weight with us, in view of certain antecedents already mentioned. Then we cannot help observing that the plea falsifies the excuse made by Cyril, that John was purposely loitering⁵—an excuse which Dr. Pusey almost seems to countenance, but which Neale examines and puts wholly aside.⁶ Of two things one: if he was loitering, then the theory of

¹ Mansi, iv. 1272. ² *Ib.* iv. 1121. Cyril's *Apologeticus*, 252 A.

³ Mansi, v. 765, 770.

⁴ Neale, i. 258. It would be ridiculous to suppose that Cyril was overborne by the other bishops.

⁵ Mansi, iv. 1229; and Cyril's *Apologeticus*, in Pusey's edit. p. 441.

⁶ *Hist. Alex.* i. 258. See also Newman, *Hist. Sketches*, iii. 350.

his being determined to push for a condemnation of Cyril's articles breaks down. Cyril could not at once suspect the former and fear the latter. As to the numbers, sixty-eight bishops did indeed sign a remonstrance against proceeding to business without the 'Easterns,' although John's 'conciliabulum,' when it met a few days later, could only muster forty-three; but the sixty-eight, as events showed, were not a compact Nestorianizing body,¹ and Cyril could not but know that, in any event, he would have a clear majority in the full Council. He had 158 to begin with, and his clear-headedness and resolution were sure to draw over not a few waverers. Force would have been a dangerous card for his opponents. Candidian himself did not attempt to clear S. Mary's church when the bishops persisted in assembling. Cyril had his Egyptian seamen within reach, and could handle them as well as another; Memnon of Ephesus, as Dr. Pusey observes, had the support of the 'peasantry' of his Church estates, and of the city population. Again we say, of two things one: the suggestion that there was peril of a Nestorian triumph, and the suggestion that the Nestorianizers were a feeble folk not worth considering, cannot stand together. Moreover, was it 'no injustice to Nestorius' himself, on the part of a Patriarch who had already committed himself very decidedly against him, to insist on not waiting even a little longer for another Patriarch who was generally disposed in his favour, and who would also take the tone of a friend in urging the test-word on his acceptance? unless, indeed, the profession of holding a trial were but a pretence. Doubtless, some allowance must be made for Cyril's disappointment at having to take the case through a Council at all. But he could well have afforded to respect the forms of order and fairness; and his true interest would therein have coincided with his duty. Supposing he had answered Candidian and the other remonstrants, 'Our brother John shall have no reason to complain; we will wait yet those few days more, and when he and his friends arrive, God will defend His own truth;' would he not have taken up a noble position, and rendered to his cause a supreme service? He afterwards asked in a tone of triumphant confidence, why John, on arriving, had not come straight into Council and taxed him with heresy; intimating that the bishops would have been sure to condemn him if the charge had been made good.² Even if John had attacked the articles, might not

¹ See Preface, p. xxxi; Hefele, *Hist. Councils*, s. 134.

² *Apologeticus*, p. 447 (ed. Pusey).

Cyril have pointed out their true import in connexion with the letter to which they were appended, and which John had not seen when he called them Apollinarian? 'John himself,' says Dr. Pusey, 'held and stated the true faith, and thought the word Theotocos the convenient and true way to express it; and that to reject it would jeopardize the unspeakable mystery.'¹ If so, the most that could have been carried by Syrian influence was a proposal for some expansion of the articles, in order to exhibit that other side of the complex truth which Cyril really held, and which he was afterwards to emphasize by accepting the Formulary of Reunion; and this would have been so much gain to Catholic truth. What discord, what scandal, what distress to pious souls, might thus have been avoided! The heresiarch would have been unable to pose as a man unfairly treated. The great Nestorian communion might very likely never have existed; at any rate Cyril would have acted unimpeachably, and might have left results to God. Why did he act otherwise? Apparently because he wanted to get Nestorius condemned as quickly and as unanimously as possible, to identify the Council's action with his own of the preceding autumn, and also to avoid the annoyance of having to defend his anathemas in Council against John, or Andrew, or Theodoret. So on that Sunday he resisted, and doubtless encouraged or stimulated his adherents to resist, all remonstrances against precipitate action; so he professed to think that John did not mean to come in time, while he himself meant to make sure that he should not come in time: so on the Monday morning, quite early in the synodical proceedings, he quoted the Emperor's letter as if it ordered the bishops to proceed 'without any delay,' whereas the words were, 'without any disturbance';² and Theodosius, while directing that the doctrinal question should be taken first, had required also, as we have seen, that it should be decided by the joint action of all. So afterwards he took advantage of John's verbal message, 'If I tarry, set about your work,' as if it did not obviously mean, 'If I am delayed beyond the time which I have specified';³ and in his *Apologeticus* to Theodosius he referred to it as if it had not had a conditional clause, but had been to the effect 'that we

¹ Preface, p. lxxvii; Mansi, iv. 1065. Cyril, indeed, wrote to the Emperor after the Council that John was, 'beyond question, of one mind with Nestorius.' *Apologet.* p. 441.

² Mansi, iv. 1119-1129; Tillemont, xiv. 395.

³ This is well put by Mr. Pusey, Pref. p. xxx. So Tillemont, xiv. 392.

were not to wait at all for his coming, but rather proceed.' Into such disingenuousness was he most unhappily led by the determination which Neale traces to 'a momentary weakness of faith,' and of which he says, 'that the fault brought its own punishment in the confusions that ensued is but too plain.'¹ Nor can Facundus be blamed for saying, 'Hinc exstitit totius causa discidii: hinc omnis tumultus sumpsit originem.'² Alas, that the 'Doctor of the Incarnation' should have been on this occasion one by whom offence came: that even now, after so many ages, his conduct can be cited as a warning instance of the readiness of strong-willed ecclesiastics, while aiming sincerely at the good of the Church, or of the Faith, to compass their ends—*quocunque modo*!

'S. Cyril showed his peace-loving disposition on his return to Egypt.' Hardly so in the 'Defence' addressed to the Emperor, written while his resentment against the 'Nestorianizers' was fresh, and containing some things painful to read, after all allowance for provocation. The Preface mentions the negotiations for peace between him and the 'Eastern' or Syrian bishops, but does not bring out the fact that the Emperor himself was urgent with both parties, so that Cyril as well as John was concerned to arrive at a concordat. The Formulary which Paul of Emesa presented to Cyril in the winter of 432 had been originally drafted by Theodoret in 431 for presentation to Theodosius; the beginning and the conclusion, which reflected on Cyril's articles, being struck out.³ One part of it would directly meet the demand of Alexander of Hierapolis, that Cyril should explicitly refer the sufferings of the incarnate Saviour to His manhood.⁴ Cyril accepted it, although he would have wished it to be still more explicit on the Personal Union,⁵ as to which, however, we may well think that it was plain enough for all practical purposes. On the other hand, it laid rather greater stress on the distinction between our Lord's natures than Cyril had been wont to do; but he acquiesced in this, says Tillemont, 'in order to destroy the suspicion, or even the belief, that he and other Catholics confounded them.'⁶ The twelve anathemas were

¹ *Hist. Alex.* i. 259.

² *Def. cap.* vii. 2.

³ See the *Synodicon*, c. 91, 96, 97, in Mansi, v. 871, 878.

⁴ *Synodicon*, c. 57. Cyril had already done so, again and again, as the present volume will show (see places cited in the index, p. 383); but this old bishop was doggedly prejudiced, although perhaps rather a Nestorianizer than a Nestorian.

⁵ *S. Cyr. Epist.* p. 134.

⁶ *Ib.* p. 118; Tillemont, xiv. 524. Yet Cyril had repeatedly denied any 'fusion;' and in *Adv. Theod.* 4, he had distinctly admitted the difference between 'words' which related to the Godhead of Christ and those

not withdrawn, for Cyril, as Dr. Pusey points out, had most reasonably rejected a former proposal for their withdrawal, even though backed by civil authority ; but they were at any rate kept in the background, and some Easterns boasted that he had been induced to retract them,¹ which of course he denied in letters to his old friends. Of the difficulty which such friends found in reconciling his adoption of the Syrian Formulary with his former employment of the phrase, 'one φύσις of God the Word, and that incarnate,' which he believed to be Athanasian, we will only say that this phrase, whether Athanasian or not, was an undesirable one in the existing development of theological terminology, but that, as used by Cyril, it was wholly clear of Monophysitism in the technical sense of the word ; for not only did he explain it, as in effect he had done before the Reunion,² to mean the one Son of God, and that Son as having assumed humanity,³ but some years afterwards he cordially approved of the Tome of Proclus, in which 'one hypostasis' was tacitly substituted for 'one φύσις,' so as to indicate 'one person.'

We wish that it were not necessary to say anything else as to Cyril's relations with the Imperial court during the negotiations for the reunion, and with the Easterns in the period immediately following it. But Dr. Pusey has omitted to notice two facts which, in our opinion, have some bearing on his thesis as to the saintly and the peacemaking character of the great Archbishop.

One is his free use of money in the form of gifts, called in the style of that age 'eulogiæ,' in order to secure Court

which were 'appropriate to the limitations of the emptying;' only he contended (as the Formulary indeed acknowledged) that both the θεοπεπῆ and the ἀνθρώπινα belonged to the one Christ.

¹ Comp. *Synodicon*, c. 101.

² See the present volume, p. 264 ; and compare the second letter to Succensus, written after the Reunion, where he says that the phrase is quite consistent with holding that our Lord has 'our essence,' and is 'perfect in Manhood as in Godhead' (*Epist.* p. 144). Mr. Pusey points out (p. 341) that the phrase is "'one incarnate nature of the Word," not "one nature of the incarnate Word," which would be the Monophysite heresy.' Yet the word 'nature' does not to our ears represent φύσις, here used by S. Cyril. See *Adv. Orient.* 8, where φύσεως comes between προσώπου and ὑποστάσεως (comp. *ib.* 3), and *Ep.* 3 to *Nest.* c. 5: 'Parity of honour does not unite τὰς φύσεις, as Peter and John are equal in honour, but the two are not one.' In *Adv. Theod.* 2, φύσις is first used for ὑπόστασις, and in the next clause is applied to human 'nature' in a sense excluding human personality. Compare *Adv. Nest.* ii. 13 (E. T. p. 77), where ἐνώσειν φύσικην is explained by καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἐνώσει. Yet elsewhere Cyril explains φύσικην by 'true.' *Adv. Orient.* c. 3. The sense of such words was still somewhat fluctuating.

influence. A letter of his archdeacon, Epiphanius, to Maximian, the successor of Nestorius, preserved by Cyril's enemy, Irenæus, and translated into Latin, with the other documents of the same collection,¹ by an African of the next century (Preface, p. xxxii), shows that the Church funds of Alexandria had been drawn upon in 433 to supply presents of this sort for the Princess Pulcheria herself, and for seven personages at the Court, to the annoyance of Cyril's own clergy. Gibbon makes capital of this very unlucky document;² and although we must bear in mind the immemorial Eastern custom of propitiating great men with gifts, yet we cannot think that what orthodox writers would probably have called a bribe if sent by a Nestorian becomes a 'blessing' on the part of a Cyril. A real Saint does not conform to questionable fashions of his time: he rises above them, and by his conduct rebukes them. Flavian of Constantinople set a better example than Cyril when, at his consecration, he sent to the Emperor's chamberlain 'eulogiæ,' not of gold, but of white bread, and added that the goods of the Church could not be parted with save for the poor.³ It is another instance of that want of what may be called religious delicacy in the choice of means which we have already had to observe in Cyril. Such delicacy would perhaps have seemed to him unpractical fastidiousness; but he had better have remembered certain words of S. Peter. It is of this transaction that Tillemont says, in his sternly pure tone, 'S. Cyril is a saint, but one cannot say that all his actions are holy (*saintes*); and the greatest saints have much reason to dread the temptation which impels us to regard as lawful what seems to promise us success in holy enterprises. The children of light must employ no arms but those of light...; we must fight for God according to God's laws, if we wish Him to crown us, and must serve Him according to the rules which He lays down for us, not according to those which human wisdom, which is much opposed to Divine, may suggest.'⁴ Golden words of a high-minded French priest, which should be in the hearts of all who have to work for the Church in the face of the world.

The other matter to which we have referred belongs to the year 436. Theodosius had issued a decree, that all

¹ *Synodicon*, c. 202.

² Gibbon, vi. 22.

³ Fleury, b. 27, c. 12. Cyril himself could use *δωροδοκία* as an opprobrious term (*Apologet.* p. 451). Yet Nestorius says he shot at him with golden arrows (Serm. 12 in Garnier, 4 in Baluze).

⁴ Tillemont, xiv. 541.

'Eastern' prelates should anathematize Nestorius, and call his heresy 'Simonian.' But Cyril was not content with the bare wording of this mandate; he insisted, in a letter to the bishop of Tyre, that Nestorian errors should be condemned in detail; and he desired the Emperor's commissioner to 'prepare' the bishops to accept a new formulary, which he had drafted for the purpose.¹ It was more simply 'Cyrilline' than the confession which he had accepted in 432; and, as Tillemont drily remarks, 'Il ne dit pas un mot de la déclaration faite pour la paix,' the substance of which ought at least to have been embodied in any new test which it might be thought necessary to prepare. He concludes this letter to Aristolaus by respectfully assuming that the exaction of the new declaration was within the intentions of the Emperor.

The account of the discussion as 'to the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia' (Preface, p. xcv) does not give a clear impression as to the order of events, or an adequate one as to Cyril's own view. The paragraph reads as if written to show that he 'was everywhere the peacemaker, whose natural element was not controversy,' who wished only to 'go on his way in peace.' To the question—Was Irenæus correct in tracing to Cyril the whole movement against Theodore's writings, as if the monk Maximus were but his instrument?²—it is answered, that Irenæus is 'refuted' by the fact that 'the Antiochenes' ('Alexandrians' is a misprint) 'appealed to S. Cyril' in support of their refusal 'to sign the Tome of S. Proclus' after the name of Theodore had been prefixed by Maximus, clean against Proclus' intentions, to the extracts which Proclus requested them to condemn. But, supposing Cyril to have really instigated Maximus, were the Easterns sure to know of it? and, even if they did know of it, might they not, with the usual diplomacy of the period, have thought well to assume that he would enter into their feelings? On the question of fact, we are by no means positive that Irenæus was right; his animosity against 'the Egyptians,' as shown in his context, goes far to invalidate his testimony; but Tillemont thought that 'S. Cyril might really have been the author' of the movement,³ although not for the reasons which Irenæus was pleased to imagine. On the other hand, Cyril's letter to Proclus seems to point the other way. However, Cyril said more against Theodore than Dr. Pusey takes account of; for, as he himself tells Acacius, he wrote to John that 'Theodore had both a blasphemous tongue' (this seems to be the sense of

¹ *Synodicon*, c. 194. Tillemont, xiv. 619.

² *Synodicon*, c. 196.

³ Tillemont, xiv. 624.

δύσφημον, and so Aubert renders it¹) 'and a pen that did it good service.' At the request of Maximus himself, Cyril wrote, in the form of a letter, his commentary on the Nicene Creed, in which he ranked Theodore with Nestorius.² He sent copies of it, on vellum, to the Emperor and the princesses; and he wrote to clerics of his at Constantinople in the same sense,³ concluding, 'It is our duty . . . to endeavour, to the utmost of our power, to crush the impiety that has risen up against Christ;' clearly alluding to those who, as he expressed it, 'while pretending to abhor Nestorius,' were circulating 'Theodore's books on the Incarnation.' The readers of this Preface would hardly gather that, in Tillemont's words, it was only after 'the remonstrances of S. Cyril and of Proclus had failed to move the Easterns to take any step against Theodore, that the Saint thought it his duty to yield to this resistance.'⁴ Tillemont, indeed, credits him with much patience before beginning to 'work for the condemnation' of Theodore's writings, as well as with prudence in 'ceasing to pursue it when he saw the trouble which it caused.'⁵ But, in view of the facts, how can we say that 'everywhere he is the peacemaker?' And we must, with all respect, express our surprise at the sentence:

'S. Cyril thought it indeed right to correct in writing the errors of Theodore, *but this disturbed no peace, since Theodore was gone.*'

Yet, in the page preceding, John of Antioch had been quoted as telling Cyril that the Easterns 'would rather be burnt' than condemn Theodore; he also declared that the mere stirring of the question had raised 'a new storm';⁶ and it was doubtless he who informed Cyril that the people cried out in the very churches, 'May Theodore's faith spread! we believe as did Theodore!'⁷ It was precisely because peace had been so much 'disturbed' by an attack on the memory of the dead 'Expositor' that Cyril at last wrote to Proclus to this effect:⁸ 'Nestorianism having been anathematized, Theodore's errors are virtually "cast out" with it, and if there had been no agitation to be expected among the Easterns, I should have said that there would be no difficulty

¹ Cyr. *Epist.* p. 197.

² *Ibid.* p. 190. 'He traced the evil which he denounced . . . beyond the person and the age of Nestorius . . . He fixed the blame upon Theodore . . . and he was right.'—Newman, *Hist. Sketches*, iii. 345.

³ *Ibid.* p. 198.

⁴ Tillemont, xiv. 641.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 625.

⁶ Cyr. *Epist.* p. 199.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 197.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 200.

in requiring them to do this also in express terms ; but from what I have learned I think that those who have taken up the matter had better be persuaded to let it drop.' He writes like a man who wishes that a certain course had been feasible, but gives up when he finds that it will not do ; and the Preface does not bring this out. To be sure, in writing on his own account against Theodore's opinions, he did not anathematize him by name ; but amid such a state of feeling in 'the East' as he has himself described to us, one can hardly think that he would 'disturb no peace' by apostrophizing Theodore as 'a blasphemer who spoke iniquity against God'—that is, if his own work was to have any circulation in the region where Theodore's influence had been so noxious. We have no doubt that it was necessary to 'correct' these 'errors ;' but, in fact, this could not be done without sacrificing peace, for the time, to the defence of truth.

At this point the Preface refers to Theodoret's criticism on the ninth of Cyril's articles. But it does not state the case quite fully. Theodoret had before him Cyril's statement that the Holy Spirit was the Son's own Spirit, and had not acted on Him as an exterior or foreign power enabling Him to work miracles. Theodoret says of this that if 'His own Spirit' means that the Holy Spirit is of the same nature as the Son and proceeds from the Father, he accepts this as orthodox ; but if it means that He received His existence from or through the Son, he rejects this as blasphemous and impious ; and he quotes S. John xv. 26, 1 Cor. ii. 12. How does Cyril meet this in his rejoinder ? He does *not* say, 'The Holy Spirit is from or through the Son.' He repeats that Christ was not wrought upon by the Spirit, as from without ; that the Spirit was His Spirit even as He was the Father's ; he quotes Rom. viii. 8, 9, and goes on : 'For the Holy Spirit proceedeth from God the Father, according to the Saviour's words, but is not foreign (*ἀλλότριον*) to the Son, for He (the Son) hath all things with the Father,' quoting S. John xvi. 15 ; 'therefore the Holy Spirit, by working miracles, glorified Jesus, but as *His* Spirit,' &c. This, of course, Theodoret could accept. Again, in the great letter to John of Antioch, which Mr. Pusey calls œcumenical, because it was solemnly approved by the Council of Chalcedon : 'The Spirit of God the Father, who proceedeth from the Father, but is not foreign to the Son in regard to His essence' (*i.e.* in virtue of the Consubstantiality). This state-

¹ See the present volume, pp. 342, 346.

ment was also approved by Theodoret.¹ Now if Cyril had held the 'double eternal procession' as *de fide*, he could not be excused for suppressing all mention of it in these two crucial passages. Elsewhere, indeed, he has freely used $\epsilon\kappa$ or $\xi\zeta$ of the Holy Spirit's relation to the Son.² Yet, speaking with diffidence, we cannot but think that some of his strong sayings relate to that 'coming forth' in time which may be called a 'mission,'³ or to a derivation from that essence which is the Son's 'as well as the Father's.'⁴ Certainly in parts of the fourth book against Nestorius, what is kept full in view is the 'going forth of the Spirit,' as the Son's Spirit, through the Son, or the Son's action in 'putting Him forth' or 'bestowing Him' on mankind. How far, however, this derivation, to S. Cyril's mind, involved an essential and eternal procession from or through the Son is the question.⁵ As we have seen, he forbore to assert such a derivation when it was gainsaid by an opponent; it was an idea, not a fixed point of faith. And in one remarkable passage of a treatise written in 430, we find 'He is from the Father naturally, being poured forth through the Son upon the creation;'⁶ and in the third letter to Nestorius, written some months later, 'The Spirit is not foreign to the Son, for He is called the Spirit of Truth, and "the Truth" is Christ; and He is poured out from ($\pi\alpha\rho$) Him, as also from ($\epsilon\kappa$) God the Father.' Mr. Pusey, in the index to his edition, had referred to this last passage somewhat boldly: 'Ex Patre Filioque procedit.' He should have written, 'A Filio, sicut ex Patre, effunditur.' That S. Cyril would have applied $\epsilon\kappa\pi\omicron\rho\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ to any relation of the Holy Spirit to the Son, we suppose no one will maintain.⁷

¹ See his letter to John, approving as orthodox the 'Egyptian letter,' wherein 'the Holy Spirit is set forth not as having His existence from or through the Son,' &c. This he assumes to be Cyril's meaning.—Mansi, v. 384.

² *E.g. Ad Theodosium*, p. 120 (Pusey); *Explan.* c. 9 (written at Ephesus); *Thesaurus*, p. 354, &c.

³ *E.g. Thesaurus*, p. 345. 'Out of' might sometimes, at least, be used in this sense, with reference to S. John i. 16.

⁴ *De S. Trinitate*, p. 642. *In S. Joann.* l. 10, p. 926.

⁵ Dr. Pusey maintains the affirmative (*On 'And the Son,'* p. 134). Mr. Swete quotes a passage from the *Thesaurus* (p. 358, Aubert), which, he says, 'bases' the mission on the derivation (*Hist. Doctr. Procession*, p. 150). It is at any rate clear that S. Cyril's mind had been working in the direction of the Western doctrine, as it is called, and this by way of development of $\tau\omicron\upsilon\omicron\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$.

⁶ *Ad Arcad. Marinamque*, p. 157 (Pusey). It is in this sense, we suppose, that not a few Anglicans take the *Filioque* clause now.

⁷ See *Adv. Nest.* iv. 2 (E. T. p. 133), a decisive passage.

Let us now turn to the personal history of Nestorius. We heartily adopt all that Dr. Pusey has ever written on the vast importance, for Christian belief and life, of the doctrine which Nestorianism denies. That must needs be a deadly heresy which substitutes an 'association' for a 'personal union,' and thereby reduces the difference between our Lord and the Saints to a difference merely of degree,¹ so that the Incarnation is really annulled. We fear that a good deal of religiously intended writing on Christ's earthly life and work is unconsciously semi-Nestorian; and we never come across it without mentally having recourse to those wonderful sermons on the Incarnation in the sixth volume of Newman's *Parochial Sermons*. For instance:—

'Though man, He was not, strictly speaking in the English sense of the word, *a man*.² He was not such as one of us, and one out of a number. He was man because He had our human nature wholly and perfectly; but His Person is not human like ours, but Divine. . . . As He had no earthly father, so has He no human personality. . . . Thus, when He prayed to His Father, it was not the prayer of a man supplicating God, but of the Eternal Son, who had ever shared the glory of the Father, addressing Him as before, but under far other circumstances, and in a new way . . . in the economy of redemption, and . . . through the feelings and thoughts of human nature. . . . When He poured out His precious blood upon the Cross, it was not a man's blood, though it belonged to His manhood, but blood full of power and virtue . . . as issuing most mysteriously from Him who is the Creator of the world. . . . The manhood which He assumed . . . He received into His divine essence (if we may dare so to speak) almost as a new attribute of His Person; of course, I speak by way of analogy, but I mean as simply and indissolubly. . . . All that is necessary to constitute a perfect manhood is attached to His Eternal Person, absolutely and entirely, belonging to Him as really and fully as His justice, truth, or power.'

'Man's nature was as much and as truly Christ's as His Divine attributes. . . . When He suffered, it was God suffering. Not that the Divine Nature itself could suffer, any more than our soul can see or hear; but, as the soul sees and hears through the organs of the body, so God the Son suffered in that human nature which He had taken to Himself and made His own. . . . Think of this, all ye light-hearted, and consider whether, with this thought, you can read the last chapters of the four Gospels without fear and trembling. For instance . . . "one of the officers . . . struck Jesus. . . ." The words must be said, though I hardly dare say them,—*that officer lifted up his hand against God the Son*. This is not a figurative way of speaking, or a rhetorical form of words, or a harsh, extreme, and unadvisable

¹ *Preface*, p. xlvii. *Adv. Nest.* i. 8. *Adv. Theodoret.* 10, &c.

² See the present volume, pp. xlv, 16, 255 ff, and Liddon's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 262.

statement. It is a literal and simple truth, it is a great Catholic doctrine. . . . I bid you consider that that face, so ruthlessly smitten, was the face of God Himself. . . . It was the blood, and the sacred flesh, and the hands, and the temples, and the side, and the feet of God Himself, which the frenzied multitude then gazed upon.'

We quote this, not only for its intrinsic doctrinal value, but lest we should be supposed either to underrate the theological services of S. Cyril, or to think inadequately of the issue which was raised by the teaching of Nestorius. But we must submit that a heresiarch, as a man, has his rights at the bar of history. He was often a keen thinker, enamoured of logical thoroughness.¹ It is but reasonable, in most cases, to credit him with some religious motives,² with a zeal not according to knowledge, with an eagerness in behalf of some one element of the truth, which, unhappily, he severed from the rest, and so misread and marred. It strikes us that, as this Preface paints the man Cyril in too brilliant colours, it paints his adversary too uniformly black, rather too much after the fashion of Garnier in his edition of Marius Mercator. Thus, we are told that Nestorius 'had shown himself practised in inflicting violence,' while Cyril's performances in that line are passed over. Nestorius had, indeed, given some scandal by his boastful speech to Theodosius;³ had won the nickname of 'Incendiary' by pulling down an Arian chapel, and so driving the Arians in despair to burn it;⁴ had procured a new law against all heretics (including, as he is careful to say, Psilanthropists);⁵ had harassed Novatians and Quartodecimans; had caused a destructive tumult in Asia Minor. But had not even Chrysostom 'deprived many Novatians and Quartodecimans of their churches'⁶? And had not Cyril begun his episcopate by 'shutting up the churches of Novatians, seizing on their sacred furniture, and depriving their bishop of his personal property'?⁷ Nestorius dealt severely enough with some monks and laymen who had denounced him to his face, or proclaimed that he was no true bishop; and his writings, jotted with apostrophes to a supposed 'heretic,' show that in controversy he was no gentler than his opponents. Those sermons and fragments of sermons, and a few extant letters, might convey the impression that he was a deliberate theological revolutionist, using sophistry

¹ See Mozley, on *Theory of Development*, p. 42 ff.

² Neale allows such to Nestorius, *Hist. Alex.* i. 234.

³ Soc. vii. 29.

⁴ Not, however, to 'throw themselves into the flames.' Pref. p. xlv. See Soc. *l. c.*

⁵ *Synodic.* c. 6.

⁶ Soc. vi. 11.

⁷ Soc. vii. 7. ¹

as a means to his end. One is provoked by his irrelevances and ambiguities; by his apparent insensibility to explanations; by his attacks on positions which no one defended; by his habit of affirming 'one Son' when he meant an association of two,—'distinguishing the Divine and human natures' in the sense of assigning them to different beings,—using 'temple' now for the body of Jesus, and now for Jesus Himself, regarded as a human individual,—above all, pretending to secure the worship of such a Jesus by giving Him rank, *honoris causa*, with the Word. He could also deal in pitiful quibbles as to 'two *γεννήσεις* meaning, after all, two Sons,' as to the purport of the Nicene Creed, and as to the texts, 'Jesus Christ, the same yesterday,' &c., 'they would not have crucified the Lord of glory,' &c. Yet it may be that this was, on the whole, due rather to confusedness than to craftiness. He was, we know, a verbose and confident speaker. He had obviously taken Theodore's Christology for his own without troubling himself to check it by the study of earlier writers.¹ He must be credited with a genuine dread of a heathenish or an Apollinarian debasement of the Divine spirituality, and with a misguided 'reverence,' as S. Cyril himself calls it,² which recoiled from the immensity of a condescension to 'the Virgin's womb;' and thus he may have been striving to disguise from himself, as well as from others, the extent to which he had drifted from the belief in a Divine Incarnation.³ He would not see that his theory was at bottom only a decorated Humanitarianism, since it could not say 'Christ is God' without the saving clause, 'that is, titularly,' and thereby said in effect, 'Not a God Incarnate, but a God-bearing man.' Dr. Pusey cites 'a grave historian' as to his terror of the word Theotocos; yet Socrates, in the same context, says he cannot treat Nestorius as a Psilanthropist.⁴ And although 'Theotocos' had been, as Dr. Pusey says, 'in familiar use by every school for nearly two centuries,' it is fair to remember

¹ Soc. vii. 32. Yet he may have been misled by the earlier use of *ἀνθρώπος* for manhood, even in S. Athanasius. See Card. Newman, *Treat. of S. Athan.* ii. 366, ed. 2.

² *Adv. Nest.* iv. 5. Compare Preface, p. xxxix.

³ He repeatedly used orthodox language; see, *e.g.*, the passage quoted in *Adv. Nest.* i. 3 (E. T. p. 17). So in part of his second letter to S. Cyril.

⁴ Soc. l. c. Eusebius of Dorylæum, even then a fiery zealot, although as yet only a layman, made out a parallel between him and Paul of Samosata, which was faulty in that Paul denied the personality of the Divine Word. But when Nestorius accentuates his own difference from Paul (Serm. 12 in Garnier, 4 in Baluze), he speaks as if he believed in the eternal Divinity of Christ, which, properly speaking, he did not.

that Nestorius urged that among the schools which accepted it were the Arian and Apollinarian.¹ The phrase was not an exclusively orthodox one. It had been adopted and perverted by heretics; and so Nestorius himself, when he offered to tolerate it if used with 'Anthropotocos' or 'Christotocos,' misused it² in the interest of that mere 'connexion' between God the Word and a human Jesus, which involved what S. Cyril calls a 'non-essential'³ indwelling, identical in kind with the relation between God and 'that of any devout Christian.'⁴ To this, after all, it came: the pith of the matter lay in his utterance at Ephesus before the Council opened, and when two bishops who had been his friends made an attempt to win him over: 'I dare not call a babe of two months old God.'⁵ For then neither could a man of thirty-three be called God; and one of his adherents was consistent in saying that the Jews at the Crucifixion had sinned, not against God, but against a man—words ominously like those used by Theodotus of Byzantium at the close of the second century: 'I did not deny God, but a man.'⁶ Dr. Pusey may well say, 'There was nothing further to investigate.'

Condemned by the Church and abandoned by the State, Nestorius was allowed to live in his own monastery near Antioch for nearly two years after his old friend the 'Eastern' patriarch had resumed communion with the see of Alexandria. But in 435, at John's own request, he was banished, first to Petra, then to the Oasis. Dr. Pusey says:—

'With his sufferings there, in consequence of edicts of the Emperor, the Church had nothing to do. His treatment by the Emperor is unexplained. But the sufferings were God's temporal judgment inflicted through the State. The Church was guiltless of them. Yet, since whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth, they showed that God had not abandoned him to the last.'

This passage, as might have been expected from the author, is very different in tone from the language of Evagrius on the same subject.⁷ Yet we cannot admit that if those sufferings were decreed by Theodosius, the Church had no responsibility in the matter. This was the prince who scrupled to eat because an insolent 'ascetic,' on being denied a request, had pretended to excommunicate him.⁸ Now,

¹ Nest. Serm. l. c.

² *Ib.* As Theodore had done. See this volume, p. 356.

³ Σχετικόν. See the present volume, pp. 14, 35, 215.

⁴ Preface, p. lxxvi. ⁵ Mansi, iv. 118. ⁶ Epiphanius, *Har.* 54. 1.

⁷ Evagr. i. 7.

⁸ Theodoret, v. 37.

when a priesthood has a monarch completely under its tutelage, it cannot say of his severity towards persons under its censure, 'That is no concern of ours ;' for such severity must in all reason be set down, directly or indirectly, to its prompting. However, it is possible that the governor of the Thebaid, to whose written or unwritten orders Nestorius attributed much that befell him, had acted without special instructions from Constantinople ; and in that case we hope that he was not seeking to gratify the Primate of Egypt. As to the phrase, 'God's temporal judgment,' we deprecate its use in this connexion. The sufferings of Nestorius resemble too closely those sufferings which wore out the life of that other exile, on whose throne, although unworthily, he had sat ; and Cyril, in his youth, must often have heard, and probably learned to repeat, that his uncle's sentence had been confirmed by 'Divine judgments' at Cucusus, at Arabissus, at Comana. It is surely the safest course for such as we are to restrict the penal interpretation of human misery to cases in which signal wickedness is 'found out,' even in this life, by a conspicuous retribution.

It has been painful to us, as our readers will believe, to express any difference of opinion from the most venerable person in the English Church, whose claims on the love, reverence, and gratitude of her members have been for many years unique. It has seemed, however, a simple duty to say what we think, even although on certain points we have been unable to follow him. Our consolation is this, that the case is really exceptional,—that Dr. Pusey's panegyric on S. Cyril is in great measure the result of feelings strictly personal and incommunicable ; and that we have said less on the other side than has been said by Cardinal Newman. To his view, on the whole, we must adhere, because we think it substantially the historical one ; although we may not feel called upon to follow it in every detail, nor again to assume that *because* S. Cyril has been authoritatively canonized, he must have 'cancelled at length whatever was wrong in his words or his deeds by good works in compensation.' But, with the great Cardinal, we most heartily say, 'Cyril's faults were not inconsistent' with the 'virtues' of 'faith, firmness, intrepidity, fortitude, endurance, perseverance,' and, we must add, with an intense religious devotion to the honour of his Divine Redeemer and Lord.

The treatises which, in this volume, appear in an English dress, are somewhat varied in their character.

The Scholia, or Notes, are not directly polemical in tone,

although they traverse most of the ground which was traversed by the contending parties, as, the force of *κένωσις* in Phil. ii. 7, the nature of the 'union,' as real and personal yet without 'confusion,' its uniqueness, as contrasted with the Divine indwelling in a saint, the sufferings of Christ as appropriated by His Divine Person, though external to His Godhead, so that He might be said to have 'suffered and yet not suffered,' &c. Mr. Pusey refers to the mystical interpretations which occur in this treatise. The other writings of S. Cyril, entire or fragmentary, contained in this volume, are distinctly controversial; and they do not seem, we must confess, to support the tender paradox, that 'controversy was not his natural element.' If he had not taken up any controversy before 429, the fact is, as the Preface admits (p. xcix), that within his own area there had been none to take up. These treatises show him to have been, as Leontius¹ says, a 'most ardent assailant' of heresy; keen, vigilant, ready-witted, apt at logical force, with rhetoric equally at command, unsparing in denunciation, somewhat disposed to sarcastic irony, and evidently enjoying any opportunity of exposing an *ignoratio elenchi* or a valueless admission. We see this especially in the first books 'Against Nestorius,' the peculiar value of which, among the other anti-Nestorian works of the author, consists in the fact that he cites and comments upon forty-nine extracts from a book of sermons by Nestorius, which he describes as 'orderly and systematically arranged.' One of the most remarkable contexts is the reply to Nestorius' argument (if such it could be called) from S. John vi. 57 (*Adv. Nest.* iv. 5).

"The Word," says S. Cyril, "being by nature Life, made lifegiving that Flesh which was united to Him. . . . We eat, not consuming the Godhead (away with the folly!), but the very flesh of the Word which became lifegiving . . . since He made it His own by a true though inconceivable and ineffable union; so we, who partake of His holy Flesh and Blood, are in all respects and altogether quickened, since the Word abides in us Divinely through the Holy Spirit, and humanly also through the holy Flesh and the precious Blood."

This *rationale* of the Holy Communion, as implying the Divinity of Christ, without which to 'partake of His flesh' would 'profit nothing,' recurs repeatedly in his writings, and especially in the famous third letter to Nestorius, and in the Explanation of the eleventh article.

The dialogue entitled 'That Christ is One,' and com-

¹ Galland, *Biblioth. Patr.* xii. 690.

monly cited as the *Quod Unus*, states the issue with greater liveliness, and perhaps it may not be out of place to summarize part of its argument. Thus, after remarking on the inadequate sense given by Nestorians to the name Emmanuel, he goes on, in effect :—By Theotocos we mean simply, that by means of Mary ‘the Word became flesh.’ He did not thereby cease to be the Word. He continued to be God when He assumed our humanity, being born like unto us, sin excepted. This personal Incarnation is ‘the root of our salvation.’ Apart from His Divinity, His flesh could not quicken, nor His blood cleanse, nor His death deliver us from sin ; nor could we be sons by grace, unless the Christ were Son by nature. It is thus no matter of common speculation ; it is (and here we touch one of the secret springs of Cyril’s energy¹) a question affecting immense religious interests. Is our Second Adam really a Divine Person, whose acts possess a Divine efficacy ? Those who say No assail ‘the august mystery of the Economy,’ and ‘dig up, withal, the foundation of our hope.’ Again, on the Nestorian theory of a man associated with the Son of God, and allowed to share in His title, we should have to accept not an incarnate God, but a man supremely privileged, as our Saviour. How could such a man be a legitimate object of worship, although it were called ‘relative’ ? The word ‘connexion,’ substituted by Nestorians for ‘union,’ is applicable to any sort of moral fellowship ; and to this they reduce the ‘mystery of godliness’ ! The Divine Son, in truth, ‘assumed,’ not an individual man, but ‘the form of a servant.’ If they say that the alleged ‘connexion’ justifies them in regarding ‘the man’ as a partner in Divine glory, they forget who has said, ‘My glory will I not give to another.’ Their theory impairs their idea of God. ‘But,’ they object, ‘on your view, Christ being the Word, His body must be coessential with the Word.’ Not at all : Godhead and manhood are distinct, though they exist in one Person. ‘But is not this a fusion of two φύσεις into one ?’ I reply, there is one Son, and He has one φύσις, although He has assumed our manhood, which coexists with His Godhead.²

¹ So in *Adv. Theodoret*. c. 12, he urges that it is necessary to attribute to Him the sufferings of His flesh, in order to appreciate their redemptive virtue.

² In reply to the query, ‘Are there then two φύσεις of God and man ?’ Cyril does not expressly say, ‘Yes, there are,’ as would have been said later. Here he prefers to use φύσις practically in the sense of person, as he says that ‘every man is one, and his φύσις is one, although he is composed of soul and body’ (Pusey’s edition, p. 364).

The union of the two may be illustrated by that of soul and body in one man;¹ or, if you say, 'The Godhead would necessarily absorb the Manhood,' I deny it. Your theory really means two Sons, the inferior of whom is in a position *ejusdem generis* with that of all God's servants (a position in the abstract capable of forfeiture). After insisting on Rom. ix. 5, Phil. ii. 5 ff., 1 Cor. viii. 6, he denounces the 'connexion' theory as the unscriptural invention of a mind deficient in spiritual insight; it supposes a created 'partner with God,' an 'unreal Son, a Saviour receiving salvation';² one who was, after all, only the grandest figure in the class of apostles and prophets. It is but right to add that in one context Cyril mars his own case, and does a violence to the most awful part of the Gospel story, by explaining away the cry 'My God, my God,' &c., as a mere intercession for mercy to fallen man. This is an instance of evasive interpretation, suggested by a misdirected reverence not unlike that against which he so eloquently warns Nestorianizers. And it is not in the least necessary to—rather, it is inconsistent with—the Cyrilline Christology; for if the Son of God could 'appropriate,' without prejudice to the Divinity, the pain or grief which affected His Manhood, why not also that mysterious spiritual anguish which formed the very climax of the Passion?

The Fragments at the end of the volume are nearly, but not altogether,³ identical with those previously published by Mr. Pusey, in the original Greek, or in Latin or Syriac versions in the third volume of his edition of the Commentary on S. John. For the most part, they are criticisms of anticipated Nestorianism in the writings of Diodore or Theodore, with extracts from both those celebrated writers, who too evidently cherished the same idea of an association between the Word and a chosen Man, called Son of God, in an improper sense.

Yet, later in this book, he speaks freely of ἡ ἀνθρώπου φύσις in Christ (*ibid.* p. 394), although generally he connects this word with our Lord's Eternal Being.

¹ See the present volume, pp. 192, 214, 339. Compare the 'Quicunque,' ver. 37, and Theodoret. *Epist.* 21, &c.

² One of the finest passages in the book; see it in Pusey's edition of the *De Recta Fide*, &c., p. 377. The Nestorian Christ was, in truth, like the Arian Son, 'a being who was not to be supposed' (Mozley).

³ *E.g.* the fifth extract from Book iii., against Theodore (p. 352), does not appear in the edition referred to, between the fourth and the long quotation from Theodore on Ps. viii.; on the other hand, of the translated extract at p. 364, from the fifth collation of the fifth General Council, Mr. Pusey says simply, that he 'had overlooked it, but it is pointed out by the indefatigable Tillemont' (in xiv. 643).

The last set of fragments is of singular interest, because the line therein taken against Apollinarianism shows that their author, S. Cyril, would not have sanctioned Monophysitism, either in its extreme or in its more moderate form.¹

The style of S. Cyril is not admired by Photius: he calls it artificial.² Tillemont, quoting this, adds somewhat severely, 'ses ouvrages sont . . . toujours embarrassés et obscurs, mais non pas toujours également,'³ and indulges himself, so to speak, at the end of his 159th 'article,' with telling us how King John III. of Sweden (whom the readers of Ranke's *Popes* will remember) had been 'disgusted with Calvin's books and sentiments, after reading some works of S. Cyril, although they are not the most agreeable among the writings of the Fathers.' His very intensity makes him often cumbrous and turbid; he feels too strongly to aim at literary grace; and, like S. Athanasius, he does not care how often he repeats himself, if determined iteration will impress a cardinal idea.⁴ Hence his readers learn to be familiar with, and to expect the recurrence of such phrases as 'remaining what He was,' 'impassible in His proper nature,' 'not by way of accidental connexion,' 'not a man as individually separate,' 'He appropriated what belonged to the flesh,' 'the limitations of the emptying,' or 'of the manhood.' It may be admitted that to present his writings to ordinary English readers, for whom the 'Library of the Fathers' is intended, cannot be a very easy task. One who undertakes it must indeed endeavour to be exact, not loosely paraphrastic; he cannot treat his author as freely as Symmachus treated the text of the Old Testament; but that is no reason for his imitating Aquila. Now, what is to be said of Mr. Pusey's version of these treatises?

We are reluctant to answer the question. Mr. Pusey was a most laborious collator and experienced judge of MSS., and

¹ Here his arguments from the Mediation and the Holy Eucharist for our Lord's true manhood, are remarkably like those of S. Leo against Eutyches, and are complementary to his argument noticed above, from the Eucharist to the personal Divinity.

² *Biblioth.* 49.

³ Tillemont, xiv. 664. There is a noble passage in *Adv. Nest.* v. 5 (E. T. p. 175), which might be borrowed by a Good Friday preacher, and another in *ib.* iii. 2. (p. 95), on the moral transformation of Christians through a Divine Christ; another, *ib.* iii. 6, on that Christ as second Adam; and others in the *Quod Unus* on the contrasts of the Incarnation, on its importance to our spiritual life, and on the Nestorian impoverishment of the great assurance, 'So God loved the world.'

⁴ 'Excuse me,' he says, 'I have no taste for tautology; but wherever that man's arguments tend, there, I am convinced, it is my duty to meet him.'—*Adv. Nest.* i. Intr.

a learned theological annotator. But translation was not his *forte*. He must, as a student, have been theoretically aware of the maxim, that translating implies a *transfer* of the author's meaning from the forms of the one language into the forms of the other, wherever they differ, as they often inevitably will; ¹ that, in one word, it must be idiomatic, or else it is not translating, but mere bald dogged construing, such as boys grow out of as they rise in their school. And, with Aubert's text and version before him, he must have observed that the good Canon of Laon seriously set himself to represent S. Cyril's Greek in correct if not elegant Latin. Mr. Pusey, however, made no such attempt in regard to English. He does not seem to have asked himself, 'Would this or that rendering put an Englishman in possession of what S. Cyril meant?' but rather, 'How can I show my loyalty to S. Cyril by sticking most closely, not only to the words, but even to their order and construction?' Loyalty of this sort is apt to wrong its object; and we must regret that the translation before us should be of a kind likely rather to repel than to attract the reader, and to invest the name of this great Catholic doctor with uncouth or bizarre associations. We are obliged to give a few samples of such literalism as is, to say the least, unfrequent in the volumes of the 'Library of the Fathers.'

'No mean kind of open-mouthedness,' 'in vile sort floating in feeblest ideas,' 'he crowns them with his vote unto their truth,' 'the uttermost of all unwitting,' 'through the utter obedience,' 'rushing full speed to forgetfulness that,' &c., 'replete with full much difficulty,' 'far removed from being to be believed by any,' &c.

Many times are sentences obscured for want of some little words, where the English idiom requires them, to help out the sense, as in quotations from Phil. ii. 8, and Heb. ii. 10, where 'being' and 'in' are left out, though found in A. V. So at p. 262, 'while' is wanted before 'confessing one Son;' at p. 197, 'it which was holden of unlearning' should be 'seeing it was held fast by ignorance.' In another passage, 'the soul . . . co-grieves, its own body suffering,' should be 'sympathizes indeed, because its own body is suffering.' At p. 261, after quoting Amos vii. 14, S. Cyril is made to go on, 'A goatherd, He set him.' Again, we have absolutely false English, such as 'nor knows it to suffer,' 'think not, stamping with false mark,' 'has his mission an impossibility' (for 'could not have been sent'), 'caught in Jewish accusals'

¹ See S. Jerome, *Epist.* 57, 11. Compare Sir E. Beckett on *The Revised New Testament*, pp. 24, 31-33.

(for 'involved in the same charge with the Jews'). Some sentences read almost like puzzles: 'hath witnessed to Himself freedom by nature,' for 'hath borne witness to His own natural freedom;' 'the count of their difference will speed apart,' for 'the law of their difference will have its own way;' 'arraying in slave-befitting measures the Spirit,' for 'subjecting the Spirit to servile limitations;' 'if thyself bear away the Word out of God from earthly body,' for 'if you yourself remove from an earthly body the Word who is from God;' 'feeling and kin and sure,' for 'sympathetic, akin to us, and unfailing;' 'our opponent is on all sides sick of uncomeliness of speech,' for 'our opponent's argument is thoroughly unsound and absurd.' Some phrases are even grotesque, as 'thine empty whistlings,' 'whetting against the Holy Spirit their . . . mouth;' 'the Jews' 'awkwardness' against Christ; 'some . . . wrinkle the holy Virgin,' where the strong verb used means to impair her dignity. 'Bairn' is a quaint rendering for *τεχθῆναι* at p. 24, and 'humbug' an undignified one for *λῆρος* at p. 241. And our language is not so poor as to need the additions of 'unbeauty,' 'untaint' (for 'untainted'), 'inplaces,' 'ownness,' 'ensouls,' and worst of all, to 'engod' for to 'deify,' which occurs four times within four pages (pp. 71-74.)

But beside this faulty English, the construing is by no means uniformly accurate. We give some instances, as follows—

'You say that the Godhead of the Only-begotten was clearly and openly incarnate' (p. 15).

'Since to his most novel dogmas he opposes the truth and the very symbol of the Church's faith' (p. 29. This is nonsense).

'Since as little and human, and below the dignity of the Only-begotten, He receives the unction' (p. 108).

'The claim of the same names will . . . be contending with Him, and be striving for equality' (p. 66).

'We will show him a wiser and truer Emmanuel' (p. 174).

'But rather we must conceive that they hasten the straight way of the truth' (p. 201).

'This, that He was made flesh,

Rather, 'You plainly and openly say that the Godhead . . . was incarnate.'

'Since the very symbol of the Church's faith places the truth in opposition to his novel dogmas.'

'Since he (Nestorius) takes the anointing to be a small thing,' &c.

'That which has been graced with the same titles may naturally contend with Him, and strive for equality.'

'We will both more wisely and more truly show him the Emmanuel.'

'But rather to consider them and earnestly to work our way straight to the truth.'

'The fact that He became flesh

introduces with it, and has in its horizon what follows thereupon' (p. 244). | is implied, and takes precedence, in our thought, of its results.'

At p. 168, 'The form of God, I am clad in servant's form,' should be, 'I, being (*ὑπάρχων*) the form of God, have clothed Myself in the form of a servant.' *Εὐδοξία* should not be rendered 'good glory' (p. 61), but simply 'glory,' its first sense being 'good reputation.' At p. 59, the correction of *κρατεῖν* for the ungrammatical *κρατεῖν* is approved in the note, yet 'hold fast' appears in the text. It is more surprising to find *γεγεννησθαι*, at p. 33, rendered that He was 'begotten after the flesh,' where the sense requires 'born,' as Aubert has 'natum.' In some places (*e.g.* pp. 10, 20, 231, 232) we find 'man' where 'a man' is required (as elsewhere it is given) to bring out the Nestorian idea; *ἀνθρωπότης* is not always rendered 'manhood,' but sometimes 'human nature,' which does not exactly represent S. Cyril's phrase, and *ἀποφαίνω* is sometimes (*e.g.* pp. 56, 227) taken for 'to manifest,' where it really means to make or render. 'A God-clad man' is not a good rendering of *θεοφόρος*, nor 'Spirit-clad' of *πνευματοφόρος*, nor 'divine' of *θεσπέσιος*, nor 'bare' of *γυμνός*, as used for the unincarnate Word. One more point we must notice; at p. 196 we read,

'The divine Paul says that *great is the mystery of godliness*. And this is true, for the Word was manifested in the flesh, since He is God.'

We do not understand why this rendering is given, since in Mr. Pusey's edition we find, 'Divinus Paulus magnum quidem ait esse mysterium pietatis *ὅς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί*, et vere ita se res habet; manifestatus est enim in carne, cum sit Deus Verbum. . . .' The old Latin version is here, apparently, rather a paraphrase, although the context shows that Cyril wrote, 'for He is God the Word.' But why did not Mr. Pusey translate the Greek as far as he had it, 'Who was manifested,' &c. (as Cyril reads in *Explan.* c. 2; *Ad Pulcheriam*, &c. p. 297, Pusey, &c.)? His version departs from the Greek without adhering to the Latin.

It is a pleasure to turn to the notes, which, as we have said, indicate a truly theological if not a critical mind, and abound in Cyrilline learning. We only wish there were more of them, so that the text might have been still more fully illustrated from S. Cyril's other writings in the controversy. Especially valuable are the comments on *ἔνωσις* and *συναφεία* (pp. 19, 85), on Apollinarianism (pp. 43, 363), on the

standpoint of Theodoret and other 'Easterns' (pp. 33, 43, 128), on resemblances to the Formulary of Reunion in S. Cyril's earlier writings (p. 40), on his careful exclusion of the notion of a 'change in the Word's Godhead at the Incarnation' (p. 232), on his explanation of the phrase, 'one incarnate φύσις' (p. 265), on the theology of Diodore and Theodore (pp. 320, 324). There are good short notes at pp. 73, 83, on the theological sense of *οἰκονομία* as the arrangement or plan for the benefit of God's 'household' which was carried out by our Lord's coming in the flesh; and we are the more surprised that Mr. Pusey should have given 'economically' as a real rendering of S. Cyril's *οἰκονομικῶς*.

There are some peculiarities in the use or non-use of initial capitals, and a too general deficiency in punctuation. The reader has again and again to be, as it were, supplying commas. The index is very elaborate, but would be clearer if so many references were not massed together under the head of 'God the Son.' We notice one inexact reference: 'Scripture . . . proclaims Mary Mother of God, 239.' S. Cyril knew as well as we do that Scripture does not so 'proclaim' her; and what he says in the passage referred to is that Nestorius 'all but bids farewell to Scripture, and says that the holy Virgin is not Theotocos.'

We conclude with a remark on that one world-famous title, the watchword of the momentous Cyrilline struggle and the œcumenical symbol of faith in a Divine Christ. 'Theotocos' has been correctly Latinized into 'Deipara;' but can it be said to have found a precise equivalent in English? If it is too much to say, in the words of the present Bishop of S. David's, that 'the common rendering, Mother of God, introduces a new element of thought,'¹ we must, at any rate, feel that the Greek term, by its very form and sound, gives prominence to the Divinity of Him who, as Man, was born of Mary; whereas the English phrase begins, so to speak, at the other end, and lays greater stress on the supremely privileged Motherhood. The doctrinal intention is the same in both cases, but the impression produced is not identical. Nor can it be denied that, save to a theologically instructed ear, the fuller phrase is more exacting, at first, than S. Paul's language as to 'God's own blood' in Acts xx, 28, not only because it is more abrupt, but because it seems to assert a derivative dependence of 'God' on a human creature, and the mind has to go over certain points of faith in order to define the

¹ Bishop Jones's *Sermons on the Peace of God*, p. 202: 'Mater Dei,' however, is as old as S. Ambrose, and Facundus insists upon it.

true scope of the expression. For all this, the phrase is, for English-speaking Christians, the only practical representative of 'Theotocos'; and we must do the best with it that we can. To use it popularly, without due accompanying safeguards, would, as things are, be to court misconception; but with such a paraphrase as that in the first Reformed Liturgy, 'Mother of Jesus Christ our Lord and God,' or with such an explanation as that 'the Son of God took our nature upon Him by being born of the Virgin, while He continued to be God,' the phrase will assist in the luminous presentation of that supremely precious truth—as precious, we believe, to Theodoret as to Cyril, Celestine, or Proclus—that we live by the faith of an Infinite and Adorable Redeemer.

ART. II.—ANDERSON'S EARLY CHRISTIAN REMAINS IN SCOTLAND.

Scotland in Early Christian Times. By JOSEPH ANDERSON.
2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1881-1882.)

FOR the last half-century the Church has been witnessing, as it still may witness, the gradual revelation of that portion of her history which is graven on the ecclesiastical monuments of Great Britain and Ireland, and which is told by the ruins of her island monasteries, anchorite cells, pre-Norman churches, sculptured stones, High crosses, books, miniature paintings, and reliquaries. Through the labours of Mr. Anderson, Rhind Lecturer in Archæology in Edinburgh, we may now become familiar with the typical forms of ecclesiastical and secular art in North Britain and in the Orkney and Shetland Islands, which bear witness to the vitality of the early institutions of Scotland and to the energy and devotion of her first Christian teachers.

In a case where the antiquities of three regions are so closely related as those of Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, we could wish that the investigators who carry on their respective studies in any one of these three countries would adopt a similar method of arrangement in their examples. Contrary to the practice of the Irish school, who, by tracing signs of gradual development, aim at a chronological arrangement of their

series, Mr. Anderson defines 'archæology' as the elucidation, not of date or duration, but of sequence and area, in special classes of remains. He instructs us by 'ascending instead of descending the stream of time,' and, choosing the twelfth century as the starting-point, he works back from the known to the unknown.

The opposite method adopted by the Irish school is more in harmony with that of the Commendatore de Rossi and M. Le Blant when dealing with the Christian inscriptions of Rome and Gaul. These archæologists, working in far wider fields, have discovered laws which they, and, we think, all future epigraphists, may apply with confidence to the formation of a chronological classification of Christian inscriptions. The first step is to place in regular order the series of dated inscriptions, to serve afterwards as starting-points for the future classification of undated ones. In like manner all monuments may with more or less success be grouped beside such dated examples as show like characteristics in form and ornament.

If we reverse Mr. Anderson's arrangement of the antiquities of Scotland and attempt to follow the opposite method, we seem to arrive at a result of no little interest and importance when we connect the gradual development and influx of foreign characteristics in art with the historical events that might be expected to influence the growth of the fine arts. Beginning in the fourth century, we have the massive boulder of unhewn stone, with its inscription, in debased Roman capitals, to Vetta, which stands on a ridge formed by the junction of the rivers Gogar and Almond, about six miles from Edinburgh. This stone Sir James Simpson has attempted to identify as the tombstone of the grandfather of Hengist and Horsa. Later on we come to the illuminated manuscript called the Lindisfarne Gospels, bearing the autograph of Eadfrith, bishop of Lindisfarne between the years 693 to 721. Between the fifth and the seventh centuries Columba has brought Christianity from Ireland to Iona, Ninian has come from the great school of S. Martin at Tours, and the first Roman mission has arrived at Thanet. Ninian, preaching to the Picts between the Firth of Forth and the Grampians, erects in Galloway a church in honour of S. Martin, by aid of masons brought from Tours; and between 563 and 597 we learn that King Brude, near Inverness, was converted by S. Columba. Already three separate influences are at work in Scotland, each of which might be expected to set its stamp on the monuments of the time. Then the great school of Lindisfarne is established, and Eanfleda, wife of Oswy, who

has been educated in Kent, introduces many changes after her marriage with the King of Northumbria.

Many illuminated manuscripts bear witness to the culture of this period, and one codex, though not illuminated, is of paramount interest, from the fact that its date can be fixed to close on the year 700 ; it being a copy made of the Life of Columba by Adamnan—a copy written out by Dornbe, abbot of Hy, who died A.D. 713. In 727 the round church tower or bell-house of Abernethy was begun, and in the next century are two inscribed monuments whose date there can be no reason to question : the stone inscribed to the memory of the Pictish king Drosten, son of Ferat, who was slain by the Scots in 850 ; and the stone in Bressay erected to the memory of the daughter of the Viking Natdodd. A large Scandinavian element is now introduced in the country, while Celtic influences are dying out. Owing to Danish influences the Culdees grew lax in discipline. The seat of the primacy was transferred from Iona to Dunkeld, from Dunkeld to St. Andrews ; and the first bishop, Kellach, went to Rome to be confirmed circ. A.D. 970 to 995. Anlaff, son of the Danish king Sitric, became a Christian *circ.* 980, being the first Danish chief who was converted. The expedition of Kellach, Bishop of St. Andrews, to Rome, about the same time, must have resulted further in the introduction of many foreign influences. At this time King Kenneth dedicated the city of Brechin to the Lord, and the bell-house or round tower in that place was begun to be erected. Half a century later, both Scandinavian and Roman influences receive fresh impetus during the reign of Malcolm, whose first wife was Ingibjorg, and whose second wife was the great Queen Margaret. His union with the latter marks the commencement of a new era in the history of Scotland. Malcolm's early years had been spent in England, and though uneducated and illiterate himself, he yet seems to have loved and revered learning and religion in the person of his wife Margaret. Her books, though 'Greek to him,' were yet so loved by the King that he is said to have had their covers adorned with gold and jewels, and he vied with her in his munificence to the Church. Many precious gifts were offered to Dunfermline ; additions were made to St. Andrews for the accommodation of pilgrims and strangers from all parts of the earth ; the rude customs of the Scots yielded by degrees to the higher civilization of the south ; merchants were invited from different countries abroad, and found a ready sale for their goods. And many reforms were wrought in the Church by aid of English ecclesiastics,

while Margaret is said to have spoken in counsel for three days herself, maintaining 'with the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God,' the cause of opposition to the usages and abuses which prevailed in Scotland. We see no reason to doubt that the buildings of the round tower of Brechin and Thorfinn's Christ Kirk in the Orkney Islands are standing monuments of this time; just as the monastery founded on Inchcolm by Alexander in 1123, and the tower of S. Regulus at St. Andrews, are the evidences of fresh influences at work in the reigns of her sons Alexander and David.

At the close of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century the Scottish Church discarded many peculiarities of its earlier system, and, yielding to the influences of the Cistercian and Augustinian canons, was gradually assimilated to the Church of southern Britain. We may learn something of the changes wrought in the spirit and feeling for art during these centuries by comparing the stones of Natdodd's daughter and Drosten with the shaft of Lachlan's cross at Iona, with its griffin tail running into a continuous pattern of leafy scroll-work, as well as those at Kilkerran, Campbelton, and Inverary.

It must, however, be allowed that, in dealing with the monuments of Scotland, those which may be regarded as landmarks from which to infer the dates of others are singularly few. It is only by availing ourselves of the labours of the Irish school, and their master, George Petrie, that conclusions may be arrived at as to the periods of the Celtic remains in Scotland. This is fully acknowledged by Mr. Anderson.¹ 'Neither the history nor the remains of the early Christian period in Scotland,' he observes, 'can be studied apart from those in Ireland.' In dealing with the monastic ruins on the islands of the west coast of Scotland he is first compelled to quote the descriptions given by Petrie and Lord Dunraven of the corresponding remains in Ireland, since 'we have no such complete or characteristic groups in Scotland.' Passing from the first churches built with cement, and with or without chancels, to the primitive dry-stone buildings, he says:—

'To learn the special features of that earliest style of Christian construction we must look to Ireland, the ancient Scotia, where the genius of the people, their immemorial customs, their language and institutions, were so similar to those of our own country that, when the new faith was finally established by the labours of her missionaries, the converts accepted with it the ecclesiastical customs, constitution, and usages already established there.'

¹ Vol. i. p. 76.

The towers of Brechin and Abernethy are, he says again—
 ‘stragglers from a great typical group which has its *habitat* in Ireland. It follows from this, that all questions as to the origin, purpose, and period of the type must be discussed with reference to the evidence derived from the investigation of the principal group, and that the general conclusions drawn from the extended data furnished by the many in Ireland must also hold good for the few in Scotland.’¹

Again, when dealing with the sculptured stones, he allows the conclusions of George Petrie and his school as to the date of the High crosses, which range from the beginning of the tenth to the middle of the twelfth century, and assumes that the higher phase of sculpture in relief was developed in Ireland at an earlier period than in Scotland.

Seeing, then, the high value set by Mr. Anderson on Irish antiquities, we are sure of his forgiveness if we attempt to correct one or two trifling errors of statement, such as might naturally fall from anyone not long familiar with the antiquities of that country. At page 93, vol. i., when treating of the earliest type of Christian buildings in Scotland—the anchorite cells and monasteries—he remarks: ‘Here, *as in Ireland*, it is only on the smaller uninhabited and inaccessible islands that we find such traces.’ But, as a fact, the mountain-tops and the islands in the mountain tarns of Ireland offer just as striking examples of anchorite establishments as do her western islands. Slieve Donard, Slieve Liag, S. Brendan’s mountain, are still crowned by the beehive cells of Doman-gart, and Aed, the son of Bric, and Brendan; while in Loch Lee in Kerry, and Gougane Barra in Cork, may be seen the hermitages of S. Finan and S. Finbar.

With regard to the ecclesiastical round towers of Ireland, Mr. Anderson is quite mistaken in his idea that in the twelfth century this form was ‘dying out by a species of degradation of form and function’; whereas the truth (as witnessed by Ardmore and Annadown, built A.D. 1203–1238) is that the type was developing, just as in Italy, into one of greater beauty and power. In the series of examples he brings forward to prove his statement he first mentions S. Finan’s Tower at Clonmacnois—a very perfect example of Irish Romanesque, attached to a highly ornamented church; also Dungiven, another enriched Romanesque building, showing no signs of degradation; and then he names as an example of ‘the final stage of degradation’ the church of S. Kevin at Glendalough, a building that there is every reason to believe

¹ Vol. i. p. 48.

is of the same date as the stone-roofed church of Columba at Kells, *i.e.* A.D. 807. He thinks there is still proof wanting that this type of tower reached Ireland from Italy, and denies that the first church towers, and those which resemble the Irish in form, were 'isolated like the Irish towers.' Both in Ireland and Italy these towers were always built beside churches; therefore in neither country were they isolated, but they were almost invariably detached, whether at home or abroad; and the Ravenna towers possess the character of *safes*, or places of security, quite as much as those of Ireland. Altogether Mr. Anderson scarcely gives Ravenna the rank she deserves as a cradle of much of our early Christian art and architecture.

Nothing strikes us as more curious, when comparing the antiquities of Ireland and Scotland, than the small number of Christian sepulchral monuments in Scotland, and the rarity of sepulchral inscriptions, as contrasted with Ireland. While Ireland has already given us 244 tombstones with inscriptions in the vernacular, Scotland can only boast the stones of Vetta, son of Victus, and of Drost, son of 'Ferat, on the mainland, and five from Iona, of a decidedly Irish type. While Ireland yields already some hundred Ogham inscriptions, Scotland only gives four on the mainland and seven on the Orkney and Shetland Islands. The Ogham stones of Scotland are enriched with profuse sculpture in relief, while in Ireland they seem to be always of a much ruder and earlier type, indeed almost quite devoid of ornament.

The stone monuments of Ireland are of three kinds: landmarks, terminal crosses, and tombstones—the latter being always slabs laid flat on the ground. The terminal crosses, or High crosses, occur in Scotland, and erect slabs seem to take the place of the landmarks or pillar-stones of Ireland. These slabs are shaped to a regular form, enriched on both sides with profuse decoration, such as the uninterpreted symbols, human figures, animals, interlacings, and other designs.

With the sculptured stones of Scotland we arrive at that which we feel to be the crowning feature in Mr. Anderson's work, the method by which he seems to have solved the problem as to the origin and intention of a large class of those strange figures and symbols which are found on upright slabs within a certain area on the east of Scotland. In Mr. Anderson's hands archæology has indeed advanced since the time when Boece, writing at the close of the fifteenth century, suggests that these forms are cyphers, or a system of secret writing used on tombs; when others held them to be

Phœnician, and others Gnostic. Even Mr. Stuart but twenty years ago observed, 'These symbols must be of Pictish origin (vol. ii. p. 34), since the Picts are said to have painted animals on their bodies,' quite ignoring the fact that they do not occur among the monuments of this people any more than in the neighbourhood of churches of Scotie foundation. The greater number of monuments on which they appear are not ecclesiastical, but secular; only twenty-five out of sixty-nine have been found near churches. They may be monumental, and commemorative of some historic event, but are very rarely sepulchral.

Mr. Anderson divides the symbols on these stones into two classes, by one of which he confesses himself still baffled; but those of the other class he proves, and we think indisputably, to be variants from a parent system of symbolic representation. To the first belong signs, such as the crescent, two circles joined by a hand, a zigzag form, a form that may be a conventional lily, another that may stand for a book, an animal's head, a large circle with a smaller at each side, and so on. These symbols do not occur in Ireland.

The second class consists of a mirror, a comb, dragons, four-footed animals with gaping jaws, elephants, hogs, fish, lizards, long rows of wild beasts, stags, birds, &c. To what source can we trace the origin and meaning of carving such heterogeneous forms on our monuments? Mr. Anderson follows the clue given him by Mr. John Evans in the first chapter of his description of the early British coins.¹ He could take no better guide. In the early coinages of Gaul and Britain we find that the successive copyists of some fine Greek or Roman original, departing further and further from the spirit and form of the prototypes, at last developed typical forms which are intelligible only when the series of steps by which the degraded form was reached have been demonstrated. So was it with the rude stone-cutters in the east of Scotland. Their work is the degenerate form whose prototype may be traced back to the first Christian sarcophagi, and even further; for the early Christian artists allowed themselves wide latitude in the use of Pagan images. They made Genii and Amorini; they adopted the figure of Deucalion and Pyrrha in a box, with two doves, for Noah in the ark; Jason escaping from the sea monster's mouth for Jonah cast forth by the whale. Of the purely Christian subjects, Daniel in the lions' den, the raising of Lazarus, the destruction of Pharaoh's host in the Red Sea, the ascension of Elijah, are here given

¹ See *Early British Coinage*, p. 27.

in beautiful examples, drawn from the Vatican Codex, from sarcophagi at Arles, and Ravenna, and Velletri. But how amazing is the interest of seeing such examples of Italian art of the fourth and fifth centuries brought face to face, as they are in Mr. Anderson's illustrations, with their rude and hitherto incomprehensible copies on the High crosses at Kells and Moone Abbey and Iona, on the stone at St. Vigean, or that brought to Abbotsford from Woodwray, on a sculptured stone at St. Andrews, and others at Dunkeld and Meigle. Rude indeed as are these Irish and Scottish versions of the old stereotyped subjects of Byzantine art, they are not half so wide a departure from their prototypes as is the British coin found at Pickering, in Yorkshire, in 1853, from the coin of Philip the Second of Macedon, to which Mr. Evans has traced its origin. 'It is difficult,' he observes, 'to imagine more barbarous art than is found on this coin; nor can we well conceive a type in which the noble laureate head and spirited biga, on the Macedonian prototype, are more completely degenerated, and indeed entirely forgotten, than in this with which the series I have attempted to describe concludes.' The usual variations from the prototype in the series of British and Gaulish coins alluded to are as follows:—The face has been to some measure preserved, but vulgarized; the outline of the head has been destroyed, the hair conventionalized, reduced to a formal system of lines, the front locks appear as three open crescents, the curls and laurel wreath are reduced to a meaningless symmetrical pattern, while a hook stands for the beautiful curve of the ear. On the reverse the biga has entirely disappeared, while the four horses have melted into one. The original was probably seen by the Gauls when Brennus plundered Greece, B.C. 279. And for four centuries after, copies more and more degraded were multiplied as the type travelled northward, till all resemblance to the original disappeared.

In the Middle-age Bestiaries, as well as in the writings of the Fathers, Mr. Anderson traces the meaning and origin of many of the strange groups of animals on our stones. 'The stag is said to know where the serpent has its den, and, filling its mouth with water, floods the den; the serpent is driven forth, and the stag tramples it to death. The stag is therefore the symbol of Christ.'¹ This reminds us of a passage in the writings of Isidorus.²

'When the lioness has brought forth the cub she is said to sleep during three days, until by the sound of the father's roar, which

¹ *Spicilegium Solesmense*, I. cap. ix. 21.

² *Etymol.* lib. xii. cap. ii. n. 3, 4, etc.

causes her sleeping-place as it were to tremble, she rouses the sleeping cub ; so Christ, when he had given us birth upon the cross, slept during three days, until the great movement of the earth was made, and he was roused in the blessed Resurrection.' 'Again,' we read, 'the lioness brings forth her cubs dead, and watches over them during three days, until the father comes and breathes into their faces, and they come to life ; so when the three days were ended—from Adam to Noah, from Noah to Moses, from Moses to the Maccabees—at that time came the Father of all, Christ, who breathes by his sacred teaching into their faces, and brings them to life.'¹

This subject is one of the motives used by Giotto to signify the raising of man from the dead. How strangely interesting it is then to find it one of the subjects on a stone at Dunfallandy, in Perthshire, and in the space above the arm of the cross at Shandwick, in Ross-shire !

But Giotto ! The name sounds as a bell ringing in the advent of a higher, fuller life than any we can find in Byzantine, Celtic, or Scandinavian art. With this master we enter on a path where mind and heart can expand ; we cast aside convention, vain repetition of forms 'through which the spirit breathes no more,' lifeless symmetry, and stereotyped ideals,

'And paint man, man—whatever the issue !²
Make the hopes shine through the flesh they fray.'

And side by side with such development in the historical art of Italy was the advance in decorative art. Ornament became the expression of man's delight in God's work, and designs drawn from natural forms took the place of spirals, knots, and patterns.

We cannot, therefore, quite sympathize with Mr. Anderson when he claims for the monuments of early Christian times in Scotland a place as models of intrinsic value and suggestiveness for our designers, sculptors, and jewellers in the present day, and discovers in them evidences of culture, of imagi-

¹ See also in Middle-Irish, the facsimile of the *Leabhar Breacc* (or Speckled Book), published by the Royal Irish Academy, p. 167, col. 2, lines 63–68. Literally rendered, this version of the legend is as follows : 'Jacob son of Isaac was the first who prophesied (see Genesis c. xlix. v. 9), when he was foretelling of his son, to wit, of Judah, and said : "This is what I deem Judah like," saith Jacob, "to wit, a lion's whelp. What, who, shall rouse him up ?" for this is the peculiarity (*aiste*) of that whelp, that it is three days in death immediately after its birth. And the male lion comes to it, and puts his breath round it, and roars over it with a great voice, and then raises up the whelp to life. Thus then arose Christ from the dead through the might of the Heavenly Father.'

² Browning, *Men and Women*, vol. ii. p. 39.

nation, and refinement of taste which would furnish a Scottish School of Art in the present day 'with a wealth of material no other nation possesses.'¹ As he himself has proved, the art, consisting of forms of men and animals on the sculptured monuments is a derived system of symbols composed of mere variants of universal types, disguised and degraded in their passage from the higher art of the primitive Church to the later and more local art of the Celtic Church ; so is it also with the linear designs, the interlacings and scrolls that form the decorative portion of our art ; so is it also with regard to our bell-houses or ecclesiastical towers, our shrines, and crosiers, and chalices. Our so-called Celtic art is a derived system stamped with a native and semi-barbarous character, 'intricate and irksome,' as Mr. Anderson in one place truly terms it, but full of interest, and occasionally beautiful in result.

Yet neither do we sympathize with those writers who find in this so-called Celtic art nothing higher than the art of the savage, nothing better than the carved patterns of the Fiji islanders. So far as we can see, the line to be drawn between the two opinions is this, that our early Christian monuments, covering a period of eight centuries, are of paramount interest as evidences of the gradual entrance of the inhabitants of these islands into the current of European thought and culture, and their ultimate assimilation with the larger, fuller life of continental Europe. Through them we can trace the various influences—Scandinavian, Celtic, Roman—that have gone to moulding our national character, and history will gain much by reading in these monuments how century by century our insular customs yielded to the higher civilization of the South, while yet we retained enough native force to stamp our work with an independent character and strong individuality.

¹ Vol. ii. p. 133.

ART. III.—CARLYLE'S LIFE AND WORKS.

1. *Thomas Carlyle: a History of the First Forty Years of his Life.* 1795–1835. By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE, M.A. (London, 1882.)
2. *Reminiscences by Thomas Carlyle.* Edited by JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE. (London, 1881.)
3. *Mr. Carlyle's Works.* People's Edition, 36 vols.
4. *Reminiscences of my Irish Journey in 1849.* By THOMAS CARLYLE. (London, 1882.)

A QUARTERLY REVIEW has many disadvantages as compared with publications that are able to comment more speedily upon passing affairs and subjects of fresh interest; but it has this advantage, that it can look at such subjects more dispassionately, and is less likely to fall in with the first hasty conclusions of popular feeling. We are especially conscious of this advantage in dealing with such a theme as the life of Mr. Carlyle. For in his case popular feeling has been playing its usual tricks with even more than its usual caprice. For many years before his death it had chosen to set him on a pedestal from which no efforts of his own could dislodge him. He was revered as a prophet, and consulted as an oracle; the comparative failure of his last great work, the *Life of Frederick*, could no more injure the impression made by his earlier utterances, than could the violence and obstinacy of his declarations on slavery impair the admiration felt for his personal character. Popular feeling had apparently determined to make an idol of this man, and popular feeling must have its way, uncontrolled as usual by the restraints of fact or of logic. But the halo which in his lifetime surrounded the person of the great writer was rudely dispersed after his death; and, as everyone knows, his reputation seemed to be fatally injured by his own *Reminiscences*. The usual conventional outcry of the English public arose; the newspapers, whose function it is to guide public opinion whither it wishes to go, swelled the chorus; and the only question was whether Carlyle was the more to blame for writing, or Mr. Froude for publishing, the offending book. Into that dispute we do not propose to enter, except to say that, in our opinion, Mr. Froude was formally justified in publishing the *Reminiscences* by Carlyle's express

consent given 'a few weeks before' his 'death.'¹ As to the manner in which Mr. Froude has discharged his task we shall have something to say later; in the mere act of the publication, we repeat, we hold him to have been within his right.

The outcry has not, as yet, been diminished by the further revelations contained in Mr. Froude's *History of the First Forty Years of Carlyle's Life*. The reaction which popular feeling invariably goes through has not yet set in, though we may confidently expect it. The two books, on the whole, tally in the impression they give of Carlyle's character; if, that is, in reading the *Reminiscences*, we remember that the writer was an old man bowed down by the weight of a great grief. This has been, we think, to a great extent forgotten by those who joined in the outcry caused by the publication. Still, admitting for the present the substantial accuracy of the representation of Carlyle contained in these books, let us see what we are to say of the clamour which they produced.

Proverbs are always devices for escaping from the trouble of thinking for oneself, and they are very often excuses for refusing to do one's plain duty. Of this kind more especially is the favourite retort of the indolent man of the world to the inconvenient preacher—'Practise what you preach.' 'They may be true and they may be very important, but so long as your own example gives me the smallest loophole for escaping from the strictness of your precepts, I need not listen to them.' That is the usual meaning of the saying; and we cannot help thinking that it has been strikingly exemplified in the world's treatment of Carlyle. A lofty moralist, a stern and vehement reprover of all that is base and conventional, a persistent despiser of the common littlenesses of life, Carlyle was naturally most unpalatable to the mass of men. His very existence in the midst of English society in the nineteenth century was, as it were, a standing declaration against the principles and practice of a great part of that society. It was with something of alacrity, then, with an odd kind of relief, that, in the *Reminiscences*, people saw the desired loophole, the opportunity for applying their favourite proverb. The preacher had not practised, or at least it suited us to say so. He was evidently censorious, almost calumnious; he was envious, discontented, selfish; he made much of the small and inevitable troubles of life, in spite of his own repeated

¹ *Life*, vol. i. p. 14. The words 'Mrs. Carlyle' in this passage (line 2) are an obvious misprint for 'Mr. Carlyle.'

exhortations to his readers to face them and go boldly through them; in short, he was a thoroughly disagreeable man, with quite as much of human infirmity as any of his once reverential disciples, and the world may be dispensed from listening to what he had to say, and need adopt none of his very embarrassing principles. Has there not been something, at least, of this unconscious relief in the popular feeling about Carlyle since his death? The moralists we like are very seldom so stern, and unbending, and unworldly as he was; it was a continual strain to listen to him, a still greater to attempt to do what he taught, and now that the 'broken bow' has succeeded in 'starting aside,' there is a certain feeling of contentment and comfort in the escape from the old constrained attitude of mind. So great is this feeling, indeed, that men have hardly noticed that they have founded their sweeping accusation of Carlyle almost entirely on one fault—an obvious fault, it is true, and a serious fault, but scarcely sufficient as the basis of the whole structure of reprobation. The one point no one can overlook in these books is the harsh and contemptuous judgments of his contemporaries, and the very vigorous language in which those judgments are expressed. There are other matters of accusation—his apparently selfish treatment of his wife, his exaggeration of small evils, for example; but these are not so obvious or so important as the perpetual scorn of others so definitely and witheringly pronounced on almost every page of his *Reminiscences* or his journal. The general reader has not been able to overlook this. The one *sine quâ non* of a good man in our time is good humour; the only virtue we are all prepared to enforce is a sort of easy benevolence that includes everybody in a general verdict of unmeaning praise. We are terribly afraid of speaking out, especially of speaking out the truth, when it is likely to injure anyone's feelings. Carlyle is describing a class, or rather a whole generation, in at least the latter half of his portrait of the Ettrick Shepherd: 'his intellect seems of the weakest; his morality also limits itself to the precept "Be not angry"' (*Life*, ii. 234). No wonder, then, that on looking into the private thoughts of a man whose grand characteristic was clearness of insight, and whose chief failing was exaggeration of expression, we should be startled to find men of whom we have usually heard nothing but slightly insipid good described with remorseless accuracy and unsparing vigour, standing out with all their faults, whether of appearance, manner, or character, in the fierce light of Carlyle's deep-piercing eyes.

It is startling, and we would not be thought to underrate the unpleasantness of it; nor do we wish by any means to praise Carlyle for his habit of derogatory speech. We shall have more to say of this later; at present we would only point out that such a shock is not always an un-mixed evil. It may awaken us to the fact that the principle '*de mortuis et vivis nil nisi bonum*' is not always good and sufficient for a practical rule of life; that truth, in however strange and harsh a form, is at times a necessary element in history, even in contemporary history; and that the shrinking from the man who speaks out may be as much a sign of moral cowardice as of Christian charity. Carlyle's life has other lessons to teach than the mere fact that he was, as Mr. Froude is never tired of reminding us, 'gey ill to live wi'; and it is surely a pity that for the present this impression should have overpowered all others in the popular mind. For on the whole, as we hope to be able to show, it was a noble life; disfigured, like many other noble lives, by weaknesses and faults, but still noble and full of much that is most lacking in men of our time.

First, however, we must say something of the way in which Mr. Froude has done his work. We must own to being very greatly disappointed with the merely literary execution of it. Even the grammar is at times bad, and shows signs of slovenly haste in the preparation of the book, and this is confirmed by the perpetual and wearisome repetitions of the same thoughts and phrases. Mr. Froude has not taken the trouble to condense what he has to say; his various descriptions of Carlyle's character are merely so many attempts to say the same thing, and instead of selecting the best attempt, and giving us that alone, he presents us with all, good, bad, and indifferent. One has the feeling of never gaining ground, and the last pages of the book seem to be occupied with the same points as were the first. Still worse than this is the confused arrangement, and the repetition of events in Carlyle's life first in Mr. Froude's own language, and then in extracts from the *Reminiscences*. A flagrant instance of this occurs on pp. 16 and 17 of vol. i., where within two pages the same passage of some five lines in length is repeated. It would have been better in every way had Mr. Froude used the *Reminiscences* as materials for the *Life*, instead of confusing our minds with two books covering very much the same ground, of which the first reappears at intervals in the second in a most perplexing manner. He might thus, by publishing only selections from the *Reminiscences*, have avoided the

offence and pain which the hasty and unrestricted publication gave to so many.

But these are only literary faults. What we dislike still more in Mr. Froude's book is the tone and temper in which it is written. This is of course a matter of personal impression, and others may fail to perceive what we mean; but to us there is something extremely repulsive in the way in which Mr. Froude portrays his friend, exaggerating, as he himself almost owns (ii. 470), the characteristic faults, repeating, with a cold disdain for the feelings of others, the scathing comments made by Carlyle in private on his acquaintances, and vouchsafing no word of apology or of regret, in spite of the outcry caused by the publication of the *Reminiscences*. If we do not blame Carlyle for his harsh judgments, we do blame Mr. Froude for publishing them; or, at least, if he thought it his duty to publish them, we blame him for the way in which he has done it. He might in many cases have left names blank: he has seldom done this, and in two cases, at least, where he has tried to prevent identification, he has either wilfully or with surprising clumsiness betrayed the secret by the immediate context.¹ But we cannot help thinking that Mr. Froude takes a sort of contemptuous pleasure in displaying and emphasizing the outbursts of passion to which Carlyle was undoubtedly subject. He reminds us of a showman whose pride it is to stir up the lions and make them roar, and who looks at the mingled emotions of the spectator with an unsympathetic and passionless interest that is singularly unattractive. We have reason to believe that the impression of Carlyle given by the *Reminiscences* was, to say the least, one-sided and incorrect; but it is this impression that Mr. Froude sets himself to emphasize and increase in the *Life*. There are indeed passages of great truth and much beauty of tone, in which he gives the counterbalancing facts, and points out the great qualities that in reality overpowered the surface faults of his friend; but there can be no doubt that, on the whole, the general idea we take from reading the *Life* is the same as that given by the *Reminiscences*, which, we repeat, is exaggerated and partial. If one reads carefully, it is not difficult to see in Mr. Froude's own pages abundant evidence to the contrary; but few people do read carefully, and the result, therefore, of the book is to perpetuate a popular opinion of Carlyle which was generated by the premature and isolated publication of the *Reminiscences*, and ought to have been cor-

¹ See *Life*, i. pp. 303, 307; ii. pp. 117, 120.

rected and mitigated by those who knew him best. But his reputation has been left in the hands of one who, apparently by preference, dwells on the violent weaknesses and intemperate melancholy of the great writer, and who at times even strains his words in order to prove him morose and malevolent. A more unfounded and ill-natured comment, for instance, than that on Carlyle's account of Jeffrey, we have seldom read: 'Carlyle was evidently trying to think as well as he could about his *great* friend, and was not altogether succeeding.'¹ There is literally no truth in this insinuation: the passage is a very favourable though discriminating account of a man who differed fundamentally from Carlyle, but whose goodness and brightness Carlyle could see and describe with most ungrudging generosity. 'On the whole,' he ends, 'he is about the *best man* I ever saw.' Mr. Froude's comment is a deliberate attempt to keep up the unfavourable impression of Carlyle. Again, the whole story of Carlyle's marriage and relations with his wife is, so far as we can see, exaggerated and darkened by Mr. Froude. We do not wish to say that the marriage was an ideally happy one; but it is impossible to read the letters written by both husband and wife without seeing that there was in these two fine natures a strong foundation of enduring love, capable of resisting much more than the sharp words and passionate outbursts to which both were liable. To judge between man and wife is proverbially difficult, and we cannot say that in the rest of the book Mr. Froude has shown that delicacy of taste and perception which alone could qualify him for success in this department of his task.

However, leaving Mr. Froude, let us turn to the life and character of the great writer, as they are revealed to us in his own letters and journals. After all, not much harm has been done. There may have been a mistaken selection of materials; the letters and extracts may represent too exclusively the darker side of Carlyle's outpourings; but there is enough in these volumes to show us a singularly rich and powerful character, whose qualities can by no means be summed up in one antithetical phrase, or even fully appreciated by any one mind. We would try and put together the more important traits of this character as they have struck us, keeping before our minds the fact that we are standing, as it were, beneath the object of our contemplation, and can only imperfectly see it. We are too close to it and too much below it to judge quite accurately.

¹ Vol. ii. p. 127.

In estimating a man's life, there are two things to be considered, his ideal, and his conformity to his ideal. For the first a man is only in part responsible; as for the second, he has only himself to blame if he fails to come up to what he knows to be the right standard of life. Circumstances may indeed hamper and confine a man's action; but no one has shown more nobly than Carlyle in many passages how the true hero rises supreme and reaches his ideal in spite of circumstances. Carlyle's ideal of what is right was in great part the natural ideal of a stern, God-fearing Scottish peasant. He was brought up in a life of hardship and toil: so the duty of sound and honest work was among the first impressed upon him. His ancestors, and especially his father and mother, were admirable specimens of the strong believing Calvinists of the North, in whose eyes God's will is the one matter of importance in this world, who are therefore rigid and uncompromising and true to the manifestations of that will that they see in the world of fact. Carlyle was therefore brought up to reverence facts, to cling to the truth in everything, to despise all trifles, and to hate falsehood. The main elements of his ideal of goodness he brought with him into the world. Strength, honesty, industry, reverence, truth, these were his heritage, and we can see that to these he did conform his whole life through. One virtue only, so far as we can judge, came to him later, and his grasp of it was proportionately weak. The Calvinist temper does not seem to have included self-renunciation as a real part of the Christian life. To the will of God, indeed, man must utterly submit himself; so far self-renunciation was recognized; but to deny oneself for others, to remember the brotherhood of man, seems to be no part of the duty of life for those who are taught to think that their one object is the salvation of their own souls. Nevertheless, Carlyle learnt this also, but he learnt it late in life.

Work, and truth, and reverence are, we should say, the great features of Carlyle's character that stand out in his own unconscious portrait of himself. Mr. Froude says that he believed himself to have 'perhaps less capability for literature than for any other occupation,' and that part of his discontent arose from his being debarred from a life of action, and compelled to take to an occupation of mere speaking and writing, of words, not deeds. Still more noble, then, is his determination to carry his principle of good work into every article and every book that he undertook. Few can understand, unless they have known it, the temptation to a man who is writing for his bread to scamp his work, to write thoughtlessly

and untruly, to catch the passing fancy, instead of speaking only the message that has been entrusted to him. Carlyle was a grand instance of the man who chose the harder part, who, as Mr. Froude well says,

'had imposed conditions upon himself which might make the very keeping himself alive impossible ; for his function was sacred to him, and he had laid down as a fixed rule that he would never write merely to please, never for money ; that he would never write anything save when specially moved to write by an impulse from within ; above all, never to set down a sentence which he did not in his heart believe to be true, and to spare no labour till his work to the last fibre was as good as he could possibly make it.'

And however contemptuous he might be of the work of writing, compared with manual labour, yet it was very real work. How many Quarterly Reviewers are there who would prepare themselves for an article by reading 'twenty-five octavo volumes' through? Yet Carlyle did this conscientiously for his essay on Diderot.

In all this honest industry and exactness Carlyle was but carrying out the lessons he had learnt from the precepts and, above all, from the example of his father. There are few more touching records in literature than his *Reminiscences of James Carlyle, of Ecclefechan, Mason* ; and in this record perhaps the leading thought is the excellence and soundness of the work that his father accomplished :—

'The force that had been lent my father he honourably expended in manful well-doing. A portion of this planet bears beneficent traces of his strong hand and strong head. Nothing that he undertook but he did it faithfully and like a true man. I shall look on the houses he built with a certain proud interest. They stand firm and sound to the heart all over his little district. No one that comes after him will ever say, Here was the finger of a hollow eye-servant. They are little texts for me of the gospel of man's freewill.'

Carlyle thus handed on to us what he had received from the generations before him ; and how useful, and indeed necessary, it is for us to learn this lesson of honest work, none knew or have expressed more clearly than he. It is right to remember that the amazing objurgations of bad work which are so frequent in the *Reminiscences* and elsewhere are the expressions of a genuine and deep-seated feeling, though exaggerated, like all Carlyle's feelings, by the great energy of his metaphorical language. And in this point, at least, what he fiercely blamed in others he would never give way to himself : no writing of his is hasty or inaccurate, and such a work as

the first volume of the *French Revolution*, rewritten with no apparent loss of vigour or truth of detail, should be to all later writers what his father's houses were to him, a 'text of the gospel of man's freewill.'

Carlyle's love of good work was based on a still deeper and nobler instinct in his nature, his steadfast adherence to truth. On this point we shall, we fear, go against the opinions of many of our readers, of those especially who have joined in the popular outcry against the *Reminiscences*. For, leaving aside the habitual exaggeration of language, we believe that for the most part the outcry was caused by the totally unexpected and unprecedented truthfulness of Carlyle's utterances about his contemporaries. Mistakes and misrepresentations have been pointed out in the *Reminiscences*, but in many cases they should be set down to the state of mind in which the greater part of that unhappy book was written, so that, as Mr. Froude testifies, 'he was afterwards unconscious what he had done.' To take the 'wild and whirling words' of such writings, and to generalize from them exclusively, is a striking instance of the tendency in human nature to debase rather than exalt, to think upon the evil that is in men rather than upon 'whatsoever things are lovely and of good report.' We will not take the *Reminiscences* as Carlyle's typical judgments of the men of his time. But, it will be said, in his private letters and in his journals as we read them in the *Life* we find the same evilspeaking and contemptuous abuse. Now, with some very few exceptions, we should deny this. Carlyle's descriptions of others are, as we have said, exaggerated and harsh in expression; they are coloured by his constitutional melancholy and by the added gloom of dyspepsia, and in some cases they are hopelessly unsympathetic. But, speaking generally, they are true; they are rarely even one-sided, and we should not mistake an unconventional openness of praise as well as blame for unmitigated blame. Where both sides of a man's character are clearly and vigorously portrayed, one is very apt to remember only the shadows; but we doubt whether there is in the *Life* any portrait, except one, which is entirely shadow. The exception, a most harmful one for Carlyle's reputation, is, of course, Charles Lamb. Here Carlyle's insight was darkened by his prejudices, and the result is a hopeless misunderstanding and a painful misrepresentation. But this, which has been so dwelt upon, is an isolated case. Look, on the other hand, at his many striking estimates of Jeffrey's very uncongenial character, especially at the well-

balanced judgment to which we have already referred ; look at the ungrudging praise of Allan Cunningham, of Leigh Hunt, of Charles Buller, or of John Mill, all of them very different men in opinions and in character from Carlyle, and yet praised and judged with great generosity as well as accuracy. For, we must repeat it, the foundation of all his judgments is truth ; and those for which he has been most blamed will often be found the truest. The portraits are so startling in their piercing veracity and life, the men are 'hit off' with such vigour and reality, that the effect upon one who admires them is sometimes that of an unexpected cold bath. It is not often that one whom we have learnt to love and admire in his writings is quite able to maintain his position when we see him in person ; and Carlyle's portraits are singularly lifelike introductions to the persons described. No one, surely, can doubt that in his two descriptions of Coleridge the man is really put before us as he appeared to an observer, competent indeed and appreciative, but not very sympathetic. If Carlyle saw him in that guise, it was better that he should say so than that he should give the world a conventional picture of the great leader of thought. Such a description explains better than many philosophical discourses the comparative failure of Coleridge's life. But it must be noticed that the other side is given faithfully as far as it was possible for Carlyle to give it. And even the summing up in a letter to his brother is, if the habitual picturesqueness of the language be discounted, not an unfair description : 'Coleridge is a mass of richest spices putrefied into a dunghill. I never hear him *tawlk* without feeling ready to worship him, and toss him in a blanket.' Again, if one puts together the three allusions to Macaulay, what an admirable account they are, of course from Carlyle's point of view, of the rising man of the day : 'Of Macaulay I hear nothing very good—a sophistical, rhetorical, ambitious young man of talent.' This is corrected by later impressions : 'an emphatic, hottish, really forcible person, but unhappily without divine idea.' Lastly, 'he has more force and emphasis in him than any other of my British coevals. Wants the root of belief, however. May fail to accomplish much. Let us hope better things.' Taking, as we have said, the three remarks together, and remembering the enormous difference between the two men's characters and beliefs, we maintain that in such a description there is an essential truth. Equally true, or at least not greatly exaggerated, must appear to many the sudden flashes of scorn at two of the literary leaders of the day : 'Rogers an elegant,

politely malignant old lady ;' and 'Moore . . . a lascivious triviality of great name.' Remembering who Carlyle was in comparison with such men as Rogers and Moore, we must own that these scathing words are not far from the truth as to the men themselves and as to their position in the world. For, in spite of the natural tendency to believe in past generations, it is becoming clear to us that Carlyle came to London at what was in truth almost the low-water mark of this century in literature, as in some other things. Byron, and Shelley, and Keats were dead, Scott was in his decadence, Wordsworth far off and unregarded by the leaders of criticism. The poverty of poetry was not being redeemed by the learning or the brilliancy of prose writers. With the exception of Hallam, for Macaulay was only beginning his career, it would be difficult to name any historian whose work has lasted or deserved to last. Novelists were represented by Bulwer Lytton, who is still a superstition of the Germans, but to the two notices of whom by Carlyle few Englishmen will now greatly demur : 'a dandiacal philosopher;' and again, 'intrinsically a poor creature this Bulwer; has a bustling whisking agility and restlessness which may support him in a certain degree of significance with some, but which partakes much of the nature of *levity*. Nothing truly notable can come of him.' Indeed, very little truly notable has come of the literary world of England at the time that Carlyle came into it, a moody Titan with '*such eyes*.'

The unshrinking veracity with which he could speak of his friends, and his constancy to them in spite of great divergence in opinion, are, of course, most signally illustrated in the case of Edward Irving. For to a man like Carlyle, resolutely set against all external manifestations of religious feeling, and utterly contemptuous of nineteenth century Christianity, it must have been a sore trial to see his first and greatest friend dragged into the strangest excesses of sectarianism. And, so far as we can see, he never for a moment gave way to Irving, or allowed him to claim his sympathy in these things. He seems to have been throughout true to his own convictions; and the separation between the two would, with men of less nobility, have been complete. For, in addition to the difference in religious opinions, there was the private cause of difference alluded to in the *Reminiscences*, and now made clear to us by Mr. Froude. The circumstances of Carlyle's marriage we shall deal with later; of Irving's share in them we can speak very shortly. There can be no doubt that Irving and Miss Welsh loved each other, and that

she would have married him but for the obstacle of his previous engagement. Most loyally and uncomplainingly he seems to have kept to his promise ; and she, full of respect and admiration, but without love, married Carlyle. It was not in human nature for her to remember without bitterness the part that Mrs. Irving had taken in preventing her marriage with Irving ; and we cannot doubt that much of Carlyle's separation from his friend, and his apparently ignorant misrepresentation of Mrs. Irving's character, arose from his wife's recollection of what had passed between her and Irving, and of the way in which they were finally kept apart. But this alienation has left but few traces on his estimate of Irving's character. There are a few bitter passages, but they are invariably redeemed by beautiful words of just praise : and even when criticizing most severely what he could not but think to be Irving's delusions, he did so that 'at some future time of crisis and questioning dubiety in Irving's own mind he might remember the words of a well-affected soul, and they might then be a help to him.' Nearly every word he writes about Irving, down to the last notice, one of the most nobly mournful elegies a man ever had, is marked with sincerity and truth, and reminds us of Irving's own saying, 'in his last weeks of life : ' ' I should have kept Thomas Carlyle closer to me ; his counsel, blame, or praise, was always faithful ; and few have such eyes.' And we believe that, in the end, the judgment of the world will not be very different from Irving's. Carlyle was exaggerated and gloomy ; he had a consciousness of superiority which was unpleasing and arrogant, though not unfounded ; he was too much self-absorbed to be able to sympathize with men of different characters ; but he was faithful in praise and blame, and he had eyes that have rarely been equalled in their power of insight.

It is this gift of clear sight that makes him so astonishingly accurate in description and tenacious in memory : that is, it was this that gave him the power to be accurate ; but it was his moral strength, his steadfast adherence to truth, that made him exercise this power all through his life. His extraordinary descriptive genius seems to arise from his conscientious determination to see things and persons as they really are ; and, having once pierced through the mists that conventionality and indolence and indifference usually cast round an object, the image was so clearly impressed upon his mind that no lapse of time seems to have obscured it. The scenes and the people that he had transiently looked upon sixty or seventy years before stand out by a few vigorous descriptive

words in the *Reminiscences*, as if they were then and there before him ; it is done in an incidental manner, as if he could not help it, but was obliged to set down the facts that his marvellous memory carried in it. For a few minutes he talked with the officer in charge of the survey on the Lomond Hills ; and fifty years later the poor man stands before us as 'a saucy-looking, cold official gentleman.' The 'faded Irish dandy,' to whom Carlyle and Irving, in the dim past, gave a breakfast at Annan, is portrayed as 'a parboiled insipid agricultural dandy,' with 'a superfine light green frock, snow-white corduroys ; age above fifty, face colourless, crow-footed, feebly conceited.' There are hundreds of equally vigorous and seemingly faithful pieces of 'instantaneous photography' in the *Reminiscences* and the *Life* ; and in reading them we can understand something of Carlyle's eagerness to get at facts, and his impatience of men who had no facts to tell him. This eagerness for fact was not common at that time, as we may see if we recall the contemporary literature ; and Carlyle corroborates this impression :—

'Not one of that class will tell you a straightforward story, or even a credible one, about any matter under the sun. All must be packed up into epigrammatic contrasts, startling exaggerations, claptraps that will get a plaudit from the galleries. I have heard a hundred anecdotes about William Hazlitt for example ; yet cannot by never so much cross-questioning even form to myself the smallest notion of how it really stood with him.'

To a man whose desire was to see and understand rather than to laugh and to feel, the talk of men like Lamb was, no doubt, as he says, 'inexpressibly wearisome ;' to the Scotch Calvinist, lightness and inaccuracy and mere 'idle tattle' were almost profanation, and, like his father, 'what had no meaning in it—above all, what seemed false—he absolutely could and would not hear, but abruptly turned aside from it, or, if that might not suit, with the besom of destruction swept it far away from him.'

It is to this resolution to see, to penetrate to the very thing itself, undarkened by tradition, or custom, or prejudice, that Carlyle owes much of his originality. The change from one literary epoch to another is brought about by men who become aware that the truths of former innovators have gradually thickened into falsehoods and conventional inaccuracies, and who determine to put them aside and to see once more the facts of life. What Wordsworth had done for the previous generation, Carlyle, in a very different manner, did for his ; he recalled it from conventional phraseology and

unreal modes of thought to reality and truth. 'Carlylese' has itself become a phraseology, and partakes of the nature of cant; but that should not blind us to the truth and veracity which formed the groundwork of his life, and which were due, in great measure, to his training as a Scottish peasant's son.

In the central passage of *Sartor Resartus*, indeed one might almost say of all his works, Carlyle declares that 'always there is a black spot in our sunshine: it is even the *Shadow of Ourselves*.' Few men have better exemplified the truth of this saying than its author; and the consciousness of his own self-absorption was, without doubt, one grand cause of his continued restlessness and melancholy. But it is very necessary to distinguish between self-absorption and selfishness. In act, Carlyle seems to have been a singularly unselfish man. As Mr. Froude points out, 'the savings of his thrift were spent in presents to his father and mother, and in helping to educate his brother.' It is not many men who would have endured a struggling life of hard work for several years in order to start a brother in his profession; yet much of Carlyle's early difficulty and hardship was caused by this. He seems never to have shrunk from giving, though he was never rich; and his giving was truly evangelical, in that it was done in secret. We have heard, on good authority, of instances of his thoughtful kindness in little troublesome cares for others, which are often harder than the giving of alms, and which he might have well been excused for disregarding. In the delightful *Journals* of his Quaker friend, Caroline Fox, we find an instance of his unprompted activity in helping the collier who had tried to sacrifice his own life to save another's. Many more cases could be recorded, but indeed Mr. Froude's *Life* is enough to clear him from the charge of having been in act a selfish man. His splendid devotion to his work, a work done without regard to himself, is itself a monument of unselfishness. It was not merely that he worked for very inadequate rewards, or that he refused to pander to popular taste in order to make money, but that the great bulk of his work is of an impersonal and general nature. For a man of such intense individuality and, as we now see, gnawing self-consciousness, it is wonderful how little of the 'shadow of self' there is in his writings. The great revelation of his own spiritual struggles once made in *Sartor Resartus*, he turned to apply for the benefit of the rest of mankind the strength and experience he had gained. Before these letters and journals were

published, one caught indeed a glimpse of the 'shadow of self' in occasional phrases in the *Life of Sterling*, but they certainly do not mar the beauty of that finished and living portrait. Yet this was the man whose journal is as complete a revelation of continual self-absorption as any one of those instruments of morbid vivisection that we have ever seen. And it must also be owned, that this was the man who manifested the same self-absorption in his utter unconsciousness, rather than disregard, of the feelings and wants of those around him. His character was a strange mixture of selfishness and self-denial: when he thought, he was unselfish; but his impulse was to be wrapped up in himself, and to be deaf and blind to other people. The fault comes out most plainly, as might have been expected, in his journal. It takes the form of looking at everything and everybody from his own point of view; he seems to have had a scornful incapacity for putting himself into the place of others. The result was not only to make him solitary and unhappy in his life, but it also seriously injured his intellectual power. A man begins to learn and to see deeply into the causes of things when he recognizes the infinite diversity of human faculties, and looks at other men to find out not merely, as Carlyle too often did, what use they can be to him, but what they are in themselves. If a man could not tell Carlyle any fact, if he could 'add nothing to him,' if he represented a different sphere of life with different interests and different thoughts, he was nothing to him; Carlyle simply rejected him as supererogatory. In his retrospect of life he seems to have dimly perceived this, and contrasts himself with his wife: 'She had a frank welcome to every sort of worth and even kindly singularity in her fellow-creatures, such as I could at no time rival.' A greater power of going out of himself and, by a sympathetic imagination, seeing as others saw, and feeling as they felt, would have added some truth to his historical books and much to his prophecies. But he could not welcome 'kindly singularities in his fellow-creatures,' unless they were like his own, and he could not, therefore, believe in improvement or in progress except on the exact lines which seemed good to himself.

When his own experience was in question, he lost all sense of proportion. His own discomforts and ailments became magnified beyond all measure, partly by his self-absorption, but partly also by his astonishing power of hyberbolical language. In the *Journals* of Caroline Fox, which give almost incidentally a far more vivid and comprehensible picture of Carlyle than we can get from Mr.

Froude's descriptions, will be found several admirable reports of his conversation, from which we can, to a great extent, understand its power and its extravagance. Many people, for instance, know the discomfort of railway travelling, but Carlyle was unable to compare himself with others, and his misery seems to stand out as a unique fact in the history of the world. 'In that accursed train, with its devilish howls and yells driving one distracted! . . . It is enough for me to reflect on my own misery.' It is the same with his dyspepsia; though in this, by the way, Mr. Froude seems to us to do him an injustice. He speaks of Carlyle's 'imagined ill-health,' and seems to think that if a man is 'impervious to cold' and has a strong constitution, he ought not to mind such a mere ailment as dyspepsia. But is it not just this that makes the peculiar torment of indigestion? A man does not die under it, he does not get better or worse, but it goes on through his whole life darkening everything, spoiling every pleasure, increasing every burden. This was its effect on Carlyle, and its influence on his writings and on his character can scarcely, perhaps, be overrated. But he speaks as if no one else had ever suffered from dyspepsia and sleeplessness; and he was totally unable to carry out his own reiterated precepts to bear in silence, not, as he says in *Sartor Resartus*, to 'pip and whimper and go cowering and trembling.' Still we must remember that this weakness and impatience were but external; they did not affect his work, and no one who knows what dyspepsia is will underrate the splendid perseverance which gave him strength to labour on through it all. For the chief misery of his ailment is that it is not merely pain, but pain which affects the intellect and the feelings alike; in his own vivid words: 'every window of your Feeling, even of your Intellect, as it were, begrimed and mud-bespattered, so that no pure ray can enter; a whole Drugshop in your inwards; the fordome soul drowning slowly in quagmires of Disgust.' He is a strong and a brave man who perseveres in laborious and unrepaying work through such a state; and we do not know who has a right to cast a stone at him if he did not endure in silence.

No doubt the most serious flaw in Carlyle's character was his disregard for the feelings of those around him, and especially his inability to see how hardly his mode of life was pressing upon his wife. We do not think Mr. Froude is justified in relying upon such a saying of hers as that which he quotes: 'Carlyle has exceeded all that my wildest hopes ever imagined of him—and I am miserable;' for we know

from other sources that she was quite as much given to exaggeration in language as he was ; and we have the less doubtful evidence of her letters to prove that 'I am miserable' by no means accurately represented her married life. It is not a 'miserable' wife who can write thus to her husband when absent :—

'To be separated from you one week is frightful as a foretaste of what it *might* be, but I will not think of this if I can help it ; and after all why should I think of life without you ? Is not my being interwoven with yours so close that it can have no separate existence ?'

And, in spite of Mr. Froude's strange statement, that 'with love his feeling for her had nothing in common but the name,' no one can read his letters to her without seeing in them the most genuine love, expressed in many beautiful and playful passages. It is simply a misrepresentation to say, 'He thought of a wife as a companion to himself who would make life easier and brighter to him. But this was all ;' for this is contradicted even by Mr. Froude's own comment on one of Carlyle's letters to his wife : 'The intense affection which he felt for her is visible in every line.' We will not quote from his letters to prove what is most clear to the hastiest reader ; 'every line' is enough to show that there was no lack of real love, on his side from the first, on her side after a very short experience of married life. The fault was not the absence of love, but his failure to express his love in their daily life, and the self-absorption which prevented him from knowing that she wanted something more than he gave her. As Caroline Fox, with a woman's sympathy, puts it : 'He does not pay that attention to little things on which so much of a woman's comfort depends.' It was a 'grievous fault, and grievously' did he 'answer it ;' for every page of the *Reminiscences* burns with the fire of unavailing regret for his lifelong selfishness ; but it was too late that he learnt that self-renunciation consists not only in submission to the will of God, but in self-denial and care for other people.

But there are on this subject certain facts which should be taken into account in judging Carlyle's conduct as a husband. Mr. Froude points out that his experience was that of a Scottish peasant, accustomed to see his mother and sisters work hard, and it was natural for him to expect the same of his wife. No doubt a man of Carlyle's understanding should have recognized the difference, and above all should have tried to soften the hardships of such a life to his delicately nurtured wife. But, when all is said, there is more excuse for

him than for the common run of men whose domestic selfishness is happily hidden under their natural obscurity; though we by no means wish, in urging excuses for Carlyle, to avail ourselves of perhaps the most absurd of Mr. Froude's many shallow generalizations about 'men of genius : ' 'The mountain peaks of intellect are no homes for quiet people. Those who are cursed or blessed with lofty gifts and lofty purposes may be gods in their glory or their greatness, but are rarely tolerable as human companions.' Mr. Froude seems to know a good deal about 'men of genius,' but we cannot accept such a statement on his sole authority. Even if it were true, and many instances contradict it, it would be no excuse for Carlyle or any other ill-tempered 'man of genius.'

But there is another consideration which Mr. Froude refers to indeed, but only slightly. It is the fact that much of the fault was undoubtedly on Mrs. Carlyle's side. Here again we can bring in Miss Fox's testimony to supplement Mr. Froude's hints. He says: 'Miss Welsh too, as well as Carlyle, had a fiery temper. When provoked she was as hard as flint, with possibilities of dangerous sparks of fire.' 'The bitter arrow was occasionally shot back.' These and other similar remarks are corroborated by Miss Fox. Mrs. Carlyle is depicted by her as a woman of great conversational power, who was very apt to be exclusively sharp and even bitter in speech. Thus an exceptional visit to Mrs. Carlyle is called 'a humane little visit. I don't think she roasted a single soul, or even body.' In another passage she is described as 'giving some brilliant female portraiture, but all in caricature.' She is said to 'foster in him the spirit of contradiction and restlessness,' and again 'she plays all manner of tricks on her husband, telling wonderful stories of him in his presence, founded almost solely on her bright imagination.' This passage ends indeed with the statement 'They are a very happy pair;' but that such treatment must have had an irritating effect on him is clear, and the inference is borne out by many private anecdotes of the two. Our belief, founded on what we have heard, is that in some of his least agreeable qualities, especially in contemptuous criticism of others, she encouraged him; and that she was by no means the least to blame in many of the outbursts of passion that occurred between them.

We should not have said so much but that the subject has been already much discussed, and Mr. Froude devotes a considerable part of his two volumes to it. The private lives of

these two remarkable persons have become public property, and we are compelled to take notice of Carlyle's married life in estimating his character as a whole. Whatever may have been his faults, and though his wife may not have felt that her example was an encouragement to others to 'marry men of genius,' yet behind the roughness and reserve of her husband she was able to recognize the devoted love that he had for her, and to foretell, as we know for a fact, the 'apotheosis,' to use her own expression, that awaited her when no longer by his side.

The impression that this striking character leaves on our minds, as we read the various accounts of him, is that he was a man born out of time. He should have lived in a simpler, slower age. The complexity and hurry of modern life irritated and oppressed him; he made no attempt to explain these things, he did not use them in his theory of life, and when in practice he was confronted with them he raged at them with picturesque fury. His thoughts were always concerned with the simple broad facts of human life, with the moral rather than with the social phenomena of the age. When transplanted from the primitive solitudes of Ecclefechan and Craigenputtock to Edinburgh and London, he seems never to have his imagination stirred by the vastness and intricacy of the causes that have produced these great cities, or by the multitudinous facts of civilization; he has no thoughts for the manifold interests and conflicting motives that are working on the busy crowds of men; he is thinking of man in the simplest form, of the moral nature which is but little affected by the growth of nations, of the relations of individual men one to another, and to the 'Eternities and Immensities.' *Sartor Resartus* is an attempt to strip off not only the trappings of rank and station from individuals, but the accretions and deposits left by civilization on the original framework of society. Man is interesting to him in himself rather than in his conditions and surroundings. He reduces every problem to its simplest elements, seeing, for instance, in war only the bringing 'into actual juxtaposition' of able-bodied men from French and English villages of 'Dumdrudge,' and the mutual slaughter of 'these poor blockheads.' His peculiar humour consists largely in the unexpected simplification of the complex facts of life; his vision was so keen that, in piercing through all outer shells and coverings to the underlying realities, it often led him to disregard these coverings altogether, and to forget that they too are realities of a certain sort. Hence we can see why his life was very

much of the antique stamp. You hear very little of the 'gifts of civilization,' of railways and telegraphs and scientific discoveries, except as fuel for his wrath. His standard of religion and morality was the Puritan of some centuries back; he saw the last specimens of the race in Annandale, and 'all this is altered utterly at present.' All through his life his mind kept on recurring to the parents and friends of his youth in the simple village life, and contrasting them with the more subtle and intricate natures of cultivated London men and women, not at all to the advantage of these:—

'There is a kind of citizen which Britain used to have, very different from the millionaire Hebrews, Rothschild money-changers, Demosthenes Disraelis, and inspired young Goschens and their "unexampled prosperity." Weep, Britain, if the latter are among the honourable you now have.'

His contempt for political economy, the only science which has as yet been able to cope with the complexity of modern social life, was partly due to this instinct for simple forces and plain moral laws. Political economy revels in the complicated phenomena of civilization, and deals, or at that time used to deal, with them altogether apart from the moral law, scientifically and not ethically. But to Carlyle the only interest was the moral law, and the complicated phenomena of civilization were abominable in his eyes.

All this makes his teaching of less value than it would have been had he realized more fully the manifoldness of modern life. He had a clear eye for principles, but the intermediate stages between principles and action, the modifications and changes which civilization has wrought in the external expression of principles, were not clear to him, and he would put them aside with scornful impatience. This is now explained by the details of his life, which shows us the Ecclefechan Calvinist transplanted into the uncongenial crowd of London, and dwelling there all his days, a prophet of the desert carried into the city. His teaching, like his character, was more suited to the birth of a society than to its full life; his nature craved for simplicity and strength, and his destiny allotted to him a period of weakness and confusion.

There is always a certain relief in turning from the lives of great writers to their works. Their lives are troubled and stained by the circumstances in which they find themselves; they are full of whatever weakness their characters may possess. But their works are, almost always, the expression of their better natures; to them they escape from the sorry confusion and vexation of practical life, and from them they

are careful to keep as far as may be the weakness and faultiness of their own characters. So it is with Carlyle. His life was, as we have said, on the whole a noble life: but it had been better for the enjoyment of his writings had he remained to us what to most he used to be, an impersonal voice, warning and exhorting and teaching us as from a higher level than ours. But this is really an unworthy feeling. He was strong enough to hide his weakness and to keep it from marring his work, and we ought to be able to take what he gave us, the 'poor message' he had to deliver, without impairing its force by the thought that he did not altogether live up to the lessons he tried to teach. Even his writings, indeed, are not free from some of his characteristic faults; exaggeration, passion, and a perverse melancholy are visible in them as they were in his life; but they are wholly free from that weakness and littleness of character which have been made known to us by posthumous revelations.

Carlyle, it has been said, was a second-rate man with a marvellous gift of expression. This remark is, perhaps, a fair statement of what many have thought about Carlyle, and as such it is worth considering. A second-rate man is, we take it, a man without real inspiring originating force, with nothing new or specially valuable to tell the world. Add to such a man a wonderful power of speech or writing, and you have Carlyle.

Now, we do not believe that any really second-rate man can have an extraordinary gift of expression: or at least, if he is second-rate, the expression is also second-rate. Style, expression, power of language, whatever it may be called, is part of the intellectual endowment of the man; it represents the way in which the facts of life come to him, and from him are given out again to his audience. It is always possible to distinguish the mere rhetorician, who has nothing to say but a great power of saying it well, from the man whose soul is so penetrated with the truth he sees that his mode of utterance is transformed and moulded into harmony with it. Such a man is a poet; but Carlyle was not, in form, a poet. Rather with him the expression, the style, was formed not by the truths he proclaimed, but by his most characteristic intellectual endowment, his power of sight. His command over language is no mere capacity for putting other men's thoughts into eloquent words, but it is the direct result of his abnormal power of seeing clearly, and it enables him to make others see. Even if there were no original thoughts in Carlyle's writings, yet the force and descriptive power of his

style would of itself make him a great teacher, for such is a man who can teach others to see facts by the clearness with which he sees them and depicts them. Truths came to him in images, concrete visions, not abstract thoughts, and by no processes of reasoning but by his own imaginative strength he lays hold of them and fixes them for us on the enduring canvas of his pictorial style. Such a style is the effect, not the cause, of his greatness as a writer; it is the result of his unique insight, and the impossibility of really imitating it is the measure of the excellence of that special gift. The latest published of all Carlyle's writings is as good an example of his descriptive power as any of his more finished works; for morose and almost inhuman as the *Reminiscences of my Irish Journey* may be, there can be no question as to the power with which the dreary squalor of Ireland after the famine is made visible to the reader by the hasty words in which Carlyle recorded what he saw. The book is full of bits like this, as of a painter who with a few smudges gives you the true impression of a whole rainy landscape:—

“Outdoor relief” next; at a wretched little country shop; Shine's frank swift talk to the squalid crowd: dusty squalor, full of a noisy hum, expressing greed, suspicion, and *incarnated nonsense* of various kinds. Ragged wet hedges, weedy ditches; nasty ragged, spongy-looking flat country hereabouts; like a *drunk* country fallen down to sleep amid the mud.’

The careless vigour of the description wanted only the final image to make it an absolutely faithful picture of the impression many get, but few can put into words, from their Irish experiences.

The fault of the style is not its eccentricity and irregularity, which is the commonest accusation brought against it. The accusation is true, but it is not very important. It is not true, as is often assumed, that only classical works become classics; that books written in an eccentric style are not more than a nine days' wonder. Perfection of form is indeed a great preserver of what otherwise the world would very willingly have let die; *ce qu'il ne vaut pas la peine de dire, on le chante*, and the beauty of the music, the form, makes the commonplace matter immortal; but it does not follow that writings without regular form cannot live. Rabelais, Sterne, Richter, to mention only humourists who partly at least resemble Carlyle, show no signs of becoming obsolete; Shakspeare himself has been, and is still, accused, not without justice, of barbarous style and irregular construction; S. Augustine's *Confessions*, one of the only two classics which

have come to us from the dark ages, is written, according to Macaulay, in 'the style of a field preacher;' and much of the grandest poetry of the Old Testament is, so far as manner is concerned, eccentric, rough, and obscure. Critics, whose function is to maintain the laws of form, are very apt to be unduly prejudiced against works of art which transgress those laws, and are often in consequence found in conflict with the popular judgment; and in the long run the critics have to submit and reconstruct their theories. Carlyle's writings will not have a shorter life because of their irregularity, bound up as that is with their peculiar excellences. The fault is rather that being in substance poetry they are not cast into the form of poetry.

Sir J. F. Stephen has called Carlyle the greatest poet of our age, and has singled out as his 'most memorable utterance' the magnificent passage in *Sartor Resartus*, in which he describes the generations of mankind hasting 'stormfully across the astonished earth.' It is quite true, this is genuine poetry, grander, perhaps, than has been written by any poet of our age. But what one feels in reading this and many other passages is that the want of singing power, the absence of music, rhythm, metre, or whatever name it may have, prevents this grand poetry from sinking deep into the hearts of men. Thoughts, visions, images, are there in almost reckless profusion, but they miss their mark, and pass from the mind, leaving far less impression than many a less profound and pregnant utterance of poets who have possessed the gift of song. Carlyle himself seems to have felt this in the very passage referred to, for he ends by quoting, as no real singer ever does, another man's expression of the same truth, because he felt that that summed up and perpetuated for ever the thought that in a hundred transitory forms he was struggling to utter. His prose, almost unequalled in its vivid grandeur, falls back at the end upon the most solemn lines of the noblest passage in all poetry:—

'We are such stuff
As dreams are made of, and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep.'

Do we not feel, did not Carlyle feel, that this is the true mode of utterance for such thoughts as his, and that his inability to give them this poetical form robs him of much of the force that he would otherwise have had? When one thinks of the world-wide influence and familiarity that the gift of song has conferred upon the splendid commonplaces of such passages

as Byron's address to the ocean, it is easy to see what Carlyle has lost by his inability to express in worthy music the vast and majestic visions of his imagination. On almost every page of *Sartor Resartus* there are thoughts and images which only rhythm could fitly enshrine, and which without rhythm cannot, as they ought, dwell in the mind and bear fruit. The mere descriptions, or rather transfigurations, of natural scenes are of the highest poetical power :—

'A hundred and a hundred savage peaks, in the last light of Day ; all glowing, of gold and amethyst, like giant spirits of the wilderness ; there in their silence, in their solitude, even as on the night when Noah's Deluge first dried ! Beautiful, nay solemn, was the sudden aspect to our Wanderer. He gazed over those stupendous masses with wonder, almost with longing desire ; never till this hour had he known Nature, that she was One, that she was his Mother and divine. And as the ruddy glow was fading into clearness in the sky, and the Sun had now departed, a murmur of Eternity and Immensity, of Death and of Life, stole through his soul ; and he felt as if Death and Life were one, as if the Earth were not dead, as if the Spirit of the Earth had its throne in that splendour, and his own spirit were therewith holding communion.'

This is at least equal to most descriptive verse ; yet everybody knows Byron's storm in the Alps, and no one remembers the numberless pictures of imaginative beauty scattered throughout Carlyle's writings. We believe that Carlyle will always be read, but he will not be familiar and powerful as poets are, because he could not express his message in the most enduring form.

In sheer power over language and in capacity for producing great and varying effects of style Carlyle was, in our opinion, far superior to any English writer of his time. The sudden changes of tone, the rapid flashes of humour, the wide knowledge, the deep pathos, the earnestness, the scorn, and the ever-present sense of Infinity that distinguished his mind, are faithfully represented in his language. In his later works the eccentricity is too obvious and too forced ; he himself owned that there might be something of affectation in it. But the English language has had no grander uses than in *Sartor Resartus*, the *French Revolution*, and the earlier Essays. Such a passage as the well-known vision, as we might call it, of Marie-Antoinette's death, rising as it does suddenly upon one from the midst of the grotesqueness and irony of the *Diamond Necklace*, is more like a grand modulation in music than language ; it appeals directly and overpoweringly to the deepest emotions. This may well compare with Burke's famous passage :—

'Beautiful Highborn that wert so foully hurled low ! For, if thy Being came to thee out of old Hapsburg Dynasties, came it not also (like my own) out of Heaven? *Sunt lachrymæ rerum, et mentem mortalia tangunt.* Oh is there a man's heart that thinks, without pity, of those long months and years of slow wasting ignominy ; of thy Birth, soft cradled in Imperial Schönbrunn, the winds of heaven not to visit thy face too roughly, thy foot to light on softness, thy eye on splendour ; and then of thy Death, or hundred Deaths, to which the guillotine and Fouquier Tinville's judgment bar was but the merciful end ! Look *there*, O man born of woman ! The bloom of that fair face is wasted, the hair is grey with care, the brightness of those eyes is quenched, their lids hang drooping, the face is stony pale as of one living in death. Mean weeds, which her own hand has mended, attire the Queen of the World. The death hurdle, where thou sittest pale, motionless, which only curses environ, has to stop : a people, drunk with vengeance, will drink it again in full draught, looking at thee there. Far as the eye reaches, a multitudinous sea of maniac heads ; the air deaf with their triumph-yell ! The Living-dead must shudder with yet one other pang ; her startled blood yet again suffuses with the hue of agony that pale face, which she hides with her hands. There is, then, *no* heart to say, God pity thee ? O think not of these ; think of HIM whom thou worshippes, the Crucified—who also treading the winepress *alone* fronted sorrow still deeper ; and triumphed over it, and made it holy ; and built of it a "Sanctuary of Sorrow" for thee and all the wretched ! Thy path of thorns is nigh ended. One long last look at the Tuileries, where thy step was once so light—where thy children shall not dwell. Thy head is on the block ; the axe rushes—Dumb lies the World ; that wild-yelling World, and all its madness, is behind thee.'

But even his letters show just as great a mastery in the use of language as his finished works, and we will set against the solemn pathos of the last quotation this lovely passage from a letter to Miss Welsh inviting her to Hoddam :—

'I will show you Kirkconnell churchyard, and Fair Helen's grave. I will take you to the top of Burnswark, and wander with you up and down the woods and lanes and moors. Earth, sea, and air are open to us here as well as anywhere. The water of Milk was flowing through its simple valley as early as the brook Siloa, and poor Repentance Hill is as old as Caucasus itself. There is a majesty and mystery in Nature, take her as you will. The essence of all poetry comes breathing to a mind that feels from every province of her empire. Is she not immovable, eternal, and immense in Annandale as she is in Chamouni ? The chambers of the East are opened in every land, and the sun comes forth to sow the earth with orient pearl. Night, the ancient mother, follows him with her diadem of stars ; and Arcturus and Orion call *me* into the Infinitudes of space as they called the Druid priest, or the shepherd of Chaldea. Bright creatures ! how they gleam like spirits through the shadows of innumerable ages from their thrones in the boundless depths of heaven.'

The one quality which no critic can refuse to Carlyle is humour. Both in its highest and its deepest form it is present in almost everything he wrote. The mere accumulation of ludicrous images gives place to the almost fierce perception of the contrasts of life, and this again to that consciousness of the deep pathos in obscure and ignoble lives which underlies all true humour. One great element in it, as we have said, is the sudden simplification of the complex facts of life, such as the vision of the 'naked Duke of Windlestraw addressing a naked House of Lords;' or the totally unexpected retort upon the glorification of American institutions:

'What have they done? They have doubled their population every twenty years. They have begotten, with a rapidity beyond recorded example, Eighteen Millions of the greatest *bored* ever seen in this world before.'

But though this reduction of everything to its lowest terms is perhaps the most characteristic element in Carlyle's humour, its most useful function is to serve, so to speak, as a substitute for rhythmical power in enforcing and perpetuating the truths he wishes to teach. He cannot put into verse what he has to say, but he can clothe it in images so ludicrous and unexpected that they will haunt the mind almost as effectually as the smoothest poetry. Nothing could be more vivid and useful for its purpose than his description of a representative government which will not govern:

'If the thing called Government merely drift and tumble to and fro, no-whither, on the popular vortexes, *like some carcass of a drowned ass, constitutionally put "at the top of affairs."*'

It is difficult, in thinking of the problem of representative government, to get that malicious picture of the drowned ass out of one's mind; and that is just what Carlyle intended to do. The admirable stroke in *Sartor Resartus* of making Teufelsdröckh mistake 'Satan's Invisible World Displayed' for a History of the British Newspaper Press is of this class; it is so sudden and unexpected that it dwells in the mind longer than any gravely reasoned exposition of the evils of anonymous journalism.

But the deepest and finest element in Carlyle's humour was the power of sympathy it gave him with the weakest and most obscure fellow-creature. Humour comes close to goodness in its capacity for drawing out the good that there is in the worst and the meanest; and this was especially the gift of Carlyle, who, apart from his humour, was by nature disposed to dwell on the dark side both of events and of

persons. But as we are told in conversation he would end his fiercest tirades with a roar of laughter and a sympathetic word, so in his writings. He rages against the sins and the folly of his fellow-creatures, but he is keenly alive to their humble and unnoticed virtues, and can depict them with a sympathetic touch that recalls the earlier Carlyle of *Sartor Resartus*:

'With other eyes, too, could I now look upon my fellow man : with an infinite Love, an infinite Pity. Poor, wandering, wayward man ! Art thou not tired, and beaten with stripes, even as I am ? Ever, whether thou bear the royal mantle or the beggar's gabardine, art thou not so weary, so heavy-laden ; and thy Bed of Rest is but a Grave. . . . Man with his so mad Wants, and so mean Endeavours, had become the dearer to me ; and even for his sufferings and his sins, I now first named him Brother.'

We cannot stay to point out the way in which this power of sympathy enters into and colours all Carlyle's humour ; let anyone who wishes to understand the difference between humour and wit, between sympathy and smartness, between true insight and superficial rhetoric, contrast Carlyle's with Macaulay's account of Boswell.

But, leaving the question of Carlyle's power of expression, is it just to say that, apart from this, he was but a 'second-rate' man, with no great truths to teach, no inspiration, no originality ? It may be difficult for us to see the greatness and originality of his teaching, for his influence was so great that his writings have become commonplace, and the truths he proclaimed are now, so to speak, part of the atmosphere we breathe. It is the same with all really great teachers. Their writings are taken up into the life of the race, and when we come to read them we find that we have always known what they say. But we forget that we know it because they said it. Truth once discovered and proclaimed loses its originality ; but falsehood can always be original. It is the really second-rate, clever man of whose writings we say, on first reading them, 'Here is something new : why has the world neglected this ?' For a very good reason : it is found to be out of harmony with the facts of life ; it was new and clever, and it is still new and clever, for the world has cast it aside and sought elsewhere for truth. We are living in the atmosphere which Carlyle created : to understand his greatness and originality we must put ourselves in the place of the men of his generation, and try to imagine the effect of his first writings on minds trained as those of his contemporaries were trained. To a generation whose representative

man of letters was Jeffrey, and which was beginning to worship Macaulay as 'the greatest man in England, not excepting Brougham,' Carlyle may well have seemed original. Perhaps we can easily conceive breaking away from Jeffrey and Brougham, and even from Bentham or Coleridge; but it is one thing to be independent of leaders whose influence no longer exists, and another to stand alone when everyone is flocking after this or that political or literary captain, and the air is thick with the shibboleths of various parties. It is Carlyle's peculiar characteristic that he belonged to none of these parties, and owned allegiance to none of these leaders. But the difficulty of this isolation may be estimated from the obvious impression which Jeffrey's position made upon him. The most independent and self-confident mind cannot help feeling a certain hesitating half-belief in the greatness of the leader of the hour. It is at least necessary to find reasons for not submitting to him; and even that may be to do him too much honour.

Carlyle was born at an unfavourable time for enthusiasm on either side in politics. He was too young to have felt the wave of excitement that carried the nation through the great war, he was too old to share the youthful hopefulness in the Reform Bill. The period of life at which a man's opinions and beliefs are formed, the years between twenty and thirty, coincided for him with those most dismal years of dulness and repression that succeeded the battle of Waterloo. Older men could buoy themselves up with the memories of great deeds in which they had borne some share, if only that of spectators: younger men, as they came into active life, could look onward to the anticipated triumphs of the New Era. It may sound fanciful, but we believe we are right in saying that, except Shelley and Carlyle, no one with any pretensions to be called great was born in England between the years 1790 and 1800. And Shelley is almost as good an instance as Carlyle of a man with a contemptuous disbelief in the British constitution, or in the prevailing creeds of party politicians. We may sum up Carlyle's influence in politics by saying that he taught Radicals to distrust Radicalism. He looked at the great Reform Bill with very dispassionate eyes, and proclaimed that 'it is the noble people that makes the noble government; rather than conversely.' The distrust in institutions as the means of regenerating society, the conviction, to use his own words, that 'no high attainment, not even any far-extending movement among men, was ever

accomplished mechanically,' but only 'dynamically,' the gradually increasing hesitation as to the unmixed advantages of Democracy, these are some of the results of Carlyle's teaching. They are commonplaces to us, but they were emphatically not commonplaces to the politicians of that age, to the Radicals, as well as to the Whigs and Tories. It was only by degrees that the 'gospel of force' was fully developed in his mind; he himself ascribes its growth to the influence on him of Cromwell's life and the events of 1848; but in 1832 his beliefs were scarcely less uncongenial to the ordinary Benthamite Radical: 'the opposite hemisphere,' as he calls it, 'was never wanting either, nor will be, as it miserably is in Mill and Co.'

It is strange to see how indifferent Carlisle became to the very measures which were the practical results of his own teaching. In what was almost his last political utterance, *Shooting Niagara: and After?* he sums up the achievements of the Reformed Parliament since 1832, as 'a general repeal of old regulations, fetters, and restrictions,' and declares that in consequence 'hardly any limb of the devil has a thrum or tatter of rope or leather left upon it.' This is but the perverseness of old age, determined to see only matter for fault-finding in all contemporary existence; for he turns his eyes away from such legislative acts as the New Poor Law, or the whole course of Factory Legislation, which were measures carrying out the principles of his teaching in so far as those principles were seen to be true.

There are many who believe that Carlyle's great political or rather economical reform, 'the organization of labour,' has not yet been carried out as far as it might, and indeed will be; and part of the great controversy that lies in the immediate future between the socialist and anti-socialist schools of Liberalism will centre round this question; but it is wrong to forget that much of the legislation of the last forty years has been occupied, roughly indeed, and somewhat blindly, in organizing labour. Carlyle was in reality a leader in the revolt against the *Laissez-faire* doctrine, and as such, along with a companion whom he would certainly have rejected with contempt, Comte, the 'phantasmal *algebraic ghost*,' as he calls him, he stands, where he would be greatly surprised to find himself, in the vanguard of modern Political Economy.

His best-known political doctrine was, however, one which has had only an indirect influence on modern politics. His denunciations of Democracy have, as we have said, inspired men with a certain distrust of the commonplace theory of

Radicalism, but they have not by any means been adopted as political maxims. Conservatives have never been quite comfortable in appealing to Carlyle's authority, and on this subject modern Liberalism seems resolved to disregard his warnings. Calvinism in theology is losing its influence, and Carlyle's political Calvinism, in which 'particular redemption' appears in a startling form, is not likely to hold its ground. It is no longer possible for anyone to believe that, theologically or politically, the greater part of the human race can be rightly described as 'sons of the devil in overwhelming majority;' and as no sane politician proposes that the people shall govern, but only that they shall be able to choose their own governors, many, not all, but many of Carlyle's violent attacks on modern Democracy lose their point.

The deepest exposition of Carlyle's political creed is contained in his *French Revolution*. In reading this splendid work, we must remember the overpowering effect which it had upon the minds of his contemporaries. We are apt now to forget that it is not only a work of art, a series of brilliant pictures of stirring events, but a great lesson full of meaning and warning to all thinking men. The lesson is to our ears trite and old; it may be summed up in the German saying, '*Die Welt-geschichte ist das Welt-gericht*,' the world is judged by its own history; but it was a new and a startling lesson to those for whom it was written. It was Carlyle's own philosophy of history, and he found it written out most clearly in the French Revolution. 'I should not have known,' he said, 'what to make of this world at all, if it had not been for the French Revolution.' Injustice, unbelief, dishonesty, lust, indolence, whatever may be included under the head of *lies*, must—this is the lesson of his history—sooner or later bring with them their own punishment. 'The first of all gospels is this, that a lie cannot endure for ever.'

But this lesson is enforced with a singular combination of prophetic fervour with philosophic reflection. At that time, at least, Carlyle could see both sides of a question. The evils of the old society were great, and they were doomed, but they should have been exterminated 'not with hatred, with headlong selfish violence, but in clearness of heart, with holy zeal, gently, almost with pity.' Carlyle could see clearly enough the truth that possessed the whole soul of Burke, and he expresses it in what is perhaps the most remarkable chapter in the book, viz., that which he entitled 'Questionable.'

'Great truly is the Actual; is the Thing that has rescued itself from bottomless deeps of theory and possibility, and stands there as

a definite indisputable Fact, whereby men do work and live, or once did so. Wisely shall men cleave to that while it will endure; and quit it with regret, when it gives way under them. Rash enthusiast of Change, beware! Hast thou well considered all that Habit does, in this life of ours; how all Knowledge and all Practice hang wondrous over infinite abysses of the Unknown, Impracticable; and our whole being is an infinite abyss, *overarched* by Habit, as by a thin Earth-rind, laboriously built together?'

One rises from Carlyle's *French Revolution* with a deep sense of two great truths: the pitiless retribution that awaits the societies as well as individuals that have become in their very essence false and make-believe; and also the incalculable nature of the forces which lie beneath modern society. Let them once escape from control, and no one can foresee the end.

'Without such Earth-rind of Habit, call it system of Habits, in a word, *fixed ways* of acting and believing—Society could not exist at all. . . . Let but, by ill chance, in such ever-enduring struggle, your "thin Earth-rind" be once *broken*! The fountains of the great deep boil forth; fire-fountains, enveloping, engulfing. Your "Earth-rind" is shattered, swallowed up; instead of a green flowery world, there is a waste wild weltering chaos, which has again, with tumult and struggle, to *make* itself into a world.'

Nevertheless, this is not history; it is not even a good narrative. It is not a sane, straightforward account even of the mere external facts with which it deals; it is, as Mr. Lowell expresses it in an admirable image, 'history seen by flashes of lightning.' Episodes and single scenes stand out with startling vividness, but there is much left untold and unexplained. And again, it is not history, in the more modern sense of an investigation and description of the causes of things. Carlyle has his broad and true generalization, that 'a lie cannot endure for ever,' and with that he is content. We have to go elsewhere for a detailed account of the actual causes of the French Revolution, for the more useful indications of the means by which society may avoid such cataclysms in the future. For these we must go to patient observers like De Tocqueville. Carlyle, true to his instinct for simplicity, cares nothing for the intricacies of the preceding conditions, and sees in the strange and complicated economical and social phenomena of the *Ancien Régime* only so many instances of the 'mad state of things' which was doomed to perish. His great moral generalization was true, but it is possibly less useful than the humbler analysis which laboriously traces out the intermediate causes, the less obvious instruments by which

the Divine purpose is carried out. But it is well to notice that, accustomed though we may be to the lesson he had to teach, it required all the force of a great genius to impress it on men's minds. It was not a mere generalization, it was not a mere statement of deductions made from unpublished records, it had nothing abstract or dead about it; it was like the presentation of a great drama, in which men could see the truth enacted in living reality before their eyes.

We approach a harder task when we come to estimate Carlyle's religious teaching. In a sense, and a very important sense, everything he wrote or did was religious; it was all closely connected with a very living conviction of the supremacy of God's will. So far, indeed, as he was able to translate religion into history and politics, and bring the omnipresence of religious truth home to men, his work had a most important religious influence. The extreme breadth and vagueness of his doctrine was favourable to this sort of teaching; and he had an unequalled power of making men feel how close to them are the 'Infinities and Eternities.' But, great as has been his religious influence on non-religious minds, we question whether the religious position of our age has been much influenced, for good or for ill, by Carlyle. To minds already filled with the general conviction in the reality of the soul, immortality, and God, he had not much to give; the mere translation of the well-known words into his peculiar phraseology rather weakened than strengthened their power on men to whom these facts were already the foundation of all knowledge and all speculation. We believe that his real influence in this respect was to give to 'secularists,' like J. S. Mill, a vague sense of something beyond what they could see: a doubt of the adequacy of reason and sense to penetrate all possible subjects. But positive religious belief he could not give; at most he could inspire emotions and 'vague misgivings' that might become the material with which religious belief could be constructed. But before that could be they must be condensed and compacted and moulded into shape.

Religion is the only sphere into which he admits democracy. The individual who, in the affairs of daily life, is, according to Carlyle, utterly incapable of governing himself, must 'get to see' religious truth for himself, or remain 'void of belief.'

'Of all these divine possessions it is only what thou art become equal to that thou canst take away with thee. Except thy own eyes have got to see it, except thy own soul have victoriously strug-

gled to clear vision and belief of it, what is the thing seen and the thing believed by another or by never so many others? Alas, it is not thine . . . but only a windy echo and tradition of it bedded in hypocrisy, ending sure enough in tragical futility, is thine.'

But however important a real faith may be, is it not a fallacy to assume that a man cannot take this faith from another? Cannot Carlyle's king, or wise man, to whose keeping the 'million blockheads' should entrust their lives, impress their souls also with a conviction of religious truth? It is a mere begging the question to say the one thing needful is faith; for is not every man's faith in great part always derived from others? Are we, in this alone, to be perpetually going back to the beginning, each man for himself, and disregarding what our predecessors have, with toilsome struggle, acquired for us? Sincerity of faith is of vital importance, but which is likely to be the most sincere, the faith that a dull and narrow man can find for himself out of the boundless confusion of the world, or the faith that he learns and takes on trust from the accumulated wisdom of his forefathers? It is a common fallacy, but nowhere is it more strange than in Carlyle, with his 'sons of the devil in overwhelming majority.'

This is closely allied with his various utterances about faith. Nothing can be truer or more necessary for this age to realize than the often-repeated assertion 'that, for man's well-being, faith is properly the one thing needful.' And one of the most valuable of the benefits conferred on us by Carlyle has been the enforcing of Goethe's saying: 'All epochs wherein belief prevails, under what form it may, are splendid, heart-elevating, fruitful for contemporaries and posterity.' Without faith, sincerity is almost impossible, and the other great lesson Carlyle has taught us is the necessity of sincerity. He has often been derided for his repeated diatribes against shams, impostures, cant, saying or believing the 'thing that is not;' but we believe that of all his lessons this has sunk deepest into men's hearts; and that it is less easy to be unreal, or to do work that is only for show, since he wrote, than it was before. This alone would be a sufficient achievement for a moralist or historian, to have made men conscious of unreality. And sincerity in religion is certainly not less important than in worldly affairs. But the matter is not as simple as it seems on reading Carlyle's vehement expositions of his creed. In the first place it is untrue to say, as Goethe implies, that the form of belief matters not so long as there is belief under some form. Is not this to fall into the strangely common fallacy of making religion merely

subjective? Religion, according to this view, is belief; surely it requires little thought to see that religion is, or should be, belief in what is true. And even granting that it is only a state of mind, surely it matters greatly what state of mind it is. A nation's civilization, its degree of goodness and wisdom, may, to a great extent, be calculated from the nature of its religious beliefs. One belief immolates thousands of victims to appease a fancied almighty despot, another induces men to live in the practice of nameless vices. Is it conceivable that, with these facts before us, we can wholly assent to the doctrine that 'all epochs wherein belief prevails, *under what form it may*, are splendid and heart-elevating'? But leaving this aside, for it is almost too obvious to linger over, does not Carlyle lay too much stress on the certainty of faith? 'A man's religion,' he says, 'consists not of the many things he is in doubt of and tries to believe, but of the few he is assured of and needs no effort for believing.' Here again, important though it assuredly is, this is but a partial truth. Faith is one of the noblest and most elevating gifts that come to men, but it is still human and therefore still imperfect. No man can think to have one part of his spiritual nature exempt from the law of infirmity; no human quality can be unstained with human corruption. Faith may increase and grow purer and more certain, but it cannot be the same as knowledge; it is impossible that there can be needed 'no effort for believing.' And Carlyle's doctrine is the very gospel of despair to those whose spirits at times flag and faint, and hope and faith die down in them, and no truth is held without an overshadowing doubt. 'No effort for believing!' Why, hardly a saint has died without the temptation to doubt; those who live most in the contemplation of the unseen are most alive to the numberless difficulties and dark-nesses of their creed, and not one would not gladly join in that most pathetic and truest of paradoxes, 'Lord, I believe; help Thou mine unbelief.'

Carlyle ignores stages in faith, he will have all or none; and it is therefore easy to understand his contempt for those manifestations of religion with which he was most familiar. He believed in the faith of his parents, but he pours utter scorn upon a religion of 'Bishops, Gorham controversies, and richly endowed Churches and Church-practices,' for in such a religion he recognizes no real faith. It is a question whether he ever seriously looked for it; his impatience of Coleridge's teaching made him apparently disregard the 'spectral Puseyisms' and other religious results, as he thought them,

of Coleridge's influence. Goethe with his wonderful insight had detected one at least of Carlyle's distinguishing characteristics: 'Carlyle was resting on an *original foundation*, and was so happily constituted that he could develop out of himself the requirements of what was good and beautiful—*out of himself*,' comments Mr. Froude: 'not out of contact with others.' In nothing is this characteristic so plain as in his religious belief; and though Goethe thought that in this he was 'happily constituted,' yet there is great reason to doubt whether any man has so comprehensive a mind that he can afford to disregard the religious experiences of others, even when their beliefs differ from his. God reveals Himself in many ways, and to understand even that small fragment of Infinity that is made known to us we must not confine ourselves to what each man's eyes can see for themselves, but learn what others are seeing, till, from the combined experience of very different minds, a truer and more comprehensive faith is gradually acquired. Carlyle in his works sometimes taught the necessity of sympathy and toleration: in his own practice he had little of either. He was not quick to change his opinions, nor ready to learn from others; and this is especially true of his religion. The *Life of Sterling* is one of the most perfect biographies in the language, but it has one great defect. Sterling had in all their intercourse apparently taught Carlyle nothing, because from the very first Carlyle stands outside him, and looks at him only as an instance of his preconceived ideas about life. He puts aside, with good-humour perhaps, but with some scorn, all Sterling's religious beliefs, in so far as they differed from his own, minimizes them, and treats them as unworthy of consideration. It never occurred to him that he might learn from this man, inferior to him though he undoubtedly was; that the fact of his religious position was a fact of which it would be well to take account, and not one to be dismissed as a 'diseased development' produced by the 'transcendental moonshine' of a 'morbidly radiating Coleridge.' The error is due to Carlyle's fixed determination to consider all contemporary religious belief, except his own, as conscious or unconscious self-deception. Cromwell, Luther, John Knox, Mahomet, and other pious men of the past, were sincere; but no one could be sincere who, in Carlyle's time, believed in anything more definite than Carlyle's 'Infinities and Immensities.' He lavishes pity and sympathy of a certain sort upon these poor victims, but there is no sign of an attempt at intellectual sympathy; he never thinks it possible that they can have

anything to teach him. Throughout the book Carlyle seems to look at Sterling rather as one looks at a bright and clever child, with love and good-nature combined with something of pity, almost of contempt. Yet this was the man of whom J. S. Mill wrote : ' If he did but know the moral and intellectual influence which he exercises without writing or publishing anything, he would think it quite worth living for ; ' and to whom he wrote ' that he would gladly exchange powers of usefulness with him.' That Carlyle, in his own religious self-concentration and spiritual pride, seriously misrepresented Sterling, we are led to think by Miss Fox's criticism, which, however, we grant may have been biassed : ' It is painful enough to see the memorial of his friend made the text for utterances and innuendos from which one *knows* that he would now shrink even more than ever.' But the *Life of Sterling* bears in every page the marks of the unchristian and unwise temper which Carlyle himself describes as the result of his spiritual struggles and victory.

' This year I found that I had conquered all my scepticisms agonizing doubtings, fearful wrestlings with the foul and vile and soul-murdering mud-gods of my epoch ; had escaped as from a worse than Tartarus, with all its Phlegethons and Stygian quagmires, and was emerging free in spirit into the eternal blue of ether, where, blessed be heaven ! I have for the spiritual part ever since lived, looking down upon the welterings of my poor fellow-creatures, in such multitudes and millions still stuck in that fatal element, and have had no concern whatever in their Puseyisms, ritualisms, metaphysical controversies and cobwebberies, and no feeling of my own except honest silent pity for the serious or religious part of them, and occasional indignation, for the poor world's sake, at the frivolous secular and impious part.'

Such a temper is not one which could be favourable to progress in religion, and we may see in this absolute contempt for other men's beliefs some explanation of his isolation and unfruitfulness in spiritual matters.

But what was Carlyle's own belief ? Mr. Froude devotes several pages to the elucidation of this subject, and supports his exposition by a long paper in which Carlyle, unsatisfactorily to himself, had tried to state his own position. We cannot say that it is much more satisfactory to us. To begin with the negative part. He rejected historical Christianity because, as Mr. Froude puts it,

' he based his faith, not on a supposed revelation, or on fallible human authority. He had sought the evidence for it, where the foundations lie of all other forms of knowledge, in the experienced

facts of things interpreted by the intelligence of man. Experienced fact was to him revelation, and the only true revelation.'

But, the 'historical Christian' may here interpose, what else do we mean by revelation? By revelation we mean experienced facts, the facts of our Lord's life first and foremost, which cannot be interpreted fairly and rationally by the 'intelligence of man,' except as the revelation of God upon earth. Carlyle believed most firmly in our Lord, to judge from all his utterances on the subject, and invariably speaks of Him with a noble reverence. We find no attempt to explain away the facts of His life, but also we find no attempt to reconcile them with any other theory than that of His Divinity. How can the 'intelligence of man interpreting' these undoubted facts arrive at a consistent and scientific belief on the subject, without confronting the alternative, so well known to all who have tried to think out the subject—either this Man was God Incarnate, or His was not, what Carlyle calls it, 'the highest voice ever heard on this earth,' but the misleading utterance of an impostor or a madman? This alternative there is no sign that Carlyle, with his usual hasty contempt for reasoning, ever confronted; his appeal to 'experienced facts' and the 'intelligence of man' is therefore premature.

But Mr. Froude will say, by revelation he means 'revelation, technically so called, revelation confirmed by historical miracles,' and it is the miraculous element in the history that differentiates 'revelation' from other 'experienced facts.' Well, even then there remains that alternative to be confronted; but leaving that aside, we find that Carlyle 'felt himself forbidden to believe in miracles,' because 'he had learnt that effects succeeded causes uniformly and inexorably, without intermission or interruption.' This is, of course, a very old controversy, and it is one which it needs a more accurate reasoner than Carlyle to disentangle. The declaration that Mr. Froude quotes, 'It is as certain as mathematics that no such thing ever has been or can be,' is simply a declaration of Carlyle's unfiness to decide on such a question, as everyone who has thought about the distinction between 'mathematical' and 'physical' certainty must acknowledge. But, without going further into this interminable dispute, we may appeal from Carlyle 'late in his own life' to the Carlyle of *Sartor Resartus*, from Mr. Froude's interpretations to his own written declaration on the subject. We require no better answer to Mr. Froude's exposition than the chapter in *Sartor Resartus* entitled 'Natural Supernaturalism.'

"But is not a real Miracle simply a violation of the Laws of Nature?" ask several. Whom I answer by this new question, What are the Laws of Nature? To me perhaps the rising of one from the dead were no violation of these Laws, but a confirmation; were some far deeper Law, now first penetrated into, and by Spiritual Force, even as the rest have all been, brought to bear on us with its Material Force.

'Here, too, some may inquire, not without astonishment, On what ground shall one, that can make iron swim, come and declare that therefore he can teach religion? To us, truly, of the nineteenth century, such declaration were inapt enough, which nevertheless to our fathers, of the first century, was full of meaning.

"But is it not the deepest Law of Nature that she be constant?" cries an illuminated class. "Is not the Machine of the Universe fixed to move by unalterable rules?" Probable enough, good friends; nay I, too, must believe that the God, whom ancient inspired men assert to be 'without variableness or shadow of turning,' does indeed never change; that Nature, that the Universe, which no one whom it so pleases can be prevented from calling a Machine, does move by the most unalterable rules. And now of you, too, I make the old inquiry, What those same unalterable rules, forming the complete statute-book of Nature, may possibly be?

'They stand written in our Works of Science, say you; in the accumulated records of man's experience? Was man with his experience present at the Creation, then, to see how it all went on? Have any deepest scientific individuals yet dived down to the foundations of the Universe, and gauged everything there? Did the Maker take them into His counsel, that they read His ground-plan of the incomprehensible All; and can say, This stands marked therein, and no more than this? Alas, not in anywise! These scientific individuals have been nowhere but where we also are; have seen some handbreadth deeper than we see into the Deep that is infinite, without bottom as without shore. . . .

'System of Nature! To the wisest man, wide as is his vision, Nature remains of quite *infinite* depth, of quite infinite expansion; and all experience thereof limits itself to some few computed centuries and measured square miles. The course of Nature's phases, on this our little fraction of a Planet, is partially known to us: but who knows what deeper courses these depend on; what infinitely larger Cycle (of causes) our little Epicycle revolves on? To the Minnow every cranny and pebble, and quality and accident, of its little native Creek may have become familiar; but does the Minnow understand the Ocean Tides and periodic Currents, the Trade-winds, and Monsoons, and Moon's Eclipses; by all which the condition of its little Creek is regulated, and may, from time to time, (wonderfully enough) be quite upset and reversed? Such a minnow is Man: his Creek this Planet Earth; his Ocean the immeasurable All; his Monsoons and Periodic Currents the mysterious Course of Providence through *Æons of Æons*.'

The positive side of Carlyle's religion when we come to it does not seem, at first, to give the hungry soul so much spiritual nourishment as his enthusiastic descriptions of it would lead one to expect. It is difficult to state it formally without discovering its nakedness. It is certainly not Christianity; sometimes it is hardly religion at all. It was never more than a Calvinistic Theism, and it seems to have become more and more vague, and more unlike Christianity as his life advanced. Though there may be strength, there is no comfort, in such a religion as is described in the paper published by Mr. Froude, and in the biographer's own summary of Carlyle's faith. It seems to be little more than a belief that God's Will governs the world, that the expression of that Will in the world of fact and in the laws of nature is what we call right, to go counter to God's Will is wrong, and finally that of God Himself we can know nothing certain but that He is and is just and almighty, and remains the same though all theories about Him change and pass away. Carlyle apparently thought this last truth of great importance; in this alone we shall find peace; this is 'the crowning discovery, the essence and summary of all the sad struggles and wrestlings of these last three centuries.' It is difficult to feel much confidence in this discovery. We know, and have always known, that whatever our theories may be God is not affected by them, but remains the same, and the 'spiritual universe' is not abolished because men have come to think differently about it. But our relation to God and to the spiritual universe is affected by our theories, and that is the important thing for us. How and in what way does the thought of God enter into our lives? This is nearly, if not quite, as vital a question as, how does God's Will affect our lives? Because, as far as we can see, our relation to God's will, our obedience to it or disregard of it, must to a great extent depend upon what we know or think of it. It is a poor consolation to tell us 'that it is we and our dog-hutch that are moving all this while,' if the result of such movement is that we know not what God's Will is. Religion is the relation of man to God; change either of the correlatives and the relation must change, and what security have we, on Carlyle's own principles, that such changes will not go on for ever, in other words that we shall never attain to religious Truth, or therefore to right religious practice?

This paper is, fortunately, not the only declaration of Carlyle's religious belief that we possess; for his religion, such as it was, is written, as we have said, on almost every page of

his books. We can trace, even in this paper, the indication of the essential part of it, the truth which he did not discover, but which he preached with almost unique force, the duty of self-renunciation. But in this paper it is only an intellectual submission that is taught; we must learn to know that we are not the central point of the universe. Turn, however, to those few pages which contain the consummation and fruit of his teaching, the central chapters of *Sartor Resartus*, and we shall there learn that self-submission is primarily ethical, and that the 'Everlasting Yea' is no intellectual solution of a problem of the reason, but a command addressed to the will and the heart, 'Love not Pleasure; love God.' The essence of his religion is therefore duty, the moral law; the path by which he made his escape from a vague Pantheism into a real relation to a personal God was the recognition of the moral nature of the Eternal Being whom he otherwise so blindly worshipped. With this clue we can follow him through the labyrinths of his religious visions; we can understand how the 'eternities, and infinities, and immensities,' which he has been so derided for perpetually preaching, are to him great realities with a definite meaning. So far as we can understand from his own account, the moment of what he calls his 'new birth' came when he realized his own freedom: 'The Everlasting No had said: "Behold, thou art fatherless, outcast, and the Universe is mine (the Devil's);" to which my whole Me now made answer: "I am not thine, but Free, and for ever hate thee!"' From this consciousness of freedom the first step is to pass to the consciousness of duty, of the battle that has to be fought with our own selfishness:

'For the God-given mandate, "Work thou in Well-doing," lies mysteriously written, in Promethean prophetic characters, in our hearts; and leaves us no rest, night or day, till it be deciphered and obeyed; till it burn forth, in our conduct, a visible, acted gospel of freedom. And as the clay-given mandate, "Eat thou and be filled," at the same time persuasively proclaims itself through every nerve—must not there be a confusion, a contest, before the better Influence can become the upper?'

From this 'preliminary moral Act, Annihilation of Self,' it is not difficult to pass to the consciousness of God, revealed in nature, but hidden till man recognizes that the world is not meant to satisfy our appetites, and could not do so had we each 'God's infinite universe altogether to himself.' Nature, then, does not give us happiness, but when this is once recognized, nature does give us God:

'*Es leuchtet mir ein*, I see a glimpse of it! there is in man a HIGHER than love of happiness: he can do without happiness, and instead thereof find Blessedness! Was it not to preach-forth this same HIGHER that sages and martyrs, the Poet and the Priest, in all times, have spoken and suffered; bearing testimony, through life and through death, of the Godlike that is in man, and how in the Godlike only has he Strength and Freedom? Which God-inspired doctrine art thou also honoured to be taught; O heavens! and broken with manifold merciful afflictions, even till thou become contrite, and learn it! O thank thy destiny for these; thankfully bear what yet remain; thou hadst need of them; the Self in thee needed to be annihilated. By benignant fever-paroxysms is Life rooting out the Deep-seated chronic Disease, and triumphs over Death. On the roaring billows of Time thou art not engulfed, but borne aloft into the Azure of Eternity. Love not Pleasure; love God. This is the EVERLASTING YEA wherein all contradiction is solved: wherein whoso walks and works it is well with him.'

We are reminded of a striking and instructive passage in one of his letters: 'You have a right to anticipate excitement and enjoyment. The highest blessing I anticipate is peace.'

From this conviction we are led on to the knowledge that freedom, self-renunciation, the love of God, lead up to, and are themselves made possible by, dutiful action. Thus the course of practical religion is, as he calls it, 'a visible, acted Gospel of Freedom.' Starting from the sudden revelation of a free personality, he ends with the solemn words he was never tired of repeating, 'Work while it is called To-day; for the Night cometh, wherein no man can work.'

It is easy to say, all this is nothing new; it is, at least, as old as Christianity; and even in details it is taken without much variation from Kant's Ethics. But moral truth is no new thing, nor can we expect it to be new; what is new is the force with which it is preached. This is the true answer to the assertion that Carlyle was but a second-rate man with a marvellous power of expression. No second-rate man could have written those chapters of *Sartor Resartus*; no second-rate man could thus have translated his own spiritual experience into language of strength and inspiration for all. The second-rate man's experience remains particular and unfruitful, partly because he never clearly distinguishes and feels it for himself, partly because he cannot impart it, universalize it. In Carlyle we recognize one of the world's teachers, for what he knew to be truths he could proclaim with a voice that men could not but listen to. The greatness of a teacher does not lie in the novelty of the truths which he knows, but in the force by which he constrains men to

listen to him, and still more to believe him. Mr. Bagehot has said that the liking for Carlyle is a youthful taste, which wears off with years and experience. He did not recognize that to inspire the young is at least as great and valuable an achievement as to instruct the old. Carlyle's merit as a moralist consists in the contagious force of his own moral nature.

We are conscious of having omitted much in this survey of the great writer's influence. For evil as well as for good he has so deeply affected our generation that it is difficult to refrain from pointing out traces of his handiwork in widely different directions. Not only in the noisy adherents of the 'gospel of force,' but in such curiously dissimilar writers as J. S. Mill, Mr. Ruskin, Dickens, and Mr. Matthew Arnold, we find in greater or less degree the unmistakeable marks of Carlyle's power. Without going beyond the four writers we have named, it is easy to see how, through them, the effects of Carlyle's character and doctrines must have been extended and perpetuated. Had he done nothing more than profoundly to modify Mill's rigid economical and political theories, he would still be a most real and living force in the social life of our generation.

But he has done much more. Politically, Carlyle's is not a constructive force. His influence is indirect; he checks and modifies and makes men pause. He is the only really great Conservative writer of our time, though he would justly reject the name, and Conservatives may shrink from accepting his help. Even in politics he was far more than Conservative, but it is his Conservatism that has chiefly survived. To understand the truth of Goethe's saying, 'Carlyle is a moral force of great importance,' we must turn from his politics to his ethics and to his religion. We must give ourselves up to the influence of his abiding sense of the presence of God about us and within us; we must stand with him 'at the conflux of two Eternities,' and see with his eyes the 'Godlike rendered visible: Eternity looking through Time.' For it is by these feelings of the infinity and eternity of man's life and destiny that Carlyle is an ennobling and elevating influence; from these feelings he derives the force of his exhortations to labour, of his denunciations of what is false and dishonest. The strong grasp of reality, the permanent impulse which he has given to sincerity and truth, the sense of the excellence of law and order, as expressing God's Will, these things make up the chief part of Carlyle's greatness, and these things are due to his feeling of the encompassing mystery of eternity.

There is a dark side to his teaching. His love of order tended to become materialism; law with him degenerated into force; sincerity was not always distinguished from brutality: but the wisdom of learners is to take, as far as we may, what is good, and to put away and forget what is evil, in the teaching of those few men to whom are given insight and force to guide their fellow-creatures. We will think of Carlyle as he himself has taught us to think of great men in spite of their weaknesses and failures—as

'one of those to whom, under ruder or purer form, the Divine Idea of the Universe is pleased to manifest itself; and, across all the hulls of Ignorance and earthly Degradation, shine through, in unspeakable Awfulness, unspeakable Beauty, on their souls; who therefore are rightly accounted Prophets.'

ART. IV.—THE REVISED VERSION AND ITS CRITICS.

I. REVISERS :—

Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, Chairman; speeches in Convocation, May 17, 1881 (*Chronicle of Convocation*, pp. 200-209); Pastoral, January 1882 (*Guardian*, p. 132); share in pamphlet on 'The Revisers and the Greek Text of the New Testament, by Two Members of the New Testament Company' (Macmillan, 1882). *Bishop of Durham*, replies to Canon Cook (*Guardian*, September 7, 14, 21, 1881), and short address at Church Congress, Newcastle. *Archbishop of Dublin*, Charge, 1881, pp. 16-28 (Dublin: Hodges and Co.). *Bishop of Salisbury*, Charge, 1882, pp. 15-22 (Rivingtons). *Bishop of St. Andrews*, Charge, 1881 (*Scottish Guardian*, September 30). *Dean of Lichfield*, Sonnets written in the course of the Revision, 1870-1880 (Rivingtons). *Dean (late) of Westminster*, article in *Times*, July 20, 1881. *Dean of Llandaff*, Sermons, 'Authorized or Revised?' 1882 (Macmillan). *Archdeacon of Oxford*, Preface to Oxford text of Greek New Testament; paper at the Newcastle Congress, 1881; share in pamphlet mentioned above, by two members of the Company. *Canon Kennedy*, Ely Lectures on the Revised Version (Bentley). *Dr. Scrivener*, Preface to Cambridge text of Greek New Testament. *Mr. Humphry*, 'A Word on the Revised Version of the New Testament' (S.P.C.K.), and 'A Commentary on the Revised Version' (Cassell and Co.). *Dr. Roberts*, 'Companion to the Revised Version of New Testament' (Cassell and Co.). *Dr. Newth*, Lectures on Bible Revision (Hodder and Stoughton). *Dr. G. Vance Smith*, article in *Nineteenth Century*, June 1881; and pamphlet on Revised Texts and Margins.

II. ASSAILANTS :—

Quarterly Review, Nos. 304, 305, and 306.¹ *Dublin Review*, July 1881, and afterwards on 1 John v. 7, &c. *Sir E. Beckett*, 'Should the Revised New Testament be Authorised?' and reply to Canon Farrar (Murray, 1881-2). *Canon Cook*, Two Letters to the Bishop of London on 'Deliver us from Evil,' and on the Revised Version of the First Three Gospels (Murray, 1881-2). *Dr. S. C. Malan*, Seven Chapters of the Revision of 1881 revised; and Select Readings, &c., revised (Hatchards, 1881-2). *G. W. Moon*, 'The Revisers' English' (Hatchards). *G. W. Samson*, 'The Text used for the Revised New Testament shown to be Unauthorised' (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Moses King).

III. DEFENDERS OTHER THAN REVISERS :—

Dr. Sanday (of Greek text only), *Contemporary Review*, December 1881. *Canon Farrar*, *Contemporary Review*, March 1882. Articles in the *Church Quarterly Review*, and elsewhere.

IV. DOCTRINAL CRITICISM :—

Bishop of Llandaff, on Galatians ii. 16, *Guardian*, August 31, 1881. *Bishop of Melbourne*, address printed in *Guardian*, March 29, 1882 (p. 461). *M. F. Sadler*, *Guardian*, August 24, 1881 (p. 1193). *S. Cox*, in *Expositor*, vol. iii. p. 434, &c. *T. Chamberlain*, 'The Revised Version; its bearing on Catholic Doctrine' (Masters and Co., 1881).

V. GENERAL CRITICISM :—

Bishop of Lincoln, address at Lincoln Diocesan Conference, October 21, 1881. *Bishop of Derry*, Charge, 1881; reprinted from *Londonderry Sentinel*. *Bishop of Carlisle*, Pastoral Letter, Christmas 1881, p. 24. *Bishop Oxenden*, 'Plain Words on the Revised Version' (S.P.C.K.). *Dean of Peterborough*, *Contemporary Review*, July 1881. *Dean of Wells*, paper at Church Congress, Newcastle. *Chancellor Espin*, address printed in *Guardian*, November 23, 1881. *Dr. Field*, 'Otium Norvicense,' Pars 3^{ia} (privately printed). *Professor Evans*, address at Church Congress, Newcastle, and papers in the *Expositor*, vol. iii. *E. B. Nicholson*, 'Our New New Testament' (Rivingtons). *F. Tilney Bassett*, a Sermon on the Revised Version (Church of England Pulpit Office, 1881). *C. F. B. Wood*, 'Notes to illustrate the New Testament by LXX and the Hebrew Scriptures' (Rivingtons, 1882). *W. A. Osborne*, 'The Revised Version of the New Testament' (Kegan Paul and Co.). *A. Dewes*, Preface to 'Life and Letters of S. Paul' (Longmans). *M. F. Sadler*, Notes on S. Matthew (Bell and Sons).

THE length of the above enumeration will justify us, we trust, in thinking that the time has come to attempt a general summary of what has been urged for and against the Revised Version during the eighteen months since it was published, before

¹ These three articles are advertised for republication under the title, 'The Revision Revised;' with a preface, and with the name of the author, Dean Burgon, of Chichester (London: John Murray).

all interest in the controversy has passed away. The mere list of writers shows the range which it has covered ; and this is, of course, independent of the multitude of anonymous criticisms which have appeared in various periodicals and journals. We should be safe in asserting that there never was a time when the attention of so great a variety of well-qualified critics has been concentrated on the problem of the relation between the Greek text and the English version, and the best way of representing the one by the other. We now propose to confine ourselves as closely as we can to criticisms upon the English revision, entering no further than is unavoidable upon the subject of the new Greek text which lies behind it. And we must be explicit at the outset in declaring our unshaken conviction that, after all reasonable deductions have been made, the Revisers have earned the deep respect and gratitude of all who can appreciate the importance of supplying the English reader with an exact interpretation of the Word of God.

The fact that the Revised Version of the Old Testament is still unfinished supplies an additional reason for attempting to draw up such a summary at the present time. It is possible that some lessons may be suggested by the history of the manner in which the Revised New Testament has been received, which it may be desirable to submit respectfully to the consideration of the Old Testament Revisers while they are still engaged upon their anxious labour.

The chief points which attract attention on the retrospect are these:—The complacency with which the Revised Version was ushered into the world ; the wide public interest which it excited, as attested by the immediate sale of about two million copies ; the acquiescence and even welcome with which it seemed to be accepted ; the admonitory signs, however, which might have shown that this happy fortune was not likely to continue ; the completeness, and we must say the overstrained hostility, of the recoil.

It is curious to turn back from the heated atmosphere of the later controversy to the calm complacency with which the Revised Version was laid before Convocation, and issued to the public. Not the slightest shadow from the coming storm was allowed to spoil the satisfaction of the proud humility which is expressed in the Revisers' Preface, and in the speeches with which the Chairman of the Company introduced the book to Convocation. He assured that venerable body that, in spite of the numerous alterations which he admitted they had made (but the number of which he underestimated

by at least one-half),¹ 'the effect to the general hearer or reader will really hardly be perceptible;' and he thinks this result so remarkable (as indeed it would be, if true), that he gives several reasons to account for it, which read oddly by the side of subsequent comments.² To the same effect wrote his brother reviser, Dean Stanley, in the latest contribution which he made to literature: 'the general flow of the Sacred Narrative escapes any changes which, *except by microscopic survey*, could affect a cursory perusal.'³ It would seem as if the reiterated readings aloud, on the value of which so much stress has been laid, had slightly dulled the Revisers' sense of hearing, so that they became unconscious of the extent of the changes they had made, or, as their adversaries would say, of the mischief they had wrought.⁴

A good illustration of the state of public feeling may be found in a sermon preached at S. Paul's by the Bishop of Truro, only three days after the book was published:—

'This week is eloquent in the ears of all English-speaking men. The New Version of the New Testament has been but three days in possession of their silence. . . a New Version, richer (we trust) with all that three centuries have added; clearer with all that three centuries have illustrated of knowledge, of criticism, of insight. . . Time speaks in that New Testament with a new and eloquent voice.'⁵

A little later, when some adverse mutterings had been heard, the Archbishop of Dublin, himself a Reviser, said in his Charge (p. 18), that it is 'very remarkable how slight this cry of dissatisfaction was, how few the offended, and how moderate the amount of the offence by them taken.' When Mr. Humphry, another of the Revisers, addressed a 'Burlington Conference' of clergy and laity in the following July, he thought that they had to deal with no opponents but 'a few honest irreconcilables,' whom he likens to the bigoted Cambridge men who decreed 'that the New Testament of Erasmus should not be brought within the college precincts, on shipboard or horseback, by wagons or porters.'⁶ He went on to express the hope that 'even they' would 'in time relax their frowns.' One of his hearers, it seems, was Sir Edmund Beckett, the

¹ 'Perhaps reckoning on some different principles,' says Sir E. Beckett, very fairly, p. 39.

² *Chronicle of Convocation*, 1881, p. 208.

³ 'The Revised Version of the New Testament,' in the *Times* for July 20, 1881.

⁴ Compare the Bishop of Salisbury's Charge, pp. 19, 20.

⁵ *The Voice and its Homes*, pp. 1, 2.

⁶ *Brewer's English Studies*, p. 358.

very chieftain of the scorers, by whom that expectation has not been fulfilled. Canon Cook, who is another distinguished but 'irreconcilable' opponent, says that the weight of the authority by which the Revised Version was supported 'produced so strong an effect,' that up to the date of the 'tremendous onslaught' in the *Quarterly*, 'the question appeared for a time to be generally regarded as at last settled; and that, notwithstanding the serious and most painful innovations introduced into the sacred text' (p. 11).

But, in truth, the change was due to a variety of causes. It might have been foretold with certainty that any Revised Version whatever would be sure to rouse a strong opposition; even if for the moment the outburst was delayed. Indeed this result was clearly foreseen, though perhaps not quite sufficiently provided against, by the Revisers themselves. The old terrors revived, as we were threatened with the alienation of churches and the weakening of faith.¹ The warning might have been emphasized by the history of every single attempt on record to improve either the text or the translations of Holy Scripture, or in fact to tamper with the outward expression of any other venerated and established formula. Such was the antagonism roused in old times against the paraphrase of the Targum, the translation of the Septuagint, the revision of the Vulgate. Such was the feeling illustrated by the old familiar tales of the bishop who nearly lost both his flock and his see by substituting Jerome's *hedera* for the old *cucurbita*, in the history of Jonah's gourd; of the bishop who reproved a learned colleague for using the polite term *σκίμπος*, instead of the provincial *κράββαρος*; and of the priest who refused to change his familiar *mumpsimus* for the newfangled *sumpsimus*. Such was the temper that inspired the 'irreconcilables' who denounced, like Lee and Standish, the Greek text of Erasmus; or, like Hugh Broughton, the Authorized Version of 1611; or, like Daniel Whitby, the great collection of various readings made by Mill; or who have been disturbed from time to time by the critical labours of Stephanus, of Walton, of Wetstein, of Bengel, of

¹ See Lightfoot, on a *Fresh Revision of the New Testament*, 1871, pp. 4, 13, 15, 19. Compare Malan's *Vindication of the Authorized Version*, 1856, and other works; Burgon on *S. Mark*, 1871, p. 264; and *Letter to Bishop Ellicott; An Unitarian Reviser of our Authorized Version intolerable*, 1872; McClellan, *Preface to New Testament*, 1875, p. xiv. &c. As a specimen of popular protests, take the late Dr. Punshon's *Lecture on John Bunyan*, 1857, pp. 30-33. He says, 'to the mistaken men who would tamper with' (the Authorized Version), 'hands off there, proud intruders! Let that Bible alone!'

Lachmann. 'The generation,' said Tregelles, in 1854, 'of Edward Lee and Daniel Whitby is yet flourishing amongst us';¹ and it shows no signs of decay now that we are dealing with a fresh race of critics. These considerations might have prepared us to look forward with certainty to a recoil.

Much weight must also be assigned to the rumours of the misgivings which were said to be felt by some of the Revisers themselves; to the criticisms of such highly qualified observers as the Bishops of Lincoln and Derry, Dr. Field, and Canon Cook; to the fierce assaults of hostile advocates like Sir Edmund Beckett; and certainly in no small degree to the three famous articles in the *Quarterly*, which stand unrivalled in the present age as examples of continuous and powerful invective, supported by an unusual array of learning, and driven home by a clear tenacious purpose.

But, independently of these attacks, and before most of them had been delivered, a serious blow had fallen from a different and apparently a not unfriendly quarter. The book has not yet recovered from the shock of the discovery which was published by a correspondent of the *Guardian*,² that the Revisers had made 36,191 changes in the English text, or an average of *four and a half* changes in every one of the 7,960 verses; more than double the number with which the Chairman had somewhat startled many of his hearers. The Bishop of Lincoln accepted this calculation, and gave a sting to it by asking whether the Church 'could consistently accept a version in which 36,000 changes have been made, *not a fiftieth* of which can be shown to be needed or even desirable.'³ The concentration of change in some specially unfortunate passages was shown by the *Quarterly* Reviewer, who found that in the one place, 2 Peter i. 5-7, the Revisers had 'introduced 30 changes into 38 words.'⁴ How widely, on the other hand, these alterations are distributed was proved by a correspondent of the *Expositor*, who has calculated that not 800 verses out of nearly 8,000—*i.e.* scarcely one verse out of every ten—has escaped correction. The magnitude of the changes is implied in what he further states: that 16 entire verses dis-

¹ *Account of Printed Text of New Testament*, p. 261.

² *Guardian*, August 10, 1881, p. 1136; and again, p. 1675.

³ Address to his Diocesan Conference, p. 27, *cf.* p. 6.

⁴ No. 305, p. 32. The Bishop of Salisbury mentions one verse in which 'not fewer than eight changes are made;' but he adds that 'only one of them would be discovered in reading the verse aloud or hearing it read' (*Charge*, p. 20).

appear, that 122 sentences or parts of sentences are omitted, and that only 10 new passages, mostly very brief, are added.¹ The alterations in the Greek text are said to be 5,788; or in round numbers nearly 6,000.² In the face of statements like these it was scarcely reassuring to be told that the great majority of these textual changes were trifling and unimportant; though, indeed, this must have been the case if Dr. Hort is correct in affirming that the substantial variations 'still subject to doubt' in the Greek can hardly form more than a thousandth part of the entire text.³ In fine; whatever was the main cause of the revulsion in the public feeling, the opposition soon became vehement and general; and critics of all sorts and sizes rushed upon the prey with an eagerness in which fair dealing was too frequently forgotten.

As regards many of the publications which we have enumerated at the head of this article, the tide of criticism has long since swept completely past them. We must be satisfied to give merely a respectful mention to such books as those of Dr. Roberts, Dr. Newth, and Mr. Nicholson; nor need we now return to the consideration of Canon Cook's recently published and elaborate volume, of which a sufficient account was given in our last number. It is obvious, too, that space would fail us if we tried to estimate the critical weight of every article in so lengthy a list. But we ought to say a few words of protest at the outset against some contributions which deserve animadversion for the unfairness or the carelessness of their writers.

One of these minor critics is Mr. G. W. Moon, who is fond of posing as a self-constituted champion of the purity of English, by which is meant that he is a stickler for obedience to stiff grammar rules, against the free and natural use of idiom. The very title of his book is unfair and misleading. He calls it *The Revisers' English*. He describes his undertaking as 'the task of exposing the Revisers' errors.' He perpetually accuses the Revisers of carelessness and ignorance—nay, of 'culpable carelessness' (pp. 7, 9, 38, 39, &c.) 'It certainly passeth knowledge,' he says, 'why *the Revisers* have sent forth such English as this.' But the moment we begin to verify the references (if indeed the familiarity of the well-known phrases does not

¹ *Expositor*, iii. 435. The *Dublin Reviewer* declared that 'forty entire verses' were gone; July 1881, pp. 135, 140.

² Canon Cook, pp. 222, 230. Sir E. Beckett, p. 40.

³ Westcott and Hort, vol. i. p. 561; vol. ii. p. 2.

make such verification needless), we find that, in the vast majority of cases, the Revisers are only the whipping-boys, who are chastised for the offences which the famous authors of King James's version, or their not less honoured predecessors, commit against the rules of Mr. Moon.

Sir Edmund Beckett is a writer of a different order. He does not profess, however, to write in a judicial spirit. His work is more like the speech of an advocate;¹ an excellent specimen of hard-hitting, implacable, uncompromising pleading, directed with great energy to establish the proposition that the Revised Version ought not to be authorized by Act of Parliament. But he weakens his case by overstating it; and by showing too plainly the delight which he feels in the occupation of 'abusing the plaintiff's attorney.' A great number of the changes which he condemns could be defended at once; such as 'lamp' for 'light' in regard to S. John the Baptist (pp. 27, 187); '*the rock*' for '*a rock*' in the Sermon on the Mount (p. 76); 'wine-skins' for 'bottles' (p. 79); 'anxious' for 'taking thought' (pp. 74, 81, 117); 'broken pieces' for 'fragments'² (p. 91); 'yielded up His spirit' (p. 115, which he calls 'a thing never said by any human being'); and the like. He misunderstands, and then ridicules, the marginal suggestion on Matt. vi. 27 of 'age' for 'stature' (pp. 74, 145). Speaking of the transposition, 'Is it I, Rabbi?' in Matt. xxvi. 25, he says that it is a 'still greater and worse change' than another which he calls both 'a blunder and a crime' (p. 111). He ought to have known that it is only a bit of precision, borrowed from the Rhemish version. He says of the phrase, 'the hell of fire,' that 'nobody ever heard of it before' (p. 59); yet it comes direct from the same old and 'anxiously faithful'³ translation. He complains of the Revisers' 'more complicated and clumsy phrases, such as "a meddler with [*read in*] other men's matters" for "a busybody," *though it is only one word in Greek*' (p. 84). Does he mean that the Authorized Version gives 'only one word in' English? On the contrary, it uses precisely the same phrase as the Revisers, 'a busybody in other men's matters'; following the older versions of Tyndale, Cranmer, and Geneva (1 Pet. iv. 15). The Revisers altered

¹ 'I avowed myself an advocate,' he says in his Reply to Dr. Farrar, p. 4; leaving the public to be the judge. The reasons for many of the changes, which he expresses great anxiety to learn, are supplied in Mr. Humphry's recently published *Commentary on the Revised Version*.

² Compare Dean Vaughan's Sermons, 'Authorized or Revised?' p. 175.

³ Westcott, *English Bible*, p. 266.

just one word in the phrase; probably because they use 'busybodies' elsewhere, as a translation of different terms in the Greek (2 Thess. iii. 11; 1 Tim. v. 13).

Let us take another example of the same kind to show the manner of this trenchant critic, who goes about to prove that 'the Revisers have taken all the life and poetry out of nearly every sentence they have altered' (p. 10). The instance has been pointed out in this Review before, but will bear repeating. Near the outset he alights on a small change in the first chapter of S. Matthew (verse 23); 'which is, being interpreted, God with us,' instead of 'which, being interpreted, is God with us.' He says that this change

'illustrates the capacity of the Revisers for spoiling sentences with the smallest possible exertion, and for no visible object. Here the mere transposition of that little "is" makes all the difference between a lively, solemn, and harmonious sentence, and one as flat, inharmonious, and pedantic as a modern Act of Parliament, or the Revisers' Preface' (p. 50).

Again we may retort by asking, How will it be if we take the men of 1611 for judges? The exact Greek phrase occurs six times in the New Testament.¹ In every single instance but the one before us, the Authorized Version itself presents the very translation which this critic condemns as 'flat, inharmonious, and pedantic;' 'which is, being interpreted' in the exact order of the Greek. If this is not a specimen of sheer prejudice, we frankly confess that we do not know where to find one. The Revisers have brought these hard words upon their heads by simply harmonizing the Authorized translators with themselves, and removing the single exception by adopting the order which they use in every other passage.

The *Quarterly* Reviewer is too complete a master of the details of his subject to fall into such palpable mistakes as these. But it would be strange if so vehement an assailant escaped errors of prejudice and sometimes of haste. Thus he begins with a stumble; confusing the acts of Convocation with the acts of its Committee, and the conditions of the one with the regulations of the other.² These regulations were clearly of the nature of bye-laws, drawn up by the Committee

¹ The other five are, Mark v. 41; xv. 22, 34; John i. 41; Acts iv. 36.

² No. 304, p. 308. Canon Kennedy is so indignant at this confusion, that he doubts whether the Reviewer can have read the Revisers' Preface (Ely Lectures, p. 158). Canon Cook complains (p. 220) that the two Revisers who undertook the defence of their text are not themselves so clear on this distinction as they ought to have been; see their

for the general guidance of the Company which it was to complete by co-optation, but of which it continued to be the mainspring and centre. Of course its members retained the power of altering these bye-laws if they found it necessary; which power they used when they substituted the separate publication of two Greek texts for the cumbrous method of indicating changes in the margin. A little further on he represents Tischendorf as saying of Codex D what that critic really says of Bornemann's edition.¹ He assails Dr. Roberts for an erroneous statement which that writer expressly quotes from Dr. Tregelles;² and though he might reply that Dr. Roberts makes it his own by quoting it, he is bound to put the saddle on the right horse notwithstanding. He makes a great point in his third article of the fact that, before his first article was published, he had read through the second volume of Westcott and Hort, and had '*endeavoured to compress* into a long footnote some account of' that volume.³ Yet, by some oversight, the quotations which he makes in that note are taken verbatim from the summary which they had printed some months earlier at the end of their *first* volume.⁴ It is also surprising to find him including *ἡγέμεν* in a list of aorists; and calling the reading *Euraquilo* 'preposterous'; and refusing to exclude female infants from the massacre at Bethlehem; and complaining bitterly of the Revisers for arranging the text in paragraphs instead of verses; and reckoning the revised version of Hebrews iv. 2 in a list of changes, of which he says that 'every one' is 'either a pitiful blunder or else a gross fabrication.'⁵ Let us

pamphlet, p. 32. The Reviewer varies in his later modes of stating this grievance about the margin: see No. 305, p. 9; No. 306, p. 311 ('as agreed upon by the Revisionists at the outset').

¹ No. 304, p. 313. "*Sæpe dubites per ludumne an serio scripta legas,*" is Tischendorf's blunt estimate of the text of *that codex*. The Reviewer seems to have been misled by an inaccurate recollection of Scrivener's quotation of the passage; *Introd.* to Codex Bezae, p. liv. The original occurs in Tischendorf's Prolegomena to his 7th edition (1859), p. cxiii.

² No. 304, p. 327. 'Dr. Roberts assures us,' &c.; see his *Companion to the Revised Version*, p. 62.

³ No. 306, p. 313. Compare pp. 348-50.

⁴ See No. 304, p. 320, note. The note begins: 'While these sheets are passing through the press, a copy of the long-expected (second) volume reaches us. The theory of the respected authors *proves to be*,' &c., and then come words copied from their earlier volume; pp. 556, 557. The third article, however, makes up for this defect very completely, by the minuteness of the analysis to which he subjects the work of Dr. Hort.

⁵ No. 305, p. 25; p. 35; p. 17; p. 60; p. 14. On *Euraquilo*, Acts xxvii. 14, compare Bentley, *Works*, iii. 354, ed. Dyce; and the

pause for a moment on this last example of his remorseless criticism. 'The word of hearing did not profit them, because they were not united by faith with them that heard.' The passage is difficult, and the editors are divided; but, as a plain matter of fact, the readings of the text and margin of the book of 1611 have simply changed places in the book of 1881. And what is remarkable, the reading of the *Textus Receptus*, which is so vigorously upheld by the Reviewer, could not, till very recently, boast of the support of any important Greek MS. whatever, though it unexpectedly found an ally a few years ago in the *Codex Sinaiticus*—one of the Reviewer's favourite aversions, 'the two false witnesses,' the corrupted MSS. with the very worst of characters, of whose help he can scarcely have the conscience to avail himself. His own golden rule is, Take the 'best supported' reading.¹ But in this case, up to the discovery of *Codex Aleph*, of which he has forfeited the right to avail himself, this reading which he prefers so emphatically had the support of no good Greek MS. at all.

It is amusingly characteristic of this eager writer that he twice quotes the old *mumpsimus* story (as most people would think) upside-down, to describe the position of his opponents; and puts the following words into the mouth of Dr. Hort as a fair analysis of his discussion on the last twelve verses of S. Mark:—'Thank you for showing us our mistake; but we prefer to stick to our *mumpsimus*!'² We have a worse fault to find with his extraordinary travesty of the characteristics of the five chief uncials as described by Bishop Ellicott. Not a single one of his five phonetic parodies of a line in Shakespeare bears the remotest resemblance to the meaning of the original text.³ Would he seriously tell the unlearned reader that the five oldest and most famous MSS. of the New Testament ever combine to exhibit different forms of error, from not one of which could we extract the true reading by the most skilful divination? And with what satisfaction do we revert to the well-known assurance of Bentley, that the 'real

Preface to Kuenen and Cobet's *N.T. ad fid. Cod. Vat.*, pp. vi, vii. It is the reading of *κ.Β.Α.*, and of Lachmann, Tischendorf (ed. 8), Tregelles, Wordsworth. As to using paragraphs instead of verses, see Dr. Scrivener's Introduction to his great work, the *Cambridge Paragraph Bible*.

¹ See No. 304, p. 317, &c. ² No. 305, p. 58; No. 306, p. 339.

³ No. 304, p. 314. It is enough to quote the first and last of these remarkable performances. He likens *Codex A* to this:—'Toby or not Toby; that is the question.' And he likens *Codex D* to this:—'The only question is this: to beat that Toby, or to be a tub.'

text' is 'competently exact even in the worst MS. now extant,' to say nothing of those which many competent writers believe to be the best!

It does not fall within our present scope to discuss the more fundamental defects of those learned articles: the want of a consistent working theory, such as would enable us to weigh, as well as count, the suffrages of MSS., versions, and fathers; and the claim of prescriptive right for the 'text in possession,' as it has come down to us with little change from the first edition of Erasmus in 1516. But we may remark that, on this branch of the subject, he has improved his position in the progress of his argument. In his first article there was something amusing in the simplicity with which 'Lloyd's Greek Testament' (which is only a convenient little Oxford edition of the ordinary kind) was put forth as the final standard of appeal.¹ It recalled to our recollection Bentley's sarcasm upon the text of Stephanus, which 'your learned Whitbyus' takes 'for the sacred original in every word and syllable; and if the conceit is but spread and propagated, within a few years that printer's infallibility will be as zealously maintained as an evangelist's or apostle's.'² In his third article we hear no more of 'Lloyd's Greek Testament.' The 350 years since Erasmus have been lengthened into 1,530 years since just before S. Chrysostom. The phrase 'Textus Receptus' has in general given way to the more comprehensive title of the 'Traditional Text.'³ He thus protects himself to a certain extent against the retort, that as water cannot rise above its source, so the Textus Receptus can rise no higher than its origin in the careless editing of Erasmus, and the few inferior MSS. he used. It was a strange piece of inconsistency to declare that the Erasmian text 'rests on infinitely better MS. evidence than that of any ancient work which can be named,'⁴ and yet to complain bitterly of the limitations by which Lachmann, Tregelles, and Tischendorf have crippled their text, and to maintain that even now, after the examination of some hundreds of MSS., our apparatus remains utterly inadequate and incomplete. He mends his hand considerably when he falls back upon the great mass of cursive copies, and rests the claims of the traditional text on the more imposing prescription of 'a thousand and half a thousand years.'⁵

¹ No. 304, pp. 313, 315, &c. Compare pp. 312, 349, 351, &c.

² Works, ed. Dyce, iii. 353.

³ See especially pp. 331, 332, &c.

⁴ No. 304, p. 317.

⁵ No. 306, p. 338.

We pass on to ask whether any deductions must be made from the value of the Revised English Version on account of the alleged defection of some among the Revisers, and the charge that changes had been forced on a reluctant Company by the strong and energetic will of some few among its members.

Soon after the book was published it was rumoured that some members of the Revision Company had protested against the number of the alterations made as exceeding both the needs of the case and the limits of their commission. A matter of this kind is seldom of much public importance. In every body where questions are decided by voting, the minority is bound by the act of the majority; and in a Company which consisted entirely of men selected for their special qualifications, and was protected by the rule that no change could be made or retained on the final revision 'except two-thirds of those present approved of the same,'—an average majority, which must have consisted of at least ten to five, and might sometimes reach the number of sixteen to eight, would represent an unusual amount of instructed opinion.¹ The matter, however, is forced on our attention, because it has been used, apparently with a good deal of exaggeration, for the purpose of depreciating the value of the work.

The Bishop of St. Andrews, who was able to attend only 109 times out of 407, made his own position clear by delivering to his diocese a Charge, marked by his usual taste and scholarship, which embodied the remonstrance he had previously addressed to his colleagues in the Jerusalem Chamber. The Archbishop of Dublin, also, whose attendances were limited, through the effects of an accident which his colleagues must have specially deplored, to 63 times out of the 407, feels compelled to qualify his commendations by some words of censure. He reluctantly admits that there is a 'not unfrequent sacrifice of grace and ease to the rigorous requirements of a literal accuracy, which' he 'must regard as pushed to a faulty excess, although such a fault as only the conscientious would commit;' and that 'the demands made

¹ 'The average attendance for the whole time has been sixteen each day' (Revisers' Preface, p. xii). 'If,' writes Dean Vaughan, 'in a gathering of twenty persons, with all the prepossessions of English readers of the Bible strong in them, not seven were found to prefer the old reading or the old rendering, it can scarcely be said that the arguments for retaining it were overwhelming' (Preface to Sermons, p. xiii). The Company for most of the time consisted of twenty-four members altogether. The table of attendances will be found in Dr. Newth, p. 125.

by the Revisers from time to time on the English language prove more than the language in the most dexterous and accomplished hands can satisfy' (p. 22). These two distinguished prelates, however, from the infrequency of their attendance, can scarcely be regarded as the representatives of a protesting minority, but rather as independent critics of a work, in which both were eminently qualified, had circumstances permitted it, to take a leading part. The Bishop of Salisbury, whose attendances (121) were confined to the earlier meetings, during which, as he says, 'all the chief principles of the work were settled,' regards himself 'as responsible, not less than those who continued the work to the end, for all the leading methods adopted by the Company and put in execution during those years.'¹

Dr. Scrivener, on the other hand, who ranks second to none as a master of textual criticism, was absent only eight times altogether out of the 407, being second only to the Chairman in the regularity of his attendance. It is well known also that, as Canon Kennedy says, his part in the great work 'has been large and important;' and his defection from his colleagues would have been a very serious matter. His attitude, however, is not at present quite so certain. He is eagerly claimed as an ally by the *Quarterly* Reviewer and Canon Cook; and there can be no doubt that he would generally represent the conservative side. But for the present he remains, so far as we know, silent.² We shall know his real position better when we receive the promised new edition of his invaluable 'Introduction.' Meanwhile Canon Cook says (p. 223) that Dr. Scrivener was 'systematically outvoted;' and Sir E. Beckett cites the *Quarterly* Reviewer for the statement that 'one of the Revisers' said, 'in effect, and it remains uncontradicted, that Dr. Scrivener was pretty nearly always voted down.'³ The *Quarterly* Reviewer quotes no such statement. The reference can only be to an unlucky paragraph in Dr. Newth, which was unearthed by the

¹ Charge, 1882, p. 15.

² The preface to the Greek text which he edited forms no exception to this silence. Of course, he would be debarred from expressing there his own opinion by the nature of his trust. The publishers' advertisement of the new edition of the 'Introduction' announces that in it 'the chief alterations introduced into the received Greek text by the Revisers of the New Testament will be examined in their relation to the critical principles of Professors Hort and Westcott.'

³ Reply to Dr. Farrar, p. 5. In his longer book, p. 92, he assumes that Dr. Newth's two Revisers, 'on whom this most essential part of the business was by tacit consent devolved,' were *Westcott* and *Hort*. The two whom Dr. Newth mentions, and that most explicitly, are *Scrivener* and *Hort*.

Reviewer, and in which he tells us that the duty of stating the textual evidence was 'by tacit consent' devolved on *Dr. Scrivener* and Dr. Hort; that of these Dr. Scrivener always spoke first, and Dr. Hort followed and stated his own view, 'if differing' from that of Dr. Scrivener, after which came the discussion, and then the vote was taken; but which way it generally went we are not told.¹

Again it is repeatedly stated by Canon Cook, on the authority of Canon Kennedy, that in all the most important cases, Dr. Scrivener was a steadfast opponent of change.² On referring to Canon Kennedy's book, we find very little first-hand evidence in that direction. He relies mainly on the evidence of Dr. Scrivener's book of 1874, which does not always carry out his contention; and, moreover, we already possess a later report of Dr. Scrivener's opinions in the excellent 'Six Lectures' which he published to popularize the subject in 1875. From this later work we gather, amongst other things, that as regards the Doxology in the Lord's Prayer, on which Dr. Scrivener had hesitated in 1874 (p. 495), he now admits that it 'can hardly be upheld any longer as a portion of the sacred text' (p. 124); that, as regards the shortened form of the Lord's Prayer in S. Luke, he holds that 'the mass of copies and versions *must yield* in a case like this' (p. 149); and that with reference to the remarkable change in S. Matt. xix. 17, which the *Quarterly Reviewer* calls a 'mere fabrication,' 'an absurd

¹ Newth, *Lectures on Bible Revision*, p. 119-20; *Quarterly Review*, No. 304, p. 326; No. 305, p. 7. Dr. Newth's account is accepted and confirmed in the authorized statement made by two members of the Company, in their pamphlet on *The Revisers and the Greek Text of the New Testament*, p. 36. They also define with authority the exact position in the Company of Drs. Westcott and Hort, pp. 31, 34, 40. A double injustice, as they point out, has been done to those distinguished scholars, in making them responsible for critical principles which they share with the whole school of Bentley, and in ascribing to their supposed predominating influence the text lying behind the Revised Version, for which the entire Company is equally answerable.

² See Canon Cook's book, pp. 10, 18, 58, 86, 131, 132, 222. No doubt Drs. Scrivener and Westcott and Hort represented, as stated by Canon Kennedy (p. 47), 'two somewhat different schools of feeling;' but he adds, 'on one conclusion *all three* critics were assuredly of the same mind—namely, that the value of any reading is to be decided by the weight, not by the number, of the documents which contain it.' Compare p. 159. The *Quarterly Reviewer*, No. 306, p. 376, is rhetorical and unconvincing. The Bishop of Salisbury says that Dr. Scrivener 'preferred to wait for the second revision' before challenging a final decision on readings, but adds that 'the Version as it stands does not exhibit the real judgment of *any* of the Revisers. *Each one* was, *many times*, outvoted in points which he greatly valued' (Charge, p. 18).

fabrication,' 'an absurd saying,' 'never uttered by our Lord,'¹ he now accepts it with the remark that he 'once strove hard to vindicate the common Greek text, and can now do so no longer' (p. 130, and similarly in 1874, pp. 499, 500). We may add that Dr. Scrivener anticipated the 'immediate acceptance' of the change in S. Mark vi. 20 (1874, p. 506; 1875, p. 134), a change resisted by the Bishop of Lincoln (p. 14); that he thinks it 'well-nigh impossible' to regard the moving of the water as a genuine portion of S. John's Gospel (p. 158); that he follows a long and illustrious line of critics in accepting the change in 1 Tim. iii. 16 (p. 193); and that he thinks the alteration probably right in Hebrews iv. 2 (p. 196), on which we have commented above. We need scarcely say that, in all these cases, he is utterly at variance with the *Quarterly Reviewer*. It is certain, moreover, that Dr. Scrivener accepted from the Revisers the honourable task of keeping a record of the changes adopted in the Greek, and preparing the list of those readings which was communicated to the University presses. He also not only edited the Greek text in the form in which it was issued by the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press, a task which he discharged with admirable fidelity and skill,² but looked over the proof sheets of the Oxford edition which came out under the care of Archdeacon Palmer.³

To turn to another distinguished Reviser; we are told by Sir E. Beckett that the Dean of Llandaff declared publicly at Doncaster that he disapproved of about one-third of the work of the Revisers, and Sir Edmund adds that 'he certainly never has advocated it for public use.' We have no record before us of the address at Doncaster, but what we do know that Dean Vaughan says is as follows:—

'If anyone imagines that a council of five-and-twenty men could uniformly arrive at unanimous conclusions, or counts it a reflexion upon the recent Revision that it should be avowed by persons engaged in it that the results in many particulars were not precisely those for which he himself voted, this is to betray a scanty experience of human dealing even in matters of far less keen anxiety than the text

¹ *Quarterly Review*, No. 305, pp. 13, 57; No. 306, p. 354, note.

² There is one remarkable feature in this book by which Canon Cook is much perplexed (p. 120): viz., that Dr. Scrivener interposes in his text a space before the last twelve verses of S. Mark, though he certainly found no such interval in Beza's or any other old edition. He was bound, of course, to record in the notes that the Revisers had introduced that space into their version; but it is not easy to see on what grounds he could give it a place in his text.

³ See Archdeacon Palmer's Preface. *ad fin.*

or translation of the Bible. A man of sense and a man of modesty learns to defer to the decisions of a majority, with something better than a sullen or reluctant acquiescence—rather with the feeling that he himself may easily have been mistaken, whether in taste or judgment, whether from defective knowledge or from unconscious prepossession' (*Preface*, p. x).

These 'modest and sensible' words occur in the Preface to a volume in which Dean Vaughan has put forth one of the most judicious defences of the Revised Version that have yet appeared; judicious because it rests the case on the deeper grounds of exegetical superiority, and not on mere casual alterations in the outward details. In the Preface we can trace signs of a sense of indignation at the treatment to which the Revised Version has been exposed. In the sermons he everywhere prefixes as a text the Revised Version as well as the Authorized, and draws out the improvements which the interpretation derives from the former; sometimes showing that 'the change of rendering is a gain in clearness, in freshness, and in suggestiveness' (p. 176); sometimes that the new phrase 'is the more exact rendering, and is in reality fuller still and more comprehensive' (p. 192).

It is pleasant to turn from vague accusations of unproved dissensions, resting on evidence not worth much more than 'what the soldier said' in *Pickwick*, to read the manly statements of the actual facts, which we gather from the writings of other Revisers besides the Dean of Llandaff.

'What these ten years,' says Mr. Humphry, 'have been to me and my colleagues you can imagine, though imperfectly, yet better than I can describe. . . . I do not know that so large a body of men (each one, moreover, heavily charged with his own private duties) ever spent so large a portion of their lives together in unbroken harmony, in earnest consideration of God's Work' (pp. 7, 8). 'You will readily believe that neither I nor any of my colleagues is able to stand up for the Revision as the product of absolute wisdom. Each of us, times without number, has been outvoted by a "tyrant majority." There is no sentence in our Preface which had our more hearty approval than that which confesses to the existence of blemishes, imperfections, failures; though if each of us had made out a list of such blots, no two of the lists probably would have been found to agree. It cannot be otherwise where many minds are discussing the multifarious details of a long and difficult work, though the advantages arising from their joint counsel greatly outweigh the drawbacks' (p. 21).

Precisely so writes Canon Kennedy :—

'Yes, the existence of blemishes in the revised volume, thus acknowledged (in their Preface) by the collective voice of the Com-

pany, would certainly not be denied by any individual member ; yet if we were severally required to furnish lists of what we regard as blemishes, it is more than probable that no two lists would exactly coincide' (p. 58).

And in his dedication to Dr. Scrivener he says :—

' You and I, dear Dr. Scrivener, have sat together eleven years, often voting, like other Revisers, on opposite sides, but without impairing, as I hope and believe, our mutual regard and esteem' (p. xvii).

All this is precisely what it should have been : what every reasonable person would have expected and desired it to be. It is admitted on all hands that there was abundance of discussion, which was both needful and useful ; but of dissensions and protests and recalcitrant minorities we can detect not the faintest sign or token, except in the declamations of declared opponents.

But to pass beyond the circle of the Revisers, let us turn for a moment to the weighty criticisms of the Bishop of Lincoln, who is alleged to have dealt the book 'the first heavy blow that it received *on points of scholarship*.'¹ We are still pursued by inaccuracy of statement, for the blow dealt by the Bishop of Lincoln was of a different kind. The scholarship of the Revised Version has been criticized by Professor Evans and others ; but the Bishop is rigidly punctilious in limiting his charge 'to the *literalism* of our Revisers' (p. 18), and to the number of the needless changes they have made. He 'thankfully acknowledges' that even as regards their 'literal renderings' they have often done 'great service' (p. 21). His complaint is not that the Revised Version is 'inaccurate,' but that it lacks 'artistic skill,' and other qualities of the kind (p. 24). He objects, as many others have done, to the want of smoothness. A too literal version reminds him of a springless carriage, 'in which you are jolted in ruts with aching bones over the stones of a newly-mended' road (p. 16). He describes the numerous 'small changes' as 'vexatious, teasing, and irritating—even the more so because they are small, as small insects sting most sharply' (p. 25).² In some of his complaints he makes the same points as Sir E. Beckett ; for instance, as to 'wine-skins' and 'toll,' and 'shudder' and 'boon,' and

¹ Sir E. Beckett, Answer to Farrar, p. 5 ; compare his longer book, p. 45.

² These 'tormenting flies' are also in the *Quarterly*, No. 305, p. 62 ; and another of the Bishop's metaphors, that of 'an over-restored or ill-restored building' (pp. 17, 23), is in the *Quarterly*, No. 304, p. 310 ; in Dr. Sanday, *Expositor* iii. 266 : and doubtless elsewhere.

'broken pieces' and 'meddlers in other men's matters.'¹ But though his tone is as becoming as Sir Edmund's is the reverse, we cannot acquiesce in the justice of the censures any more in his case than in the other. He would also rather trust to 'the living voice of the teacher' for explanation (pp. 16, 24) than use what he thinks an awkward word or phrase for the sake of clearness. But this is exactly opposite to the estimate which the Revisers had formed of their own duty. On the whole, however, he would be 'deeply grieved if anything that has been said in this address should be construed into anything like a lack of gratitude for the learned labours of the Revisers,' and especially of their Chairman, all of whom he considers to be 'entitled to the tribute of the reverential homage of the whole Anglican Communion' (p. 32), than which they could not desire a more worthy recognition of their labours. For ourselves, we feel certain that habit will lessen the roughness of the road, and assuage much of the irritation of the numerous changes. 'Even the rhythm of the English,' says the Bishop of Salisbury (p. 21), 'will, I venture to predict, be found not unmusical when it has become familiar, when its weighty utterances are recognized as faithfully exhibiting the Truth, and, it may be, are wedded to Divine sounds by the genius of future Handels or Mendelssohns.'

In Dr. Field's most interesting work, *Otium Norwicense, pars tertia*—another contribution to the controversy of considerable value—that veteran scholar, whose opposition, like that of others, has been greatly exaggerated,² dwells chiefly on the same error, the amount of what he thinks unnecessary change. In his Preface he says that 'public opinion,' while showing 'a strong feeling of appreciation of the sterling merits of the Revision,' exhibits 'equally strong marks of dissatisfaction with certain unlooked-for, and (it might be thought) uncalled-for innovations.' He adds that the Revisers are alleged to have interpreted the 'faithfulness' prescribed to them to mean

'not (as was evidently intended) faithfulness to the sense and spirit of the original, but to its grammatical and etymological proprieties; the effect of which has been, not only to introduce needless and finical changes which jar upon the ear, but also to throw over the general style an air of pedantry and punctiliousness, which cannot

¹ Bp. of Lincoln, pp. 16, 17, 19, 23, 25, 26; Sir E. Beckett, pp. 79, 78, 150, 13, 91, 84.

² We have not attempted to verify by calculation the summary of the amount of his opposition, which is given in the *Quarterly* by a friend of the Reviewer's, No. 305, p. 18, but it appears to be too strongly stated.

but be distasteful to the reader who has been "nourished up" in the plain, homely, and idiomatic English of the men of 1611' (Preface; p. v).

In conformity with this judgment, we meet with such comments as the following: 'The English reader might surely have been left in ignorance of such *quisquilie* as these' (on Mark xiv. 10, p. 28); 'how the Revisers' translation of Acts xxvi. 28 'is to be extracted from the reading adopted by them seems quite inexplicable: *videant ipsi*' (p. 88); 'to insist upon retaining the order of the Greek text, "faithful is the saying," is mere pedantry' (on 1 Tim. i. 15, p. 124); and the like. But he is very far indeed from being a confirmed opponent of the Revised Version. Sometimes, for instance, he states broadly that 'the rendering of the Revised Version is greatly to be preferred to that of the Authorized Version' (on Matt. xxv. 8, p. 13). And it must be remembered that he is himself almost directly responsible for some of the changes which others have complained of. He tells us that two papers which he addressed to the Revisers, the one on 'conversion' (Matt. xiii. 15), and the other on 'the first recorded utterance of Jesus Christ' (Luke ii. 49), 'materially influenced the final revision of those two passages;' while a third paper which he laid before them (on Acts xx. 24) 'was not so fortunate' (p. v.); and he seems to have been absolutely answerable, in conjunction with Dean Burgon,¹ for the small, but very striking, alteration introduced into the text of S. Mark (vii. 19), where the change of a single letter in the Greek gives rise to a great improvement in the English; '[This He said,] making all meats clean' (p. 23). This change, by the way, is one against which the Bishop of Lincoln (pp. 10-12) argues at length as 'very questionable;' in fact, he arraigns it in the very forefront of his complaint.

It is much to be regretted that the Bishop of Derry's Charge of 1881 has not been republished in a more generally available form than as transferred from the columns of a newspaper by a provincial printer. It contains a great number of acute and instructive criticisms, and we should find it difficult to point to a more judicial summary of gain and loss. 'I venture to say,' he tells us (p. 14), 'that in the Revised Version we have gained a great deal, while we have lost something.' We have gained a purer text; and 'the old Church is all the fairer when the churchwardens' white-

¹ On the last twelve verses of S. Mark, pp. 179, 180. Compare Scrivener's Introduction, 1874, p. 506.

wash has been painfully scraped away.' We have gained from the 'almost new-born' 'critical knowledge of the idiom of the New Testament.' We have gained greatly from the more exact rendering of articles and tenses, and from the more careful discrimination between the different words of the original, and from their more accurate representation in an English dress. We have gained indirectly from the revival of interest in New Testament study; from the fresher light which the clergy themselves will find thrown upon the meaning of Scripture; from the satisfactory proof which this searching scrutiny supplies, that no vital doctrine, no real evidence, no true consolation, has been lost as the result of criticism. On the other hand, 'I should be untrue,' he says, 'to my own convictions, if I did not frankly confess that the Revised Version appears to me to be yet at some distance from the standard of attainable perfection' (p. 17). Here a single instance of his censures must suffice: 'A New Testament without the word *charity*, and all but without the word *doctrine*, tries old-fashioned Christians rather severely' (p. 20). It may be remembered that Dean Stanley admitted that the loss of the word *charity* was 'the greatest sacrifice which the new translators have ventured to offer on the altar of uniformity.'

If we were ourselves to venture, after making this survey, to draw up a balance-sheet of profit and loss upon the whole transaction, we should emphatically declare our strengthening conviction, and should rest it on much the same grounds as the Bishop of Derry, that the loss is altogether outweighed by the profit. It could scarcely be otherwise when we have to deal with the result of protracted labours, conducted through the amicable conferences of many years, by a body of scholars of the highest character, pure in their intention, devoted to their task, unsparing in labour, anxious only to offer the best services within their reach to God, by spending the prime of their lives and the ripest of their faculties on the work of interpreting more exactly the message of the Gospel, and especially of bringing it more correctly within the knowledge of the unlearned and the poor.

Many of the alleged defects, which have been urged *usque ad nauseam*, appear to admit of easy remedy. It might be desirable, for instance, to lighten the margin of a load of matter, which is sometimes superfluous, and which in some few cases many have condemned as mischievous. We cannot help agreeing with the *Quarterly* Reviewer that it is difficult to see what benefit would follow if our margins were to be

permanently encumbered by mere curiosities, like Bethsaida or Bethzatha, in John v. 3 ; or Melitene, in Acts xxviii. 1 ; or like the variations in the number of S. Paul's fellow-voyagers (Acts xxvii. 37), and in the number of the Beast (Rev. xiii. 18). Still more might we deprecate the retention of marginal references to such strange intrusions as the piercing of the side, transferred from John xix. 34 to Matt. xxvii. 49 ; or to such a 'monstrous corruption' as 'his daughter Herodias,' in Mark vi. 22 ; or to such unlikely variations as are recorded on Luke x. 41, 42 ; or to the records of the omission in some MSS. of a whole 'forest of' important 'clauses' in the last three chapters of S. Luke's Gospel. Least of all could we be content to see the opinions of 'some modern interpreters' affixed permanently to the margin of Romans ix. 5. It is a smaller matter, but one which it is perhaps worth while to mention, that the Revisers might have practised a wise economy of marginal space by an extension of the method which they have partially sanctioned, when they insert near the beginning of all books in the New Testament in which the sacred Word occurs, the marginal note on 'Holy Ghost,' 'Or, *Holy Spirit* : and so throughout this book.' It has been calculated¹ that 'teacher' stands in the margin over against the word διδάσκαλος upwards of fifty times ; 'bondservant' against the word δούλος upwards of a hundred times ; 'demons' against δαιμόνια about sixty times ; while three lines are devoted fifteen times to explain (by a reference) the value of 'a penny.' It would surely have been both easier and better to avoid these repetitions by placing a table of the more frequent variations at the beginning of the book, and calling attention to it (if thought necessary) by a simple numeral in the margin. A precedent for such a table is supplied by the American Revisers, whose suggestions are often neat and clear, in the 'classes of passages' which they have prefixed to the 'list of readings and renderings preferred' by them, and recorded at their desire.

We feel some regret, too, in cases where the change is so far from being 'imperceptible' that the clue is often absolutely lost, and might perhaps in some measure be restored. We find it hard in some other cases to reconcile ourselves to the extreme harshness of the result, when they attempt to reproduce too exactly some irregularity in the grammar of the original, which often arises entirely from the revision of the text. And yet once again we must admit that the

¹ By the *Quarterly Reviewer*, No. 305, pp. 36-38.

sentences of the noble old English version are often weakened in the Revised Version by the over-scrupulous retention of conjunctions and particles. A chorus of complaints, for instance, has been raised against the sixfold intrusion of the word 'and' into our Lord's explanation of the parable of the tares in Matt. xiii. 37-39, and of exactly the same number in a passage of S. Paul, 1 Cor. xii. 8-10.¹ We cannot help sympathizing with the clever schoolboy in Cardinal Newman's dialogue, when his examiner asks him why he has not construed the first *et* in a Latin sentence, 'I thought it was only the Latin style, to dress the sentence, to make it antithetical; and *was not English*.'² It is true that the Cardinal makes him construe the first *et* all the same; but then he was only a schoolboy passing an entrance examination.

In all the above cases, however, it is clear that these specimens of 'over-doing' sprang simply from over-anxiety; and the evil, if admitted, could be removed at no great expenditure of trouble.

But we hasten to turn away from these irksome records of fault-finding to acknowledge the great and manifold obligations under which the Revisers have laid all English-speaking people. The critics have not propitiated our assent to their arguments by the alternative translations which they have sometimes been good enough to offer. We are not sure that the Bishop of Lincoln himself would be applauded for the correction which he suggests on Rom. xii. 11, 'in your hurry be not lazy' (p. 29). The new Bodleian Librarian would scarcely have improved the fortunes of the Revised Version if he had been a member of the Company, with influence enough to induce them to begin the New Testament, the 'Roll of birth, or Birth-roll, or roll of descent, or family-roll, of Jesus Christ;' and if they had yielded to the 'regret' which he expresses, that the Revisers did not further *improve* the Lord's Prayer, by rendering 'Give us our morrow's bread to-day' in their text.³ Mr. J. A. Beet, who complains of the 'almost total absence of poetic instinct' in the Revisers, addresses himself to the difficult text, Phil. ii. 6; and after toiling over the passage for four large pages, produces at last his own rendering ('in lack of a better,' as he modestly says):

¹ See *Quarterly Review*, No. 305, p. 29; Sir E. Beckett, p. 88; Moon, p. 5, &c.

² *Idea of a University*, p. 344.

³ This is one of the well-known ancient explanations; see instances in Lightfoot on *A Fresh Revision of the New Testament*, pp. 213, 219, &c. The Revised Version margin gives it less crudely; 'Gr. *our bread for the coming day*.'

'Not high-handed self-indulging did He deem His equality with God.'¹

We are ashamed to dwell on the smaller details of gain by selecting half-a-dozen specimens out of hundreds that are obvious improvements: such as the substitution everywhere of Isaiah for Esaias, of Elijah for Elias, and the like; the substitution of Joshua for Jesus in Acts vii. 45, Heb. iv. 8; the correction of positive errors by the changes, 'It was said *to* them of old times;' 'nothing worthy of death hath been done *by* Him;' the removal of misleading archaisms in such cases as, 'I know nothing *against* myself,' &c.; the introduction of such greatly preferable translations as 'our lamps are *going out*;' and such more vivid readings or renderings as 'hazarding' for 'not regarding His life.'² One could fill page after page with such instances as these. But after all it will be found that the real defence of the Revised Version lies deeper than the surface; in the exact scholarship which has unravelled chains of reasoning which the Authorized Version had obscured; in the new light which will be found to rest on whole passages through a more accurate representation of the force of articles and tenses; in the more intimate connexion established between the unlearned reader and the inspired Evangelists or Apostles, by close translations which sound awkward merely because they are strange, but which a longer familiarity will be certain to commend.

In fact, the worst that can be said of them is only what is expressed in the epigram of the Bishop of Lincoln (p. 30): "They would have succeeded better and have performed more if they had attempted less. Not by doing, but by over-doing, their work has been less happily done." Never did arrow miss its mark more widely than when they were accused of 'carelessness.' One suspects that their work would have been more satisfactory if they had finished it in less than half the ten years, and at fewer than half the 407 sittings. The constant revision would prove at last a constant snare. Subjecting each verse, each clause, each single word, to separate and repeated microscopic scrutiny, they would naturally yield to the temptation of making each translation just one shade more precise, just one hair's-breadth nearer to the original; of making each phrase cling just a thought more closely to the grammatical configuration of the Greek; of wiping out some shadow of apparent inconsistency in the

¹ *Expositor*, vol. iii. pp. 385, 391.

² Matt. v. 21, 33, &c.; Luke xxiii. 15; 1 Cor. iv. 4; Matt. xxv. 8; Phil. ii. 30.

selection of English equivalents for the original expressions. Each alteration would be taken by itself ; each looked but a trifle when regarded alone ; and they forgot to calculate that the units would mount up to the appalling total of six-and-thirty thousand changes. In short, the sole standard which they aimed at was the 'maximum of accuracy.' They forgot that the standard which was also prescribed to them was the 'minimum of change.'

It is not easy to say what will be the future destiny of this accurate and learned Version. Some time has elapsed since any voice was raised in favour of its public substitution for the Authorized Version. What we are to do with it is not so clear. The *Quarterly* Reviewer stands alone, we hope and trust, in his eagerness for its summary and absolute rejection. 'The case,' he says, 'is simply hopeless. It is idle—worse than idle—to dream of revising this Revision.'¹ Sir E. Beckett would be satisfied, we suppose, to reduce it to the unauthorized level of an ordinary commentary. The Bishop of Derry is 'convinced that the Revision, with all its undeniable merits, must be somewhat extensively revised' (p. 23). Even Canon Kennedy appears to contemplate a further change (p. 59). The Bishop of Lincoln wishes that certain selected improvements could be transferred to the margin of the Authorized Version, with authority to the clergy to read them as alternatives, and with the possible prospect of their future admission to the text (pp. 31–2). The Dean of Llandaff, on the other hand, protests against subjecting the work to any 'partial or eclectic treatment' (p. vi.) ; and he agrees with the Bishop of Derry in seeing some reason to fear the advent of a 'new sectarianism, taking the Revisions of 1611 and 1881 as its starting point.'² The Bishop of Salisbury has long used it in his private chapel, and while not wishing it to take the place of the Version of 1611 'in the public service of the Church,' strongly recommends it 'for use in private families and for personal study' (p. 21). The only wise course seems to be, to deprecate all hasty or inconsiderate action. At all events, we must wait till the publication of the Revised Old Testament makes the undertaking complete. That Revision is still in hand. We constantly see notices of the meetings of the Revisers, who can scarcely fail to have watched the course of criticism with anxious forebodings of the time when it will be their turn to submit their own labours to critics as relentless. What effect

¹ No. 305, p. 62.

² Bishop of Derry, p. 17 ; Dean of Llandaff, Preface, p. xvii.

will be produced on the forthcoming Revision by the reception which has been accorded to the portion now complete? It was a remarkable sign that one of the first persons who entered on the task of criticism was an Old Testament Reviser, the Dean of Peterborough, who commented on the work of his New Testament colleagues with respect but with freedom. His paper is a pledge that the views which he expresses will be fairly represented before the Old Testament Company. The principles which he lays down seem to be sound and judicious, but the proof of their value lies in the application; and the application is still one of the secrets of the future. We can only protest, in the meantime, against the absolute indecorum of assailing the work of these distinguished scholars with words of disrespect and contumely. In all the qualities that are most requisite for such an undertaking, they tower high above the heads of all but a very small number among their assailants. For their protracted, patient, generous labours, they deserve the gratitude of all to whom God's Word is precious, and who wish the Gospel to be proclaimed in England with the utmost clearness which the most exact translation of the message can impart.

ART. V.—THE SUPREME COURT OF APPEAL IN ECCLESIASTICAL CASES.

1. *Brodrick and Fremantle's Ecclesiastical Judgments of the Privy Council.* London, 1865.
2. *Moore's Privy Council Appeal Cases.*
3. *Report and Proceedings of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Appellate Jurisdiction.* Parliamentary Papers, vol. vii. 1872.

THERE may be an incidental advantage in the delay which has attended the proceedings of the Judicature Commission, if, in the meantime, the existing order of things is better appreciated, and a clearer light thrown upon various subjects which must ere long force themselves upon public notice.

As a slight contribution to that end we propose to consider one only of the many aspects in which the matters at issue may be viewed: the question, namely, how far, apart from any dispute between the Secular and Ecclesiastical jurisdictions, the existing constitution and procedure of the Judicial

Committee of the Privy Council, as the Supreme Court of Appeal in Ecclesiastical Cases, are such as might fairly be expected to command the respect and confidence of sober-minded Churchmen.

A dispassionate answer to such an inquiry would not be useless, if it only served to dissipate a misapprehension, which is fraught with considerable danger. It is the theory of some, who prefer things as they are, that the present dissatisfaction of the clergy with the Judicial Committee is only a thinly veiled attempt on their part to shake off all legal control, and thus indirectly to obtain the power of breaking with impunity the contracts upon the tenure of which they hold their respective positions. It is a grave charge to bring against a body of men who, with rare exceptions, have won by their moderation the respect even of their opponents; but it is a handy weapon to use against the Church, for to hold out the faintest suggestion of priestly arrogance is now, as it ever has been, to flaunt a red rag before the English people.

Now, in considering whether such a charge has any real foundation, let us first turn to the Judicial Committee itself, and take from its own lips the definition of its appropriate functions and duties. We confine ourselves to two quotations, merely premissing that the same view has been reaffirmed in several other cases. The judgment in the *Gorham* case contains the following:—

‘This Court . . . has no jurisdiction or authority to decide matters of faith, or to determine what ought in any particular to be the doctrine of the Church of England. Its duty extends only to the consideration of that which is by law established to be the doctrine of the Church of England, upon the true and legal construction of her Articles and formularies. The Court applies to the Articles and liturgy the same principles of construction which are by law applicable to all written instruments, assisted only by such external and historical facts as it may find necessary to enable it to understand the subject-matter to which the instruments relate, and the meaning of the words employed.’

And again, in the ‘*Essays and Reviews*’ Case (*Williams v. Bishop of Salisbury*):—

‘Our province is, on the one hand, to ascertain the true construction of the Articles of religion and formularies referred to in each charge, according to the legal rules for the interpretation of statutes and written instruments; and, on the other hand, to ascertain the plain grammatical meaning of the passages which are charged as being contrary to, or inconsistent with, the doctrines of the Church.’

The Judicial Committee, therefore, lays down two definite principles. (1) It disclaims any jurisdiction to deal with purely spiritual matters. (2) In so far as it is compelled, for the purpose of deciding the cases before it, to put an interpretation upon ecclesiastical formularies, it carefully confines itself to the limits of a mere Court of Construction.

What, then, is the ordinary procedure of such a Court? In the simple case of a claim dependent upon the provisions of a legal contract, the Court must obviously arrive at the meaning of the contract itself before it can decide the question at issue. And that interpretation must depend, not only upon the grammatical sense of the words employed, but also, and often to a much greater degree, upon their legal import. The interpretation is, therefore, mainly a question of law; and the legal knowledge and training of the judge, and his consequent capacity of appreciating the principles of jurisprudence, enable him to apply those principles properly to the facts of the case before him.

But to take a more complicated case. Suppose the document is a foreign contract, and therefore governed by foreign law: it would be equally essential to ascertain its legal meaning. But as an English Judge is only credited with the knowledge of the law of his own country, he must have recourse to the aid of external evidence, and for that purpose is driven to depend mainly upon the opinions of foreign juriconsults, whose education or position entitles them to speak with authority. Thus it has been the ordinary practice of the Judicial Committee in matters of foreign law to direct a reference to persons learned on the subject.

Or the document may be an English document, but may contain, as an integral part of it, some abstruse technical or scientific term. In such a case, until a specific meaning is affixed to the particular term, the document is simply an unknown quantity; and the intelligent appreciation, therefore, of the term of art is the indispensable preliminary to the construction of the instrument. And this, as lying outside the domain of law, must also be proved by external evidence; and especially, 'when' (to quote the words of an eminent Judge) 'terms are technical terms of art, their meaning must be ascertained by the evidence of persons skilled in the art to which they refer.'

And though here again a Court of Construction would be compelled more or less to delegate its task to others, an obvious advantage is obtained when the Judge himself has a learned or scientific education: not because it would liberate

him from the legal rule as to external evidence, but as it would enable him better to appreciate the effect of such evidence when adduced. A conclusion is unlikely to be very satisfactory if it is drawn by one who imperfectly comprehends the premises upon which it professes to be based.

Now, in all such cases the object aimed at is one and the same—viz. to enable the Court which is charged with the duty of construction to ascertain, in the best manner which the circumstances admit, the nature of the subject-matter which it is called upon to construe: a preliminary investigation, which no ingenuity can elude, and with a view to which, therefore, the State has wisely adapted the functions and procedure of its judicial tribunals to the ever-varying subjects with which they have to deal. And, especially in the construction of documents of a technical kind, the Courts have always been content to draw their information from the sources best qualified under the circumstances to supply it, without any prudish adherence to supposed presumptions of knowledge on the part of Judges, which would be rebutted by common sense.

Now to apply these elementary principles to the solution of ecclesiastical questions.

For this purpose we only claim the right to assume that the Church of England is a religious body, holding distinctive doctrines and Articles of Faith, and exercising a discipline of its own over its own members; while it occupies a relation to the State which, though in some respects modifying its action, does not purport to destroy its separate existence.

It would follow on this assumption that the Church, as a religious body, must have its own jurisdiction in matters purely spiritual, and that the action of the State in its relation to the Church ought to be confined to those subjects which arise out of, and are necessarily incidental to, that relation.

This would exclude any jurisdiction on the part of the State to settle matters of faith or doctrine, though it may become necessary for a judicial tribunal, in order to decide whether formularies have been adhered to or not, to ascertain, as a matter of fact, what are the faith and doctrine of the Church.

In these assumptions we claim nothing more than would be conceded by common consent to any other religious community; nothing, certainly, which is not fairly deducible from the definitions as given by itself of the jurisdiction and functions of the Judicial Committee: and the question we

propose to consider is, whether, upon these assumptions, and taking the Judicial Committee at its own estimate, its present constitution and procedure answer the conditions which the Church of England may fairly require.

There are two classes of ecclesiastical questions which come before the Judicial Committee—those relating to matters of doctrine, and those relating to matters of fact. They involve somewhat different considerations. But we propose to confine ourselves to those which relate to matters of doctrine.

With respect to these, it is a truism to say that, before it can be judicially ascertained whether something has been written or spoken which is at variance with the formularies of the Church, some construction must explicitly or implicitly be put upon them. It is equally obvious, even to one who has but a cursory acquaintance with his Prayer Book, and *a fortiori* to any educated and thoughtful Churchman, that that construction must, in almost every case, involve and depend upon questions of theological science and language; and that, therefore, the task which in such cases devolves upon the Judicial Committee must be the interpretation, to a very great extent, of what we shall not be accused of irreverence in calling, for our present purpose, *technical terms or words of art*, which lie outside the province of mere grammatical or legal knowledge.

But very slight reflection will show that the interpretation of ecclesiastical formulæ, while it bears a close analogy to other species of construction, involves many difficulties peculiar to itself, which give it an exceptional character.

In the first place, it deals with cases the results of which cover the widest area. A judicial decision that a particular doctrine is or is not the doctrine of the Church affects, it is almost needless to say, the status of every clergyman in England. Whatever may have been the case in former times, the Judicial Committee now unquestionably claims to exercise the functions of the ecclesiastical law, 'which' (to quote the words of the present Lord Chancellor) 'has always, even in those proceedings which are called, and in some sense are, criminal and penal, had for its object, not the punishment of individual offenders, but the correction of manners and the discipline of the Church.'¹ It will also be remembered that, according to its latest utterance, the Judicial Committee asserts that its decisions form part of the constitution of the Church as by law established.

¹ See *Mackonochie v. Lord Penzance*, 6 Appeal Cases, 433.

But, besides this extent of area, the results operate in a peculiar manner. They enter into the domain of conscience. If a blunder happens to be committed by a judicial tribunal as to the interpretation of a scientific term, there is no reason to apprehend that the march of science will be seriously impeded; while even the victim of the mistake, if he has to endure Galileo's condemnation, can conscientiously cling to Galileo's comfort. But to proclaim to a large body of earnest men, who hold themselves to be the ministers duly appointed to teach at their peril the whole tenets of the Christian faith, that the enunciation of some dogma is not compatible with their position in the Church of England, may well be to inflict a blow upon their consciences, which would be the more intolerable in proportion as the sufferer is the more deserving of respect. And it will be observed that if on such a point any mistake should really occur, it would be within that very spiritual sphere into which the Judicial Committee so loudly protests that it is forbidden to enter.

But, again, while the consequences of any failure of justice are so grievous, the matters dealt with are those which are peculiarly liable to mistake. A scientific truth, when once developed, can be labelled and put into the pigeon-holes of science, ready for use whenever required. But as we pass from the exacter sciences, through morals, to theology—as we rise from the concrete to the abstract, and yet more from the finite to the infinite—the capacity of clear definition keeps continually diminishing, as language becomes more and more inadequate as a vehicle of expression. Hence the reduction of religious truth into definite formulæ has always been regarded as one of the most abstruse problems which could exercise the collective wisdom of the Church: a problem which that collective wisdom has often declined to solve. But the difficulties which attend the making of a formulary necessarily linger around the interpretation of it when made.

But there is another and perhaps even greater point of difficulty. It is easy to talk of a particular doctrine, and to discuss how far it can be fitted to the Procrustean bed of a particular formulary. But this attempted isolation of a doctrine is itself a prolific source of error. For what in a subordinate sense may be predicated of morals is emphatically applicable to any body of Christian truth. It is not (as some in these days appear to regard it) a kind of spiritual locomotive, made up of distinct parts, each contributing its separate action to the production of an aggregate result, but still capable of being taken to pieces, repaired where defec-

tive, and refitted. It is rather, as its name imports, a living organization, in which each part of the system acts and reacts upon the other, so that any morbid influence, at whatever spot it may originate, soon ceases to be local, and in time pervades and debilitates the whole constitution. Now, if this be so, the correct construction of a particular formulary of doctrine must include, more or less, the recognition of its relation to the other formularies, and the process could not be properly conducted, except by keeping that relation steadily in view. This is, in fact, admitted to some extent by the Judicial Committee itself, though, singularly enough, only with reference to devotional expressions in the services of the Church, when it says 'that the meaning must be ascertained by a careful consideration of the nature of the subject, and the true doctrine applicable to it.'¹

And there remains the further difficulty, that in the interpretation of ecclesiastical formularies the question very often is, not what they mean at the present moment, but what was their legitimate meaning at some antecedent period of time. Not only, therefore, has the interpreter to pursue a path beset with danger, but he has to grope his way under the dim light of an historic past. To give him a fair chance of reaching his destination, he should add to all his other requirements a competent knowledge of the intricacies of ecclesiastical history.

If, then, one of the duties inevitably thrown in certain cases upon the Court of Appeal is to attach a meaning to the formularies of the Church; if the difficulties of attaching that meaning are, having regard to the subject-matter, so exceptionally complex and varied; and if the issues resulting from any miscarriage of justice are so momentous,—is it unreasonable to require, that the Court, so far as it is compelled to act as a Court of Construction, should avail itself of every possible aid from without, and in particular should, in accordance with the ordinary principles and practice prevalent in analogous, though far less important, cases, 'ascertain' (to repeat our former quotation) 'the meaning of the terms of art by the evidence of persons skilled in the art to which they refer'?

That the extent of apprehended danger is not chimerical will scarcely be denied by those who are acquainted with past decisions. In the whole range of Church doctrine none can be conceived of more mysterious or awful import than 'Regeneration' and the 'Presence of the Body and Blood of

¹ See Judgment in the Gorham Case.

our Lord in the Holy Communion.' But the nature and effect of the former were involved in the *Gorham* controversy; of the latter in the proceedings in *Sheppard v. Bennett*. Nor is it difficult to see, that in both those cases the discrepancy between the opposing views arose to a great extent from the different interpretations given to certain theological terms which occurred in the Articles and formularies. That in both cases no authoritative judgment was given makes no difference in principle; for it was clearly within the presumed jurisdiction of the Court to have pronounced decisions which would have assumed the right of finally settling, as to both, the doctrines of the Church of England.

Such, then, being the functions and the difficulties of the Judicial Committee, let us turn to the materials of which it is composed. We challenge contradiction when we say that there is no guarantee for the possession by its lay members of the slightest theological knowledge or training. It consists of persons holding high political or judicial offices, and its constitution, therefore, insures, as far as human precaution can insure it, the possession of the highest character, of the keenest intellectual powers, and of profound legal attainments. But the very professional pursuits of its members, and the absorbing work by which they have won their way to eminence, would tend, with comparatively rare exceptions, rather to unfit their minds for theological study. It is true that under the Church Discipline Act (the 3rd and 4th Vict. c. 86) one prelate at least, who must be a Privy Councillor, is required to sit as a member of the Committee in cases of ecclesiastical appeals. And so far, therefore, a clerical element is introduced, though, in fact, almost necessarily in the minority. But, apart from this, no English prelate is constituted a member; there is no religious qualification, and nothing to prevent a Jew, a Dissenter, or even an avowed Freethinker, having a controlling voice in the adjudication of the most important ecclesiastical questions. We do not mean, even in such an extreme case, to insinuate a doubt as to the strict impartiality and legal acumen, with which the most unchristian member would endeavour to exercise his judicial functions. He would, we are sure, listen with sedulous attention and studied courtesy to all the arguments and representations, exceptionally interesting from their novelty, which might be adduced with reference to what to him would appear the subtle distinctions and fanciful vagaries of a theology, upon which up to that time he had scarcely wasted a passing thought. We simply demur to his com-

petency. 'Cuique in suâ arte credendum.' The Church of England can hardly be expected to repose implicit confidence in the presumed qualification of a tribunal so constituted (however august it may be in other respects) to perform that part of its judicial functions which concerns the interpretation of ecclesiastical formularies and Articles of Faith.

It will be answered, however, that safeguards have been provided by the Legislature which obviate the possibility of such danger. It will be said that, in addition to the provisions of the Church Discipline Act, some of the prelates of the Church have, in cases not coming within that Act, almost always assisted in the decision of ecclesiastical appeals, and that that assistance is now rendered imperative by statute. It is quite true that from time to time, when questions of great importance to the Church have come before the Judicial Committee, various Archbishops and Bishops, members of the Privy Council, have been specially summoned to attend ; but, though at liberty to express their views, they did not sit as members of the Court, and were never allowed a vote on the ultimate decision. It is also true that by a very recent statute the presence *as assessors* of one of the Archbishops or the Bishop of London, and of four other Bishops in a certain order of rotation, has been rendered necessary on the hearing of ecclesiastical appeals. This was doubtless a step in the right direction, in so far as it admitted the ecclesiastical element to be necessary for the proper solution of ecclesiastical questions, and increased the probability of the theological aspects of any point in controversy being fairly brought under the cognisance of the lay tribunal. But it was a retrograde movement in another respect ; for by legalizing the assessorship it virtually tended to deprive the Church of any governing voice in decisions which so materially affect her spiritual interests. And at the best it only made the prelates 'assessors,' without imposing any obligation upon the actual Judges to adopt their opinions or to bow to their advice. It was, if it be not irreverent to say so, the addition of a body of unpaid counsel of the highest eminence, but who unfortunately do not plead in public.

For any benefit which the Church might otherwise have derived from the intervention of those who may be considered in a sense its representatives is to a great extent neutralized by the special mode of procedure, which, in obedience to the traditions of the old Star Chamber, the Judicial Committee has thought fit to maintain. In the case of an individual

who may be defendant to an action, it lies upon him to prepare his own line of defence, and he cannot be heard to complain if any material point in his favour has escaped notice or been feebly urged. But where a decision is intended to operate on a much wider scale, and to bind the conduct and affect the consciences of multitudes who are no parties to the legal proceedings, it becomes of vital importance that it should command respect as well as obedience. The degree of unanimity of the Judges, and the grounds and extent of the differences of opinion which may exist among them, affect in such a case materially the force and authority of the judgment itself. The opinions can thus be weighed as well as numbered. But for that purpose the one essential is publicity. It can thus only be distinctly seen that the judgment was based, not merely upon the clearest evidence, but upon the fullest appreciation of everything relevant to the points at issue, and also seen how far it was in accordance with the conclusions of those in whom the greatest confidence ought to be placed. And such is the practice in every other Court of Appeal in England. In appeals before the House of Lords the judgment of the House represents the majority ; but each Peer who takes part makes a public statement of his individual opinion, generally accompanied by his reasons. And where (as is not unfrequently the case if an appeal involves difficult points of law) the House of Lords thinks fit to summon the Judges, they also deliver their opinions in public, so that the actual advice given, and the reasons on which it is based, precede and throw their light upon the ultimate decision. In the Judicial Committee, on the contrary, *one* judgment only is delivered, which, though in fact representing the voice of the majority, purports, as a general rule, to be unanimous ; and though in several exceptional cases a statement has been added that one or other of the members present did not concur, such an addition is a matter of indulgence and not of right, and no hint is permitted to be given of the nature or reasons of the difference of opinion. Similarly, in the case of the assessor prelates it has transpired that they are allowed to express their several views ; but they do so within closed doors, and in solemn secrecy, no one being permitted to know what passes, no glimpse being afforded of the opinions expressed, or of the deference (if any) paid to them by those who alone decide. So far, the old standing order of the Privy Council of 1627 is faithfully adhered to, even in the nineteenth century, that 'when the business is carried according to the most voices,

no publication is afterwards to be made how the voices and opinions went.'

But if Churchmen are expected to acquiesce in the proceedings of a State tribunal, on the ground that in all matters connected with faith or doctrine the theological learning and habits of thought, which are admitted to be important factors in a right decision, are sufficiently supplied by those whom we may call the Church's representatives, is it too much to suggest that, while it is difficult to acquiesce in, it is impossible to reverence, in such a case, the unknown? Is it unfair to urge that the admitted incompetency of the secular Judges to act alone only makes it more imperative that the proceedings of those who are supposed capable of supplying the defect should be thrown open to the public gaze, so that the value, power, and influence of the legislative safeguards may be gauged, and that the absent clergyman, whose living or conscience may perish, may at least be allowed to perish by the light of day?

But matters do not rest there. In so far as the construction of ecclesiastical formularies is absolutely necessary—and beyond that absolute necessity no judicial tribunal should ever dream of venturing—why should the legal principle be inapplicable, that the meaning of a document requiring special knowledge should be referred to those whose special training and education render them conversant with the subject to which it relates, leaving still to the Court of Construction its legitimate function of applying the facts of the particular case to the previously ascertained meaning of the instrument?

How that end may best be attained is beyond our province to determine. Some have suggested the appointment of a body or bodies of referees, to whom the interpretation of what we have called theological terms of art might from time to time be referred: an extension, in fact, of the power given by the original statute¹ which constituted the Judicial Committee, of 'referring matters to be examined and reported on.' Others, that the voice of the Church itself should be invoked, speaking through some duly accredited organ. A third method, which we fear is practically impossible, would be the readjustment of the proportions of the clerical and lay elements in the Judicial Committee itself. Be this as it may, it is of pressing importance that something should be tried. At present, no doubt, the politic forbearance of the Judicial Committee has done much, as to matters of doc-

¹ 3 and 4 Wm. IV. c. 41, sect. 17.

trine, to avoid needless friction between Church and State; but the risk of collision daily increases as the tide of advancing Radicalism is steadily effacing the ancient landmarks; and it is useless to disguise the danger which lies in the immediate future, if the Church is still to retain, in matters so vitally affecting her separate existence, her present subordinate position.

It has been said, however, and on very high authority, that any attempt to appoint referees would have the inevitable result of creating a Court of Legislation which would virtually introduce new formularies, alter the faith and doctrine of the Church, and thus unsettle the relation in which it stands to the State. But such an objection involves the fallacy of confounding the alteration with the interpretation of a document. It is no more suggested that a body of referees, however constituted, should be armed with authority to modify an existing Article of Faith than that, in the case of a scientific term, the philosopher who might be consulted would be allowed to interpret it, not according to the acknowledged canons of science, but in harmony with some newly hatched theory of his own. The referees would have no power to go a step further than the tribunal which directed the reference would itself be compelled to go, with or without them. The only point to be considered would be, what certain formularies may have said, or omitted to say, not what they might or ought to have said. The sole object would be to transfer the elucidation of a theological problem from those to whom it must remain more or less a dead letter to those who would at least have a better chance of understanding the principles of its solution.

We do not deny that there might be practical difficulties in the formation of a body capable of exercising an impartial judgment and of rising above the denser atmosphere of party prejudice. The settlement of its procedure, and the adjustment of its relation to the tribunal which sought its aid, would doubtless require grave consideration. But to insist that the attempt is hopeless, because the interpretation of ecclesiastical formularies, even within such narrow limits and with every safeguard against abuse, must insensibly but inevitably glide into their change or modification, is to suggest a startling conclusion, from which the Judicial Committee, if true to its own declarations, would instinctively recoil. For to say that the mere interpretation of formularies necessarily involves the resettlement, to any extent, of faith and doctrine, is to say that it involves that which has hitherto been by

common consent confined to the spiritual domain of the Church. If it be true, we are confronted by the dilemma, either that that interpretation should in some way be referred to the decision of the Church itself, or that the performance of a duty which lies within the strictly spiritual province should be committed to a body of men who may not even nominally belong to her communion.

As we have confined our remarks to the Judicial Committee, we have not adverted to the extreme importance of improving, as far as possible, the constitution and procedure of the Courts of First Instance, so as to avoid the frequency of appeals, by the substitution of machinery less exposed to adverse criticism on the part of Churchmen.

It remains only to notice one other argument (if so it may be called) often urged for the purpose of keeping things quiet. We are told that the Church of England has no right to complain, because, after all, she fares better than other religious communities. They, it is said, in so far as they are concerned with particular trusts or endowments, are amenable to the ordinary tribunals, which, as Courts of Construction, may be called upon to construe and enforce the trust deeds. This is no doubt a fact which certain Churchmen will do well to bear in mind before they are tempted to cast longing looks towards Disestablishment. But it has little application to the existing state of things. For not only are such cases amongst other religious communities of comparatively rare occurrence, but when they happen they entail very different consequences. In one case, indeed (Lady Hewley's Charity), in which the decision affected a large number of Dissenting congregations, the Legislature came to the rescue, and cut the knot by legalizing the misappropriation of the intended bounty. But, generally, the point decided would only apply to the individual case; and if the Court happened to misrepresent the supposed faith or doctrine of the sect, the mistake might elicit a protest, but would more probably raise a smile. It is at once the glory and misfortune of the Church of England that in this respect she stands at a great disadvantage, as compared with the sects. The sectarian, with his empty wallet, may sing fearlessly in the presence of the robber; while the Church of England, the custodian of the faith once delivered to the saints, with her pride of Catholic ancestry, her historic continuity, and her rich treasure of creeds and liturgies and formularies, is compelled to stand on her guard, for the simple reason that she has so much to lose.

ART. VI.—EDWARD BOUVERIE PUSEY.

Parochial and Cathedral Sermons. By the Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D. (Oxford, 1882.)

THERE is true insight into the character of the religious teacher in the words which Edward Irving takes to describe the excess of action and defect of thought in busy men :—

‘From the Ministers of the Gospel, especially those who are not busy with outward visible works (for all such I find to be scourged completely out of the capacity either of receiving seed or of imparting it), but from those who are diligent in meditation, and study, and prayer, and the other works proper to our vocation of teachers and instructors—from such I have found the greatest profit in hearing them preach and in hearing them speak.’

Of the great theologian and controversialist who was laid in his grave on last S. Matthew's Day, it was not the least characteristic feature that, with the incessant laboriousness of a man of affairs, a profuse correspondence, infinite distractions, the daily irritation of frivolous and morbid as well as healthy demands on his direction, the cumbrous accumulation of heavy books and fugitive papers which besets an editor and author, the fresh growth of sympathy which made the sap rise at the touch of each new springtime in more than sixty years of manhood, nevertheless the scholar secured a reserve of leisure for thought, the ascetic made time every working day for discipline, and the recluse lived as if he only cared for prayer. Hence no one, not even the most near-sighted critic, was disappointed by Dr. Pusey. We can understand men of another temperament being impatient with him, vexed, disposed to pass on and do without him, bored—but disappointed never. He raised no hopes which he did not satisfy, and kindled no imagination of which he did not feed the flame. Circumstances, time after time, at many periods of his life, cast the deepest shadows on his home ; and then again the fierce excitement of a combat, in which he was a principal, would girdle his name with fire, and men would see his head, like the helmet of Achilles, alight with a mist of gold, and flames breaking through the mist. People in the country heard of him as a man of sorrows, a victim of persecution, a mighty champion brought to bay and fighting to the bitter end against any odds, and they came to Oxford

to see him ; and undergraduates knew him only as the latest saint in modern history, and marvelled to see him in the flesh. But none were disappointed. Some saw him for the first time as he came forth from his widowed home. He was unlike any figure of sorrow they had ever beheld : shrunken, pale, withered, creeping through the chill air as if afraid to walk in a world to which he no more belonged. He climbed up the steps of the University pulpit as if he dreaded to look down on the sea of faces and meet their eyes, and he began to preach feebly, with a hollow voice gathering volume as it went, in a crushed sepulchral tone, till every ear slowly vibrated with the monotone of his prayer, and every heart was hushed with a sense of awe as if it were made an involuntary witness of a man of affliction in his hour of loneliest communion with God. This was the impression made on many a young man fresh from the joyous success of life in a public school ; and no wonder that Oxford, with this occasional apparition of Dr. Pusey, presented to him an idea absolutely new. The lapse of time had its mellowing touch. The crushed figure lifted itself and even gained a certain robustness and spring ; and the animation of fresh contentions, and the generous affection which went out to a new generation, took off the dry, death-like ashes from his head and made him smile again in the face of sympathizing multitudes, who rose and uncovered as he stood up, and crowned him with acclamations as he sat down. But no one observing him submitted to all these crucial experiments of character was ever disappointed in Dr. Pusey.

This irrefragable consistency of character is, far and away above all material consistency of circumstance, the secret of the power of his name as a link between two generations of English Churchmen. There is no doubt something highly honourable and impressive in the fact of his abiding in one official residence for fifty-four years, and holding his own in spite of the severest strain on the part of friend and foe to prove by incontestable logic that the post was untenable. The accident of a long life and a singularly produced experience, which to most men gives a power of intuition and prophecy, would account for a great deal of his representative character ; but no such accident will make a man the principal figure of the Church of England of the nineteenth century, as Dr. Pusey is. A statesman who has survived his own generation may be a storehouse of traditions, an expert in precedents, and a mine of wealth to political biographers ; but, for all the influence of a living mind, may be worth no more than

a fossil in the Cabinet of a Minister of State. Men of higher calibre than the volatile egotist Brougham—sound and solid men like Lord Lansdowne and the Duke of Wellington and Lord Russell—may easily outlive their influence, even in a line of life where personal blemishes are not brought into court in the review of public virtue. It needs no words to show that in a public life so full of Christian professions as Dr. Pusey's, and with so vast a background of the inner life, which, if hidden at all, was hidden in *light*, nothing less than a perfectly consistent growth of character could satisfy the scrutiny of two generations. If Cardinal Newman and Dr. Liddon should bring their observations of the man alongside each other, and compare their notes of 1830 and 1880, there would be found, we undertake to say, no discrepancy in their moral estimate. The elder friend with his retentiveness of memory and acute discernment would be seen with luminous candour to set his recollections in the light without the shadow of a snow-flake to chill his love; the gracious, cheerful face of the older man would tell the cloudless purity of their friendship; and the younger witness of Dr. Pusey's later life in the widowed and almost childless home of his old age, and in his persevering preaching of old truth in modern Oxford and in the era of the Ritualists, would take heart again, to think that so fine a mould remained unbroken and unworn to the very end. Dr. Pusey, who would never have his portrait taken, could not prevent his name being filched by more Englishmen than ever borrowed the names of Pitt or Fox, though they were incomparably fewer than those who called themselves after John Wesley; and the hold which the *ἐπώνυμος* of his party maintained over the motley crowd of the Churchmen of the latter portion of the nineteenth century was not due to the courtesy of the younger race. Among them were rougher spirits than would stand on the ceremony of respect for age, and hands hard enough to resist any parental tenderness that would bar them of the liberty they fought to win. Retirement with dignity, peace with honour, was never offered him; and he would not have had it if it were. The Church Union and the columns of the *Times* were his House of Commons; and there he would debate, and be jostled by younger men, and stand on the same floor with them despite his past achievements and his age. Such a position would have been impossible but for the thoroughness and immaculate consistency of his life.

And this is all the more remarkable because of his lack of political insight and sagacity. We have called him a man

of affairs ; and so he was, so far as being an administrator of large concerns, lying well beyond the sphere of home. But he had no gift of managing, no finesse ; was too simple even to be reticent and reserved ; could not educate his party ; had dull perception of the effect of a word or act on the public humour ; was as destitute, perhaps, as any man of his profound experience could be, of that sagacity which goes for prophecy ; and absolutely without that electric imagination of Hurrell Froude, which discovers meteors while slower understandings are counting figures ; or of Faraday, of whom a German savant wrote that he smelt the truth. Or, to compare him with a mind cool and unimaginative, if Dr. Pusey had possessed a tithe of the political sense of Archbishop Tait, the Public Worship Regulation Act would probably not have seen the light ; and the dislocated evidence, which perhaps will be found to give an excuse to the Commissioners for doing nothing, would not have been tendered by witnesses on the Catholic side to the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission.

Again, it would be curious to note how much the influence of a leader is condensed by so slight a mechanism as that of axioms, epigrams, and aphorisms, and other good sayings, or by brilliant, limpid, eloquent, inimitable utterances, whose echo comes back on the ear at every mention of his name. As long as the English language lasts, Newman will be a name among the eloquent. Perhaps, though not so certainly, Keble will retain his place among the poets. Statesmen and party leaders retain younger men under their banner by the fascination and tenacity of these gifts. The provident use of such vehicles of thought is a life assurance. It secures a wealth of influence in old age and after death. Sir Philip Francis, Robert Hall, Edward Irving, George Canning, Lord Beaconsfield, Lord Derby, Richard Cobden, Mr. Bright, are examples of this. It is an accident, no doubt ; but has its worth as an element of influence. Some men are so great as not to need it. Sir Robert Peel could do without it. Mr. Gladstone does without it. Hurrell Froude had it like jewels in the matrix and gold in the sand ; but, if his biographer in the *Times* be right in saying that he could write nothing under thirty pages, no wonder this element of influence is lost in the prolixity of Dr. Pusey. The best that can be said of his style of English prose is that it is characteristic. The matter and the man is in every page, but nothing more. His style, if he had one, does nothing to 'adorn the doctrine.' Strange that Dr. Mill, the greatest theologian of modern Cambridge, the *malleus hæreticorum* as

he used to be called, should have been equally unadorned. But, style or no style, the books of these divines are quarries out of which skilled workmen will get building-stone many a generation for the edifying of the Church. The volume of sermons which we have named at the head of this article is replete with beauty of a kind, and yet no one would call it a work of art, or unconsciously true to the principles of art. The voice of the preacher was not unmusical, but false cadences prove the absence of an ear. The sentences are involved and not always coherent; quotations are tumbled out unrhythmically; there is no reserve or delicacy, which suggests without elaborating; and few gems of subtle thought which you take into your hand and they make you smile for joy. But he had other gifts, which Professor Mozley finely describes:—

‘What keeps a congregation fixed and absorbed is a preacher’s feeling what he says, and being himself, as it were, in the words which come from him. Reality is the powerful and moving element on such occasions. Reality is of itself always striking, always effective. There is a sympathetic impulse always felt as soon as ever the mind recognizes the fact that the person speaking is in earnest; he is immediately the centre of all minds around him when this is seen; there is life and intenseness in the whole scene of thought, just as when a wire vibrates, or a spring leaps and fastens the stray material that comes near it. The wandering, scattered, restless images of human fancy are stayed; the thoughts that go in and come out and come near and are lost again, the flitting shadows of ideas, the imperfect, half-formed and ever-changing scenery which goes on within every ordinary human mind, are then for once in a way stilled and fixed. . . . It is the power of earnestness. There is an instinct by which persons feel when the mind from which the thoughts are issuing is a real one—one not wanting to unfold itself, but to do them good, one that is absorbed in a task and identified with a purpose of love. This is seen and felt by the internal sense as much as any outward object is by the external. And when it *is* seen and felt the effect is immediate. This temper comes into solid contact with their souls in a way in which no other can. It touches and calms them. Intensity is *the* want which human nature feels. She is right glad to enjoy it by substitute, though it be for an hour. She has no pleasure in the wanderings and disturbance of her own inward domain; she tolerates it only because she is weak and frail and cannot stop it; she has not resolution to master her own disorders and inconstancy, and therefore she carries them about with her. But let any come and do this for her, let any power come forward which only requires her passive acquiescence, and she will sit and give it gladly. Let anyone arrest her attention, and she is obliged to him for it.’

The question will still be asked, Was Dr. Pusey a great preacher? If a preacher be a prophet, rising in critical periods of a nation's lifetime, and interpreting the mind of God to his generation with an insight into the Divine Will, and an enthusiasm for humanity, and a burning love to break the bands of sin, and a tenderness constraining men to repent, and a joyousness in the fruition of eternal life which commends the highest truth in transparent purity to all beholders—then Dr. Pusey, though not the greatest, is the greatest but one, in his generation of English preachers. The ideal sermon is an ethical translation of supernatural truths from the language of scientific dogma into forms convenient for daily practice. It rests on one or more doctrines of revelation; works out from them towards spiritual phenomena; shows their relation to human temptations, necessities, and desires; and, dissecting with the finest analysis the subtle organisms of the soul, brings the whole power of those Divine Truths to bear upon the conscience, understanding, affections, and will, for conviction, enlightening, comfort, and inspiration of motive. Few preachers have impressed his generation more powerfully with the reality of God's relation to human life than he of whom we write. Living as he did among old-world books, making his library his home, recalling on each fresh occasion what would be the thoughts of Athanasius, or Gregory, or Tertullian, and what would be the action at a given point of Cyprian, or Augustine, or Ken, or Andrewes, as naturally as a speaker in the House of Commons would refer to Walpole or Burke or Pitt; and although he might have sat to Bellini for a model of S. Jerome in his study; yet few recent preachers have done more to illustrate the necessity of modernism in preaching, as in every other art. No one, hearing him in his best days in a West End London church, could say that he was 'a schoolman dug up.' More than any preacher we can remember he had the modernism of S. Chrysostom, whose homilies, read in a dead language, enable us to hear with a living ear and tremble with a living heart at the voice which thunders at the vices of the church-goers at Constantinople, and the indignation which, stormfully breaking away from the old text, drives its spear home into the new fashions of his own age, and draws blood from souls whom he has made ashamed for new follies of the day. There was at times something archaic in Dr. Pusey's method, resembling a meditation spoken in a monotone at one breath, without break, or artistic periods. He would roll on with more volubility than distinctness, careless of his audience,

ponderous with quotations, abstruse and mystical in thought ; but after all it was modern London he faced, the London out of which the 'Society papers' now make their fortune ; and nothing was too decent and nothing too indecent for him to rebuke with the white heat of S. John the Baptist. The idols of fashionable English life—luxury, freethinking, riches, impurity, neglect of servants and the poor, selfishness in almsgiving, worldliness in every form—these are the vices he assailed ; and it was the Christian English gentleman, affronted with the sight of these enormities in men and women of his own flesh and blood, rather than the student of Holy Scripture and the Doctor of the Church, that led him straight to a particular devotion to Christ on His Throne of Judgment. The Eucharist, penitence, and the power of the keys may occur to some as the special portions of the Catholic creed with which his name, in controversy at least, is identified ; but, as a fact, his preaching is deeply coloured, rather than shaded, by the judgment day. The thought of the judgment dwells in him richly. Where most men would say reverently, 'Guardiamo, e passiamo,' there 'delightedly dwells' he. It is the background of all his pictures of divine love, as it is with all Catholic minds ; but with him it is the foreground often. The principal figure is the 'Son of Man, and all the holy angels with Him, upon the throne of His glory ;' his deepest note in his hymn of praise is, 'We believe that thou shalt come to be our Judge ;' and the key to his attractiveness and power in converting souls may be found in the motto he chose in 1839 for his Brighton sermon on the Day of Judgment, 'Knowing the terrors of the Lord, we persuade men.' In the preface to this sermon he states his deliberate intention to revive the disused practice of insisting on the reality of the Day of Judgment :—

'It is for the clergy especially to consider how far this lax state of things may be owing to their having omitted to inculcate proportionably the Day of Account. The Apostles from whom we derive our creeds placed it among the chief articles of the Christian faith. Modern schools have tried a different way : with what success our present condition may testify. Certainly, if men will be honest to themselves, the present state of things among us is not satisfactory, nor have the effects of a modern popular system been what they would in their first hopefulness have anticipated. On the contrary, religious practice has, on a broad scale, oftentimes declined, as a sort of religious teaching has increased, and the inculcation of motives and privileges been substituted for that of detailed duties and judgment to come. The full effects of this system can hardly be visible in our Church, in which our defective teaching, one way or the other, is

ever corrected in a degree through her own silent teaching in her creeds and her prayers. They are fearfully visible in large bodies of those who have left the Church, who have no such corrective, and who, having begun in a misguided and unsubdued earnestness, have ended in losing even the moral probity which was once in the main the characteristic of our countrymen. But there is, in truth, no compendious way of being religious ; it is not by forming frames of mind, and feelings once for all, or even by cultivating these, that people become or remain religious, but by religious actions done in the fear and through the grace of God. Heaven must be won step by step, by the vigilant and careful walking of persons who stand in awe and (in that degree) "sin not," as knowing that "God will bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good or bad."

It is characteristic of Dr. Pusey that, because he thus intensely thought of the judgment of God, he was at the same time so deeply wounded by the false judgments of the world in a controversial age, and so meek and patient under the injury. If he rose in indignation against his slanderers, it was not in the passion of injured innocence, but with a sweep of the hand which would abolish these scandals from the sight of the great Judge. 'Take these things hence ; make not *my Father's* house an house of merchandise.' In a fine sermon in his latest volume on the sin of censoriousness, where the treatment of the subject is marked by great delicacy, his teaching is pervaded with the light of the final judgment by Christ:—

'All judgments are rash which are made by those accustomed to judge their neighbours rashly, or by those who have been on the lookout for any fault, or who expect or are accustomed to find it. Each act of rash judgment prepares the way for another. . . . But such judgments, besides that they are rash and unloving, have this special evil that they intrude themselves into the prerogative of God. He only Who sees the heart can judge the heart. Angels cannot read man's heart ; devils judge only by the outward acts or looks. "Who art thou," God says, "who judgest another's servant? To his own master he standeth or falleth." The heart is the sanctuary of God. God alone can enter there. To God alone its secret corners are light. God alone can count all its motions. A labyrinth it is to itself. How much more to thee ! Who well nigh knows his own heart ? How difficult it often is to people to tell which of two motives sways them ! How often will tender consciences suspect their own motives, even when they are really moved by good ! How are they puzzled and distressed as to some secondary motive, or mistake a passing emotion for their real motive ! And yet into this secret place where God holds His court, which, until *the* Day of Judgment shall close all judgment of man, is closed to man, man will in his

fancy enter, and rule and decide and pronounce upon the secret motives, as if he were Almighty God, or as if God Himself had revealed them.'

And then, of taking unkindly views of another second-hand, he says:—

'Happy were we, did people receive truths of faith as firmly as they do the conjectures of idle imaginings. Yet thy neighbour will answer in the Day of Judgment for the rash judgments which he has himself formed. He cannot answer for thine. My brethren, we shall, each one of us, stand one day at the judgment-seat of Christ. We shall be judged as we have judged. Our Lord says it, Who now is our Advocate, and then shall be our Judge. The question then will be, not as to the acuteness of our judgments, not as to our penetration, nor whether we were right or wrong, but whether we loved. . . . In that day one grain of charity will outweigh the acuteness of the whole world. Let us imitate the love of Jesus. He, the Judge of all, while in the flesh judged not sinners. He bore with them. He bears with us. He, by bearing with them, won them. It is not long to wait. All secret things will be clear then. Then shall we have knowledge, if here we have love. In that day it will profit thee to have judged one only, thyself. To judge ourselves and not to judge others is the way not to be judged of the Lord. Show mercy to thyself by not judging thy brethren. Thy mercy on thy neighbour will be poured back in mercy on thyself.

Those whose memory goes back to his sermon on the Eucharist, and the rough handling it received from the Six Doctors, will recall a tender passage, which sounds like the solitary note of a plaintive bird in the intervals of a bitter storm, wherein Dr. Pusey shudders at the thought of the vulgar outrage which will be done to sacred truth. It is not the injustice to himself at the hands of men who are his inferiors, but pain for the dishonour of his Master:—

'It is with pain that the following sermon is published. For it is impossible for anyone not to foresee one portion of its effects—what floods, namely, of blasphemy against holy truth will be poured forth by the infidel, or heretical, or secular and anti-religious papers with which our Church and country is at this time afflicted. . . . And now may God have mercy on this His Church.'

It is a significant fact that

'Nearly 18,000 copies of the sermon were sold at once, besides the reprint of the whole sermon in the *Sunday Times* and another newspaper. The cessation of blame upon the appearance of the sermon was noticed by others and publicly stated at the time without contradiction.'

And

'The absence of any sound of objection to the second sermon (1853)

which contained the self-same doctrine of the Real Objective Presence, only enunciated more dogmatically than it had been in the first, showed that even those who condemned the first sermon saw no objection to the doctrine thus enunciated.'

People, who have heard from time to time of his saintly life, and how his later years were soothed by the tender respect of opponents who, like himself, were growing older, and more disposed to forget and to forgive, would expect to find that patience in suffering and the suppression of all high-spiritedness in self-defence was his characteristic grace ; but we are not sure that they would credit him with courage in attack. 'Poor dear Dr. Pusey,' is the frame in which many a man has set the mild, ascetic, dull countenance of a learned patriarch, living out of the world, without brilliancy, unredeemed by wit, too good to be angry, too retired to be formidable, unlikely to trouble the peace of any voluptuary who would take care to avoid his holy presence, without the fierceness which made Elijah thrust himself across the path of Ahab. But such kind of folk mistake the man. While prelates thought he was stimulating a morbid taste among feeble women for a scrupulosity of conscience, and some said of him, 'Nay, but he deceiveth the people,' he, with the lordly spirit of Chrysostom, bishop of a great city in the fifth century, would go into the heart of fashionable London and thunder against the broad vices and secret corruptions of the clubs and drawing-rooms. A satirist might say the same things without wincing, enjoying the sting he gave, or a preacher with scant brains and a taste for sensationalism might make the impetuosity of rhetoric do duty for righteous indignation—such bold men in the pulpit are not hard to find. But knowing from what kind of life Dr. Pusey emerged, and who he was, when he stood in Mr. Liddell's pulpit in Belgravia, and preached on 'Our Pharisaism' in 1868, or in All Saints, Margaret Street, on 'Why did Dives lose his soul?' in 1865, we feel that what gave his voice its unwonted liberty was no intellectual pleasure in saying strong things, but simply the spirit of Elijah, and Daniel, and John the Baptist, that drove him to this extremity. Alfred Bowen Evans was, for invective and satire, one of the most remarkable preachers of his day. He was bold and solemn, and could be awful ; but whether he lashed the sins, or unripped the hypocrisies, or reduced the pleasantries and plausibilities of half-hearted religionists to absurdity, you were aware of his cleverness, you saw his own satisfaction ; he would make you laugh at his humour, smile at the real beauty of his sur-

prises of poetical thought and pure diction, marvel at his impudence, stare at his thunder ; but you never forgot the voice in the word. How different and incomparably greater was Dr. Pusey ! We will undertake to say that no gentleman or lady in S. Paul's, Knightsbridge, on that Ash Wednesday, 1868, thought it anything but serious earnest, when flash after flash came forth from that pale face, and the quiet cadence of that loving voice fell in mighty thunderings. They had not a breath to waste on the man. It was all they could do to breathe through the storm of words he spoke :—

‘What are fathers, brothers, mothers doing, that we can hear of an undress as if we were still in Paradise ; of the bareness of dress of savage life, unredeemed by savage simplicity ; of persons, as it were, exposed to view as though the drawing-rooms of our nobility were slave-markets in which the young, in the full freshness of opening life, are set for sale to the highest bidder, a coronet or a millionaire (no matter of what character), and so it is thought fair and right that the purchaser should see what he buys, and make his choice amid the competing wares ? There is worse behind. But I forbear. . . . Yet of this I may speak as notorious, that through this prevailing barbaric love of finery and pomp our young men betake themselves to relations unhallowed by marriage, against the law of God, because they cannot support the sinful extravagance to be hallowed forsooth by marriage. . . . What is this gorgeous, selfish, pitiless array but an earnest and image of the robes of eternal flame ? But of all the Pharisaisms of the day our church-going seems to me the masterpiece. Do we believe what we say ? How then is our belief not our condemnation ? Is union with God a selfish thing ? Is it nothing to us that our brethren starve spiritually while we keep to ourselves the bread of life, and here or there only in this wide-waste wilderness of human souls one is found to cry out, “Let him that is athirst come and take of the water of life freely” ? Whither are these three millions of human beings going ? To the judgment-seat of Christ. But what afterwards ? I own I hope more for the degraded poor than for the self-satisfied rich. At least they are not Pharisees. God grant that even in their last hour they may be as the publican ! But what do we to this end ? A certain number of missions here and there (and these sometimes persecuted), a few Scripture-readers or Bible-women—are these our worthy efforts to recover from Satan's jaws the sheep of Christ, and show how we prize the Precious Blood by which we boast that we know more than others that we have been redeemed ? What but this atmosphere of Pharisaism with which we are encompassed, this yellow fog, mingled of all the faults of Pharisaism, Sadduceeism, Herodianism, which chokes our breathing and obstructs our sight, could make us take up with such a zealless, loveless, lifeless worship of God, Who is Love, as this ?’

Few of those who have talked of Dr. Pusey as if they

knew him would credit him with the irony which like a biting acid tinges the pages of his sermon on Dives :—

‘One only sin has been thought to be hinted at in that especial punishment of the tongue, the favourite sin of our Christian world—backbiting. Perhaps he had not refinement enough for a new sin, which I hear of in our fastidious times, “ambiguous words.” . . . He made “good cheer,” and that “splendidly,” “magnificently” (so the words mean). There is not one word about excess, about having persons at his table notorious for their immorality (gallantry, the world calls it). He kept a well-appointed table, and was known for the magnificence of his entertainments. Had he lived in these days, the world would have been told the next morning : “Dives gave a splendid entertainment at his elegant mansion in such a square, and among the distinguished company were such and such of the fashionable world.” And some of the younger of you perhaps would have wished that they had been there ; and mothers would have bethought themselves how they could obtain tickets for Lady Dives’ next assembly. . . . Perhaps in these days we should, some of us, have read at our breakfast-table the next morning, “We regret to announce that Dives was taken ill in the midst of a splendid and select circle, remained insensible, and died at an early hour this morning. . . .” And people would have said a word or two of the sudden death of Dives, or moralized a little on the instability of human things. I doubt whether any now would have spoken of him as “*poor* Dives.” One thing alone people would have shut their eyes to—“Where is he now?” Our Lord lifts the veil and tells us—“in torments,” “tormented in this flame.” Alas, Dives ! who would be of thy party now ? . . . But look again in detail. What grace is there room for in this life of frivolity, of self-indulgence, of sense, of self ? I must not, I suppose, name repentance. It has a harsh, austere sound in delicate ears. David says of himself, “Every night make I my bed to swim ; and I water my couch with my tears.” What a penitence ! It would spoil the eyes, and ruin all one’s looks. . . . *They* have no need of repentance. *They* have never committed in their youth sins which the thought of God brings to their mind. Truly, I believe that the thought of God does not bring their sins to their mind ; for they never think of Him, if they can help it, except that His providence somehow has made over to them a portion of His possessions on this earth, for which, since it came to them in the way of nature or of lawful industry, they need not thank Him.’

After noticing the ‘charity blankets’ advertised in a few shop windows, and in another window in Oxford Street a lady’s dress ‘that would furnish a meal to 7,000 poor,’ the sermon contains a magnificent passage on charity being, as well as purity, an absolute command of God. And then, like an ebbing wave, it sweeps to the very ground of the foul sins of heartless selfishness which starve and murder souls.

'Dives had this excuse, that it was not an extreme necessity which he neglected. Lazarus was fed by others : yet Dives is in hell. But we know of Lazarus starving, and *not* fed ; kept out of our sight, often shrinking from it ; his cries unheard by us, but heard of God. We know of chronic distress among our artisans, men of the same blood as ourselves, against whom famine tries habitually its strength, so that it is said that "nothing can starve them." The weavers of your gay clothing starve, while you make a show of their toil. The women who fit your dresses perish untimely (some hard by) by their wasting toil. It is a known class of women which ekes out its scanty wages by occasional deadly, degrading sin. . . . And you, which robe are you weaving for yourselves? Are you arraying Christ in the robes wherewith you clothe His poor, that at the awful day your Judge may say, "With this have ye clad Me : I see you, not in the defilement of your sins, but clothed in the robe of My righteousness ; receive the robe of glory, which I have dyed for you with My Own most Precious Blood." If not, what remains for you but the robe of everlasting fire, to wreath round you, your inseparable dress for ever?'

What would be rhetoric in most men is doctrine in Dr. Pusey, and what may look like morbidness is in him life after a strict rule of health. It is of a piece with his stern *consideration* of the Judgment Day, as Christ bids us 'consider the lilies of the field,' and S. Paul 'consider the Apostle and High Priest of our profession, Jesus Christ,' that he looks in the face of sin so steadily, daring to scrutinize, dissect, report minutely. And all this without that curious appetite for psychology, which infects some spiritual entomologists with so earthly a taint, even when their hand is laid on a holy subject. Dr. Pusey is forearmed by the preventive sense of the objectivity of religion. His is an objective Christianity ; and be it judgment, punishment, sin, repentance, forgiveness, or anything else, he starts from a dogmatic basis, and works round a dogmatic centre. People fondly warn us of being morbid, deprecate medicine, prefer food, counsel manliness, and caution us against scrupulousness and effeminacy. But if those, who forewarn, would forearm us with the teaching of objective truth, there would be less need of their monitions. With Dr. Pusey all that may be said of his prophetic teaching of the Divine judgment is true of the Divine love. None, who thinks less often and less profoundly of the Judge, can safely speak of God's love as richly as he ; and the spring of all his fear and all his love is the *fact* of God and of Jesus Christ.

'O my Jesus, how long shall it be that men shall love Thee less because Thou deservest so infinitely to be loved ; that Thy love shall

not be believed, because its greatness is so inconceivable? Oh, if we could, but for one moment, see with S. Stephen heaven opened, what should we behold, adored by Cherubim and Seraphim, the Joy of all the heavenly intelligences, the Mystery above all mysteries, on which they ever gaze, in which they behold the Divine love more and more unfolded to them, as they long to look into it—what but that Sacred Form of Jesus, irradiating heaven with the glory of the indwelling Godhead? . . . Oh, why is earth so different from heaven? Why have we disputing, instead of adoring; questioning, instead of thanksgiving; coldness, instead of the fire of love? It is because men live so much in the things of time and sense, and think so little of Him who never forgetteth us. Oh, *sursum corda! sursum corda!* One earnest, steadfast, piercing, longing, loving gaze into heaven will reveal to thee more than all this world's disputings; nay, than any argument; for "flesh and blood will not reveal" it unto thee, but "thy Father which is in heaven." Blessed will it be beyond all bliss, blessedness above all created joy, for it is the fruit of the infinite love of Jesus, the foretaste of the eternal joy of thy Lord, when with God-given faith thou canst say, I love Thee, O only salvation of my soul; for Thou hast redeemed me by Thy Blood, my Lord and my God. Thou, me!

We have referred above to the impression made on some minds outside Dr. Pusey's circle as to the unhealthy tone of his influence on those within that circle. What was in our minds was not so much the practical result of his 'direction' as the effect of his adapted books of devotion. We live very fast, and many who honestly value Dr. Pusey's work had probably forgotten, until they read Bishop Wilberforce's Life, that a series of such books had ever created a suspicion, or had ever seen the light; while others needed not the stimulant of a controversial biography to revive their interest in the fact, that Dr. Pusey deliberately thought the publication of such books conducive to the healthy condition of Christian men and women in the English Church. If it be not contemptuous to say so, the question has settled itself—'solvitur ambulando.' The books have gone the way which books that people get tired of do go. Men, who refuse to give up their liberty at the dictation of 'phobists' of any denomination, will still continue to use the *Paradisus Animæ Christianæ*, such parts as they approve, and think five-sevenths of the book as admirably Evangelical as any book of prayers they know; and probably, if they have taste, they will prefer the original Latin to a poor translation. It is also more than likely that such a book as the *Spiritual Combat*, on which S. Francis de Sales relied, will always retain its hold on Catholic minds. But the question in the main is this: Did Dr. Pusey's series

of adapted books suit the genius of the English Church, and tend to create that tone which the preface to the *Christian Year* asserts to be its characteristic? Bishop Wilberforce, who had special reasons for being sensitive on the point, put his finger on the 'Romanizing tendencies' of these publications. He professed to object to them on theological grounds; and his letters, kindly as they are, bristle with irritating suspicions that the Canon of Christ Church is sailing too near the wind. Dr. Pusey took the most tangible ground of defence he could, and challenged the Bishop to bring his attack to a point, and prove his unorthodoxy. It was bad policy of the Bishop to lend this advantage to his adversary, and to assail a theology which was defensible. Had he omitted the question of doctrine, and insisted on the un-English, heated, exaggerated tone of the books, and made it more a matter of climate and temperature than of creed, indicating that in England the style was an exotic, while in Italy and Spain it was a kindly fruit of the earth, he would have appealed to the common sense and taste of people who disliked Avrillon and liked Bishop Wilson, who thought Faber morbid and Keble healthy. But when he says 'My call is to action,' and struck almost before he spoke, and restrained a man of Dr. Pusey's incomparable character and position from all public ministrations in the Diocese of Oxford, 'except at Pusey in Berks, if he should be there, believing that there his ministry would be innocent,' the case became a painful one; and the lapse of thirty years has not taken away the sting. Dr. Pusey's defence against the reiterated charge of misdirection is conclusive. Unless the fact of A. B. having been the last person seen in the company of C. D., before the latter takes himself off to commit a felony, is presumptive evidence of the former's implication in the crime, the fact of a lady or young gentleman having been seen coming out of a house in the south-west corner of 'Tom Quad,' and then some time after being advertised in the *Tablet* as a convert, does not give colourable proof that the master of that house directed those persons towards Rome. Then, as to the books, while the editor puts on paper a very good defence, as may be seen in twenty pages of his letter to Bishop Blomfield in 1851, it may be frankly contended that with Bishop Wilberforce's English temperament, and inaccurate and not profound theology, and personal as well as official aptitude for 'action,' they were not at all likely to suit: '*Pelidæ stomachum cedere nescii*;' and that in the main his indisposition towards them was right. Yet, again, on a calm

review of that controversy after more than thirty years, when both those valuable lives have passed, leaving each in its own line a track of light behind, can we escape the conviction that it was an *impar congressus*? This episode in the great epic is an illustration of the undeniable truth which history will affirm, and which even at this day may be told without passion and heard without wounded pride: that trouble of necessity there must be, and confusion, and pain, where those in authority have to form a judgment on the wisdom of men who are their superiors in knowledge, and to take action against men who are their superiors in character. Decorum and courtesy may recommend a postponement of criticism for a while, but the natural herb will vindicate its right to grow at will round the graves of the titled and untitled dead; and when the reviewer of recent events has given way to the historian, the history of the Oxford movement will cast full light upon the relations of English Bishops to the English Church; and the poet, who knows nothing of the semblances of official life, will fix the character of the man, be he prelate or priest. Comparing man for man, as even now we have the opportunity of comparison, we can only marvel at the patience and submissiveness of Dr. Pusey and his comrades, and the sweetness with which he ventured to suggest that there was a nobler career for rulers who had mind and heart to take it than prohibitions, and that the Church of England might profit by experience of the past:—

‘A more generous course,’ he writes in 1839 to Bishop Bagot, and repeats the same in 1851 to Bishop Blomfield, ‘a more generous course, which would have interposed when necessary the *guidance*¹ of authority, and *led* but not inhibited, might have made Wesley and Whitfield useful members of the Church, instead of leaving them to plunge thousands into schism, and to train off into a delusive doctrine many of the best members of our Church.’

We are aware that a very different view of the functions of a Bishop is taken by many who have just claims on our attention. Lord Houghton has his view, which is almost out of date; but from quite another quarter comes this eulogy on the Bishops, that ‘the moderation of the episcopal bench has for the present averted any such calamity’ as ‘an ever-widening gulf between the clergy and the laity.’ It is ‘moderation,’ then, which is the signature of a man’s fitness to be a ruler of the Church! If by this term be meant an assemblage of those qualities which enable a man to be a

¹ The Italics are ours.

moderator—competent knowledge of the subject under discussion, intelligence to understand what is said, mental precision to appreciate the points, a noble love of the highest truth, absolute justice, and temper sure to commend itself to the best-tempered and equal to command the worst-tempered man in the crowd—then moderation is a just criterion of ruling power. The early Charges of Bishop Thirlwall have a great deal of this power, and only want a deeper knowledge of the truth, more original study and less ‘getting up’ the subject, more experimental and less critical acquaintance with the doctrine, to make them valuable commentaries on the history of thought in the English Church forty years ago. Bishop Phillpotts was not distinguished for moderation, being intemperate and with too much of the heat of a partisan; but he had wonderful ability in thinking through a subject, and his power of statement and expression in theological writing proves that he was a theologian thrown away. Besides these two distinguished prelates there was no one on the same bench before whom the Oxford theologians could get a competent hearing.

The paper in *Macmillan's Magazine* of October, in which the late Archbishop of Canterbury commends the ‘moderation’ of his brethren, suggests many lines of inquiry which pass straight into the central interests of Dr. Pusey's life. For instance, in kindly and dispassionate tones, as if he spoke only of what he saw in the dry light of cold reason, the Archbishop makes Dr. Pusey and his friends responsible for the present scepticism and secularity of the University of Oxford; for deterring from holy orders students of an independent, manly type ‘by the somewhat eccentric, over-priestly guise in which the Oxford theology of to-day has enveloped not a few of its votaries;’ and for a lamentable failure to influence the life of the English people in the direction of Christianity compared with the far greater achievements of Dr. Arnold, though his activity lasted so short a time and closed in 1842. This is a severe indictment, and worth examining.

Mr. Newman himself foretold that the prohibition, by authority, of the Catholic revival would induce a flood of Liberalism in Oxford; and minds of inferior sagacity to his might have foreseen as much. Dr. Pusey's investigation of the rationalistic character of the theology of Germany proved that he was not living in a fool's paradise unaware of the presence of the foe without. There was ‘in the air’ an explosive element of thought which had shattered the traditions of many generations of Englishmen; and after the revolution

of domestic politics which began in 1828, 1829, and 1832, it was absolutely certain that the spirit of free inquiry would challenge other assumptions and privileges. A people who had begun to assert the sovereignty, not of prescription, but of principle, were not likely to be more scrupulous in handling the Church of Lord Eldon than his State. If there were nothing more to show for the Church than the privileges of the Establishment, the best blood of English manhood was not likely to rise to its defence. But the Oxford men set themselves to explain to the mind of England what else there was to show for it; and so well has their work been done that men nowadays know what the Church is, and that it is worth living in and dying for; and those who long to preserve the Establishment know what is in the earthly vessel; and those who care less for it are not afraid of disestablishment, because they know that the heavenly treasure still remains. The best intellect and highest character in Oxford responded generously to the sublime attractions set before them; and if, as the highest authority vouches for the fact, 'the men who go forth yearly from our universities to be the curates of the English Church are at least as well equipped for their holy and difficult work' as they were forty years ago, the devotion of such men is a symptom of the impulse of the Catholic revival and the force of the Oxford school. The highest characters which enter the ministry of the English Church to-day would not be attracted by anything less than the divine supernatural aspect of the life. They aspire to a level above world-bettering, to a devotion above mediocrity, to a society above a rank of privileged persons to whom the rule of subdividing labour has happened to assign the beneficent, or literary, or militant duties of the kingdom of Christ. They believe that a divine body lives on the earth now, and that the work for which they offer themselves is needful to the perfect life of that body. This is the attraction which now, as before, touches the nobler spirits; and no one of fair candour will deny that the magnet has been held in no stronger hands before the hearts of this generation than by Dr. Pusey and his colleagues.

Was it an imposture? Was it the glamour and witchery of one magical genius? If it was, something might be said of his responsibility for the dissolving view. If it were a theory or excitement, or game or sentiment, created for a purpose, if there were no idea in it which could satisfy the reasonable mind, or if exaggeration were designedly employed to heighten the fascination of the novelty produced, then the authors might

be justly charged with criminous recklessness and stupid indifference to the results of a reaction. But the work of the Oxford School was nothing of the sort. Bishop Thirlwall in 1842 speaks of the controversial writing to which it gave birth, 'as a precious addition to our theological literature, such as might perhaps suffer little by comparison with all that it had received in the course of a century before.' He denies that the doctrine was 'a novelty:' 'at the bottom it is nothing more than a revival.' 'It is not only an indisputable fact that such an opposition or divergency always has existed within the Church, but it seems likewise to be a necessary result of her constitution and character.' 'We are led by the language both of its friends and its adversaries to consider it as a reaction, an attempt to counteract a religious system which it found existing and gaining ground within the Church.' The Bishop of St David's proceeds to examine the teaching of these writers on certain cardinal points of controversy—justification, tradition, apostolical succession, and reserve in communicating religious knowledge; and vindicates its reasonableness and purity from the intemperate assaults made upon it. Even the language of Tract XC., and that too freely employed against the Reformation, while he submits it to rigorous criticism, he discusses with no hostility or contempt.

If then the Catholic Revival so far commended itself to an independent witness of the judicial power and 'moderation' of Bishop Thirlwall, it needs more than an innuendo in the form of an interrogation to fasten on the great Tractarians responsibility for present unbelief. There may be individual cases where the tension was so aggravated by the excessive pressure of one strong mind on another, that a fracture took place, and the rebound was disastrous. The Archbishop tenderly alludes to Arthur Clough, one of the profoundest and noblest natures that Oxford in its best days ever sheltered. It is a grave and sad fact, known to some of his contemporaries, and resented by not a few, that the strain put upon Clough's finely organized intellect and deep heart by his elder friend William George Ward was shattering and destructive, instead of being, what Ward meant it to be, constructive. It may be so. To some minds Ward was a dangerous master; and when generous and liberal friends of Clough speak under their breath with indignation of the unscrupulous hardihood of the older man, they are to be heard with sympathy. But there is another aspect of the case. Mr. Ward was asked by one who was beginning to observe Clough with interest, whether he was addicted to Newman and his school. 'No,' said Ward

promptly and cheerfully. 'No ; and surely it is better as it is. Considering how lately Clough has come from Dr. Arnold's influence, no one could wish him to plunge into Newman.' The fact is, as regards Ward, that his way of talking and teaching varied with his companion. If he were one with real capacity and a disputant able to hold his own, his force and freedom of speech was prodigious ; he would break through any crust of tradition, revel in revolutionary paradoxes, reason with extraordinary rapidity, and stop with startling abruptness on the brink of a shocking dilemma. Or if a young man were forward and clever enough to assume equality, he would take him at his word and declaim with scant reserve. On the other hand, if he were conversing with an elder and superior, or, as he would report himself, sitting at his feet and listening, he would be receptive not argumentative ; and if he had by his side a pupil who came to learn, he would be the gentlest and most considerate, while he was the most suggestive and original, of teachers. Neither Mr. Newman and his colleagues nor their ablest lieutenants, of whom Mr. Ward was perhaps the most remarkable, can be held responsible for the antecedents of the young men who came to Oxford from the four quarters of the world ; certainly they are not answerable for Dr. Arnold's previous influence on his illustrious pupils. The final impression left on the reader by Archbishop Tait's kindly remarks on Mozley's *Reminiscences* is, that Dr. Arnold is the great apostle of Christianity to the educated laymen of our age, and that if he had not been so hindered by the Tractarians, and his work been so soon cut short by death, Oxford at least, if not England, would be in a healthier and happier condition of belief. Does it ever occur to those who do not fear to identify an antecedent with a cause and a sequel with a consequence, that an inquiry into the histories of Dr. Arnold's famous pupils subsequent to their Oxford days would suggest grave reflections, and result in some startling and sad conclusions ? It may be doubted whether any group of men issuing from one pupil-room has ever exhibited more unsettledness of mind. This is the mildest form in which the fact can be stated. Flagrant cases will occur to any one tolerably conversant with modern lines of thought which would justify far stronger language. The character of Dr. Arnold is the possession of England ; and all men are poorer for the depreciation of the character of our public men ; but when a challenge has been given to say why Dr. Arnold's representation of the Christian life is not the best which this age of Englishmen has seen, the truth must be told at any risk of giving pain. Dr. Arnold by

what he taught, as well as by what he omitted to teach, failed to erect a bulwark against unbelief, and gave his scholars scant support against the divers trials of their faith. Where one man is now leading a life of energetic holiness, who traces up his best endeavours, under God, to Dr. Arnold's teaching, a thousand bless the names of Dr. Pusey and Mr. Newman. This is not a comparison of persons, but of systems; and our contention is, that the system substantially taught by the Tractarians is living on in the work and character of hopeful, happy, and triumphant Christians in hundreds of parish churches and thousands of homes in England, in spite of the malaria of unbelief.

Or, again, let it be allowed that the system and the individual act mutually on one another, and that personal influence is a divine means for propagating the truth; then the names of Pusey, Newman, and Keble will bear any scrutiny. We have heard it asserted by no mean authority that Newman was a great master of 'sentiment,' and that he wasted large intellectual powers on fabricating a theory, which at last crashed like rotten ice as soon as he paused upon it; that his work for God was nothing in comparison with Bishop Blomfield's church-building in Bethnal Green, and with Arnold's teaching which he decried. Our readers will smile at such an estimate of the men. It was rumoured about 1841, that Arnold thought of making Oxford his head-quarters, and with his staff around him doing battle with Newman on his own ground. Ward, who knew them both, said, when the rumour reached him:—

'I know well what the end will be *if* Arnold tries it. He will hit hard and make it known what he means; but will utterly fail to comprehend what Newman means. Newman will put Arnold's views better than he will put them himself, and then demolish them. He will run round him before he knows where he is. You go to Newman with what you think a fresh difficulty and hesitatingly put it before him. You find he has foreseen it and has an answer ready, and you go away with boundless confidence in his capacity to understand you and in his sympathy to feel with you. Arnold has none of this, and would soon find himself nowhere.'

It is difficult to tabulate a great man's work; but it may be said for Newman that single-handed he has done more to advance the power of preaching in the English Church than any score of able men; that he in association with his friends (reserving due and well-merited honour for the 'Evangelical' school which preceded them in this work) raised the character and life of the English clergy to a high level, from

which they will have a commanding influence in the land, though all the accidents of their position be swept away ; that they created Sisterhoods which, more than any form of religious activity, has proved that something beyond the old machinery of the parochial system is wanted in order to evangelize our cities ; that, although the foreign missions of the Church were not an immediate subject in their programme, yet they have indirectly given impulse and intensity to that special form of high devotion, and have been, and are, the least non-natural interpreters and the most straightforward witnesses, in the face of a luxurious, wealthy, and busy generation, to the evangelical commandments of fasting, almsgiving, and prayer.

We have spoken of Dr. Pusey and Mr. Newman together. It is inevitable, a necessity altogether happy, which makes for the honour of humanity, and is of the essence of the brotherhood of noble minds. A reviewer in the *Quarterly* has divided Dr. Pusey into two sections. Another may, by-and-by, divide Cardinal Newman into three or four, as ingenious politicians will bisect Mr. Gladstone ; but happily the man is one. This is the fate of all great men who live and *grow*. It never occurred to Dr. Pusey that his friend was not one, and we venture to say that to Cardinal Newman's clear great intellect and large true heart his ancient friend is, as in Another Sphere he will be, one. Indeed he points to the consistency of Dr. Pusey as one of his characteristics. In the *Apologia* he says of him :—

‘He was a man of large designs ; he had a hopeful, sanguine mind ; he had no fear of others ; he was haunted by no intellectual perplexities. People are apt to say that he was once nearer to the Catholic Church than he is now. I pray God that he may be one day far nearer to the Catholic Church than he was then, for I believe that in his reason and judgment all the time that I knew him he never was near to it at all.’

Again :—

‘If confidence in his position is (as it is) a first essential in the leader of a party, Dr. Pusey had it. The most remarkable instance of this was his statement in one of his subsequent defences of the movement, when too it had advanced a considerable way in the direction of Rome, that among its most hopeful peculiarities was its “stationariness.” He made it in good faith ; it was his subjective view of it.’

Why was he stationary ? Possibly because in him the play of intellect was less agile, his fancy less nimble, his imagination more dull ; and with these—defects, shall they

be called ?—there was a tremendous law of gravitation determining to the conscience. The largest space in his mind was occupied by practical religion ; and when he devoted the rest to study of Holy Scripture and patristic theology, it was as severely consecrated ground as the wide field of his personal duties to man and God. Hence the impression, which the whole man leaves on us, of the sovereignty of conscience. Nothing is further from our thought than an invidious use of a degree of comparison ; but Dr. Pusey is the most *religious* man this generation has seen. He will therefore live in his sermons. His dogmatic teaching will be re-cast by better writers. The scholar and artist will work upon his material and produce it in a finer form. But his sermons defy translation, and the spirit will do more for the immortality of the letter than art. May the 'Life,' for which the Church is already longing, worthily illustrate by external evidence what by internal evidence we already know through the sermons—the nature of the man ! This religiousness of Dr. Pusey, and ascendancy of conscience over intellect till it overshadowed it, may be the reason why he was less attractive to men of a certain temperament than Newman, or Keble, or Hurrell Froude. There is no evidence that Ward, for instance, occupied his thoughts very much with Dr. Pusey's share of the work. He did not interest an intellect like Ward's. So also his friends were recently affronted, in their jealous gratitude, by the position assigned to him by Mr. Mozley in his *Reminiscences*. The cause is not far to seek. Mr. Mozley was attracted to the Movement, not first by spiritual affinities, but by the fact—which his plain, robust, clever understanding promptly recognized—that the Oxford Revival was simply the best thing in the age, and most worth the study of a reasonable and serious mind. And in this temper, to which his personal attachment to Newman gave a moderate enthusiasm, he threw in his lot with the Tractarians. This we believe to be a rational and equitable account of the matter, which the author himself would, without offence, accept.

The same characteristic of Dr. Pusey gives the key for the interpretation of his action at that crisis of his life when, as Dr. Liddon lately said, he held the fortunes of the Church of England in his hand. Let others account for his 'stationariness' at that moment as they may ; let them impute obtuseness to his intellect so that he could not see a conclusion nor could be convinced. We do not allow this, but are not offended. It was not prejudice, nor stubbornness, much less the despicable intention to be, materially at least, consistent,

that kept him here, while others went away ; but obedience to God, as he had ever lived by it, was now the supreme and absorbing thought in his mind. He might have been the unlettered man in the Gospel, who knew one fact and that was enough. Logicians were around him, proving to him incontestably that he could not believe this, and must believe that ; but, like the simple religious man that he was, he retired on the one fact—'one thing I know.' A more massive mind and a more acute reasoner, James Mozley, who, by reason of the difference of age, stood at another angle, received a shock from the action of his leader in 1845 from which he never recovered—at least, so far as to regain his original position ; but the equal, whose feet were on the same platform, felt every vibration when the balance was disturbed, and yet preserved his equilibrium, and in that pathetic hour was heard to say with unbroken voice in his natural tone of honourable sympathy, 'Newman was like a sharp sword eating its way out of its scabbard. His sensitive nature could no longer bear the evil that was around him.' In the same temper he lived on for nearly thirty years, abating nothing of his laborious industry, detracting nothing from his ancient sympathies, the most religious teacher of his age ; and if he was rich in hope, it was because he had the accumulated wealth of a life of prayer. For

'prayer is possession. Faithful prayer is sure possession of all that the redeemed will of man can desire from the will of God into the unity and harmony of which it is redeemed by Christ. The man who is full of prayer is full of power. I would rather have the gift of a brother's faithful prayers than of his plentiful substance. And I feel that when I have given to a brother my faithful prayers, I have given him my best and greatest gift.'¹

ART. VII.—MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER UNLAWFUL.

The Relationships which bar Marriages considered Scripturally, Socially, and Historically. (Edinburgh, 1871.)

Opinions of the Hebrew and Greek Professors of the European Universities on the Scriptural Aspect of the Question regarding the Legalization of Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister. (London, 1882.)

¹ Irving's *Sermons*.

Deceased Wife's Sister Bill—a Village Talk. By THOMAS VINCENT, M.A., Rector of Pusey. (London, 1882.)

On Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister. By the Bishop (WORDSWORTH) of Lincoln. (London, 1876.)

Charge Delivered by the Bishop of Lincoln at his Triennial Visitation, 1882.

Speech of the Bishop (TEMPLE) of Exeter at his Diocesan Conference on the Subject of Marriage with Deceased Wife's Sister, 1882.

Reasons for Legalizing Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister. By LORD DENMAN. (London, 1880.)

WHEN our Blessed Lord was upon earth He entirely disclaimed all political functions, all legislative functions, and all judicial or magisterial functions, which bore on them the impress of a limited or national character. As His Father's Minister, indeed, He held a commission having reference 'to the lost sheep of the house of Israel' and to no others. But, so far as Royalty went, His kingdom was 'not of this world,' and it formed no part of His duty to deliver the nation of Israel from subjection to Rome. It belonged not to Him as a legislator to lay down any rules about Jewish rights of inheritance or the intricacies of Hebrew property law. It was not for Him as a judge to apply the law of Moses, even in one of its clearest enactments, to the condemnation of a convicted adulteress. These matters lay outside of His province. Yet all the while He was and professed to be a King¹: a King bearing witness to, and having witness borne to Him by, eternal truth; a King claiming (what no earthly ruler can claim) lordship over the inner hearts and consciences of men. He was a lawgiver, imposing on the world, 'as one that had authority and not as the Scribes,' such statutes as they of old time had not imagined, and as the world in its rolling ages since has but very slowly learned to practise, or even to admire. In His hands judgment is placed; yea, the Father hath committed *all* judgment throughout the whole created universe unto the Son. The Lord Jesus, then, is universal King, universal Lawgiver, and universal Judge. He is not, He never would consent to be, a national king, a national lawgiver, or a national judge.

It would seem to follow from the above considerations that any subject, on which the law has been laid down by

¹ See Dr. Westcott, in the *Speaker's Commentary*, on S. John xviii. 37: 'Truth, absolute reality, is the realm of Christ.'

Christ or His Apostles, is lifted thereby (to the extent to which law has been so laid down) out of the sphere of merely national obedience, binding on this or that country, into the higher position of moral and universal duty to which all persons, and all states, and all societies, are bound implicitly to submit.

Now, this was distinctly the case with Holy Matrimony : an institution founded in its purest form by God Himself in Eden, but corrupted, and subjected to various irregularities at which law had connived, as time went on. Our Lord re-enacted the original law in all its fulness. Putting aside altogether such relaxations as had been condoned on account of the hardness of Jewish hearts in the matters of polygamy and divorce, He went back to the beginning when 'God made them male and female and said,' 'For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother and shall cleave to his wife, and the twain (*Revised Version*) shall become one flesh. So that they are no more twain, but one flesh. What, therefore, God hath joined together, let not man put asunder.'

It is remarkable that in this re-enactment of the law our Saviour inserts the word *twain*, which is found in the Septuagint and the Samaritan Pentateuch, but which had either never found a place in, or had been suffered to drop out from, the Hebrew text; and the word is one of distinct emphasis as implying a prohibition of polygamy. This teaching of Jesus Christ is repeated by S. Paul in his Epistle to the Ephesians (v. 31), and is further illustrated by reference to the close union subsisting between Christ Himself and the Church, and by the statement, 'This is a great mystery.' What is the great mystery? What else but the intense oneness of those united in the marriage state? 'For in heathen, and to some extent in Jewish, thought, marriage was a contract far less sacred than the indissoluble tie of blood; and wherever Christian principle is renounced or obscured, that ancient idea recurs in modern times.'¹ Then it is also worthy of note that, whereas with respect to some subjects, such as the Sabbath and the ceremonial directions of Moses, the method of the New Testament is to intensify the spirit of the old law in the very act of relaxing, or even abrogating its letter, with holy matrimony the case is different. The letter in this case has special stress laid upon it. Two cases of incest are brought before us: the one the sin of Herod Antipas, the other that of the man who was guilty of 'such

¹ Bishop Ellicott's *New Testament Commentary for English Readers*, Dr. Barry *in loco*.

fornication as is not named among the Gentiles, that one should have his father's wife ;' and the guilt in both these cases is made to rest on relationship contracted by previous marriage, and on that alone. Arguments may be adduced, we know, in each of these instances to show that the former partner was living or was not living ; and if the former were true, it has been said that there was sufficient matter for blame in the fact of the adultery. With that we are not careful to deal. Whether adultery were imputable or not in either case or in both, it is certain that in neither does the sacred writer draw attention to the adultery, but in both to the marriage relationship which made the subsequent unions *incestuous*.

Remembering now that in the story of the incestuous Corinthian the word used to describe his sin is the generic term *πορνεία*, let us turn to the Acts of the Apostles (xv. 20), and observe that precisely the same word is used to describe one of the things forbidden in the decree made by the Council of Jerusalem. The meaning of the word in that place is open to much discussion. Thus much, however, is certain, that the things condemned by the Council were from the nature of the case not such as were openly and manifestly unlawful, like fornication in its ordinary meaning, but things as to which Gentile converts might reasonably entertain a doubt. Among these might naturally be included marriage within such degrees of relationship as had been permitted by the old Roman law, but were forbidden in the code which Christians felt bound to accept. Now, it is plain matter of fact that all kinds of incest forbidden, directly or by implication, in the Old Testament, were forbidden also by the heathen law of Rome, with certain rare exceptions.¹ Those exceptions were marriage with the deceased brother's wife, marriage with the deceased wife's sister (which we will for the moment only assume to be forbidden in the Old Testament), and marriage with the niece. To this last, moreover, public attention had very recently been drawn by the senatorial decree which permitted the marriage of the Emperor Claudius with his niece Agrippina. For until that decree was passed the Roman law had, in respect of this particular union, agreed with the Jewish law ; and we know that public feeling at Rome had been severely shocked by the newly legalized licence.

When, then, we consider the use of this term *πορνεία*,

¹ Pusey's *God's Prohibition of the Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister*, pp. 18, 19.

applied alike to one prohibition of the Council and to the Corinthian's sin, and also the historical fact above described, bringing the subject of prohibited degrees to the fore, considerable probability seems to attach to the suggestion that one object aimed at in the Apostolic decree was the assimilation of Gentile practice on this particular subject to the law observed by Jewish Christians.

Indeed, what we have modestly described as a possible interpretation has been strongly urged and insisted on by Dr. McCaul,¹ perhaps the ablest of all the advocates for the relaxation of the law which forbids marriage with the sister of a deceased wife. He urges very forcibly that the four requirements of the Apostolic Council are four things required by Moses *of the Gentiles*. (For meats offered to idols, see Lev. xvii. 8, 9; for blood, xvii. 10-13; for things strangled, xvii. 15; for *πορνεία*, in the sense here suggested, xviii. 26.)

We confess that we are not ourselves disposed to press the matter so far. What we would lay stress on is simply this: that of the four requirements one and only one is essentially moral in its nature—viz. the abstinence from *πορνεία*; that this accordingly has been rightly regarded as of perpetual obligation on all Christians; and that, if it be, we will not say certain, but fairly conceivable, that this word has reference to marriage within prohibited degrees, to that extent the New Testament suggests a reference on this subject to an older law.

A solid reason beyond all question exists for the restrictions placed on human passion and caprice being more stringently insisted on under the new dispensation than had been the case before. Christ came as the great Preacher of a religion and Founder of a Church wherein was neither male nor female. The Gospel teaches the equality of the sexes, and declares that the subordination of the woman is only the subjection of perfect equality, a relationship of order, not an inferiority of position. Coincident with such teaching must necessarily be a total change in the social relations of the sexes and the freedom of intercourse between them. That freedom would bring with it new temptations, and might entail, if not carefully watched, new sins and new family troubles. It was reasonable, therefore, and a thing to be expected, that under such circumstances the great principle of marriage law should be restated, and the consequences

¹ Letter to Rev. W. H. Lyall, pp. 3, 4.

which flowed from it should be reconsidered and declared anew.

We have arrived, then, at this point in our argument: that any legislation inaugurated or confirmed in express terms by our Lord during His earthly ministry acquires thereby a moral and universal character, as distinguished from all ritual, ceremonial, or civil precepts which bore a transitory or national, and therefore limited, character; that our Lord did legislate very emphatically on the subject of marriage, reasserting the ancient but forgotten principle that a man and his wife are one flesh; that in the New Testament certain sins are denounced as incestuous, because they come under a ban which owes its entire existence to considerations of affinity or relationship by marriage; and that certain etymological and historical considerations suggest a probability that the *πορνεῖα* forbidden by the Council of Jerusalem might be the practice of marrying within degrees which were not prohibited under the Roman law, but which were prohibited under the law henceforth to be observed by Christians. What, then, was this law, and where is it to be found?

First, can such law be found in what has sometimes been called the *horror naturalis* which all nations are supposed to feel instinctively about certain abominable unions? We need not go so far as to dispute the existence of this *horror naturalis*; for the nations of Canaan had probably in fact, before the enactment of the Mosaic code, no other marriage law; and it is distinctly imputed as sin to them that they had defiled themselves by such unions as the Israelites were warned to avoid. But it is certainly very doubtful how far the mere instinct is to be trusted: it is probably a very variable feeling, depending much on education and preconceived ideas; and it was certainly in practice very grossly violated, not only by profane individuals, but by whole nations. The Egyptians allowed marriage with a full sister. The Medes and Persians were in the habit of marrying their mothers.¹ The Greeks and Romans, it is true, were stricter in these matters, though grave legislators like Solon and Lycurgus permitted marriage with half-sisters, the former with the father's daughter, the latter with the mother's.

Secondly, can we read a Christian law in some other kind of human instinct, such as that of reverence for elders in certain relationships, or in a consideration of the reasons for which Almighty God was pleased to implant in us any such

¹ See note on Lev. xviii. in *Speaker's Commentary*.

instincts? The reformer William Tyndale makes prohibition to depend on natural reverence. He seriously argues that it would be abomination for a man to marry his aunt,¹ because her state of conjugal subjection would conflict with the reverence which her husband owes to her as the sister of his father or his mother; but that there is no such objection to an uncle marrying his niece, because in this case conjugal authority and avuncular dignity, being both found in the same person, would only intensify, and not neutralize, one another. The same writer, taking upon himself to criticize the reason of God's law, decides that marriage between full brother and sister, though undesirable on other grounds, is less offensive than marriage between nephew and aunt; and so far as a half-sister is concerned, he says:—

‘If greater peace and unity might be made with keeping her at home, I durst dispense with the law: as, if the king of England had a son by one wife, heir to England, and a daughter by another, heir to Wales, then, because of the great war that was ever wont to be between those countries, I would not fear to marry them together, for the making of a perpetual unity, and to make both countries one, for to avoid so great an effusion of blood.’

Surely the bare statement of these cases is sufficient to assure us that the Christian law of prohibited degrees ought to rest on some safer principle. Let us look for it.

At this point it seems not unnatural to ask whether it be conceivable, considering how intimately the relationship of the sexes to each other enters into the very web and fabric of all morality, that Almighty God should not have delivered very plain precepts on the subject. Such precepts we have, if we regard the Jewish code as of universal obligation: otherwise they are lacking altogether. Now, even if we were to give up the code of marriage law contained in the earlier verses of Lev. xviii. as a code binding on all nations; if we were to hold, as the Church of Rome does, that a power alike of adding to these prohibitions, and of dispensing with their observance, has been accorded to the Church; the fact would still remain that the Jewish code must be regarded as a highly authoritative inspired commentary on the Saviour's one eternal marriage law: that law, to wit, which was promulgated in Eden and re-enacted under the new dispensation—‘The twain shall become one flesh;’ and even so we should be driven to a very careful consideration of the code and of the principles which underlie it. But the case for that code's obligation

¹ *Expositions of Scripture*, published by Parker Society, p. 331.

is far stronger than this. The Bishop of Lincoln has pointed out in his recent Charge what has often been stated before (for, indeed, it is impossible to urge anything new on this subject), that the eighteenth chapter of the Book of Leviticus, from which our Table of forbidden degrees is 'derived— (either by express transcription or by logical inference)—is *no part of the Levitical Law as such*, but is a Marriage Code promulgated to *all nations* by God Himself, who exterminated the Canaanites (who knew nothing of the Levitical law) for violating that code.' How the nations of Canaan could know God's law before it had been promulgated in the form delivered to Israel, is a question on which we need not speculate. As we have hinted above, it was probably written only in their hearts; and such writing, we feel and assert, would be an insufficient guide to Christians now. But there is no irreverence in supposing that God, who assigns to everyone his proper proportion of revealed truth, may have made His voice in natural religion sound more clearly to those who had no other means of knowing, than He does to those who bask in the clearer light of a written revelation. However this may be, it is certain that Gentiles were held responsible for having broken these laws, and were punished accordingly. The laws must, therefore, on this ground, if on no other, be deemed laws of universal obligation.

When we come to interpret, it is important to insist on certain canons of interpretation. Such are these:

1. Interpret the code as a whole, regarding it as the exposition of a clear principle, allowing of no exceptions unless these are absolutely required by the plain grammatical meaning of its terms.

2. Admit the principle that not all prohibited degrees are stated, but that many are left to be inferred by parity of reasoning from those which do find expression in words.

3. Do not extend the principle of interpretation so as to make it involve prohibitions of a kind to which there is no parallel in the expressed precepts.

The first of these canons, requiring that the code should be taken as a whole, is surely to be held very fast. It is really extraordinary to observe how those who clamour for a relaxation of the law, throw on its supporters the onus of resting their whole case on a single text; that, moreover, being a text which the supporters themselves, so far as we are aware, never, or scarcely ever, adduce in this connexion. Let us explain our meaning a little more fully. The Earl of Dalhousie has taken great pains to elicit an expression of opinion from

the Hebrew and Greek professors of the European Universities on the Scriptural aspect of the question regarding the Legalization of Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister. We might demur to the ingeniously narrow method of stating the case submitted to these learned authorities. The Hebrew professors are requested to limit their inquiry to the Mosaic writings, while their colleagues of the Greek professoriate are absolutely confined to one single text, *viz.* 'They two shall be one flesh' (Eph. v. 31), and are debarred by the form of question referred to them from taking into consideration any other passages found even within the limits of the New Testament. We should ourselves moreover have preferred the opinions of theologians to those of philologists on such a subject; but still we admit that a certain weight properly attaches to such evidence as his lordship has in fact elicited. When we come to examine the evidence we find that in the great mass of the replies no weight whatever is laid on the general drift of Lev. xviii.; but nearly all the arguments are made to hinge on verse 18, which is a difficult passage susceptible of many interpretations, and which, if interpreted in the way most favourable to the desired licence, would be no more than an exceptional inference deduced from a special prohibition. The words are, 'Neither shalt thou take a wife to her sister to vex her, to uncover her nakedness, beside the other in her lifetime.' Of this passage Professor Matthes, D.D., of Amsterdam, says it is the *locus classicus* on the subject. Professor Dillman of Berlin declares that 'The only passage in which the Mosaic law expresses itself on this subject is to be found in Leviticus xviii. 18.' Professor Isidor von Onciuls of Czernovitz says, '*The* passage referring to this subject (the italics are ours) occurs in Lev. xviii. 18,' as though there were no other. Professor König of Freiburg in Breisgau, Professor Segond of Geneva, Professor Merx of Heidelberg, with many others, speak in exactly the same way. Repeatedly the statement is made that Lev. xviii. 18 is the *only* passage bearing on the subject. In opposition to the conclusion of these learned men, there stands another bearing the honoured signature, 'E. B. Pusey;' and curiously enough the signatory in this case makes no allusion whatever to the particular verse on which so many declare the entire case to rest. He very properly takes, as we insist on taking, the Mosaic code as a whole, and refuses by emphatic silence to be drawn away from this consideration by one text of very doubtful meaning.

The second of our canons requires that logical inference

from the prohibitions stated must be admitted as justifying certain other, but exactly parallel, prohibitions which are not stated. Thus, if a man may not marry his aunt, it is matter of fair inference that a woman may not marry her uncle; if a man may not marry his granddaughter, a woman may not marry her grandson, and the like. It has been urged by some writers in opposition to this that we are not justified in such inferences because, though a woman does become by marriage a member of her husband's family, taking its name and entering into it so as to be thoroughly incorporated therewith, a man does not so become a member of his wife's family. Whatever weight such an argument might have had in Jewish days, it can have none now that Christ has equalized the sexes. We would submit, however, that it never had weight at all. The stated list of prohibitions expressly speaks of a man as being related to his wife's mother, his wife's daughter, and his wife's granddaughter, and as being forbidden for that very reason to marry any of them. If the principle of the twain becoming one flesh brings him into relationship with any of his wife's kindred, it brings him into relationship with all. Moreover, if logical inference be forbidden, it is plain that some of the very grossest unions conceivable would be left open to the depraved conscience; for there is no direct prohibition to restrain a man from marrying his grandmother, or even his own daughter, if the latter be not, as it is conceivable she might not be, the daughter of his wife.

Our third canon guards us from a false interpretation which some would try to force upon us, in saying that if a man becomes a member of his wife's family and a woman of her husband's, the two families themselves must become actually one, and so no other marriages between any members of them could be allowable at all. Thus two brothers could not marry two sisters, and a father and son could not marry mother and daughter. The reasonable reply to this suggestion is, that a man by marriage fetters his own liberty, but cannot fetter the liberty of others. The Scriptural reply is that in all the cases given of nearness of kin, there is not one example of this suggested relationship, so that no argument in its favour can be drawn from analogy or parity of reasoning.

Having laid down our canons of interpretation, we would now proceed to interpret. The eighteenth chapter of Leviticus begins with a solemn appeal to the relation in which the Israelites stood to Almighty God, carrying with it an implica-

tion that what had been forbidden by the law of nature to Egyptians and Canaanites must be treated as doubly unlawful to them as the redeemed of Egypt, and the destined possessors by Divine right of Canaan.

‘And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, I am the Lord your God. After the doings of the land of Egypt, wherein ye dwelt, shall ye not do : and after the doings of the land of Canaan, whither I bring you, shall ye not do : neither shall ye walk in their ordinances. Ye shall do My judgments, and keep Mine ordinances, to walk therein : I am the Lord your God. Ye shall therefore keep My statutes and My judgments ; which if a man do, he shall live in them : I am the Lord’ (Lev. xviii. 1-6).

Then at the close of the chapter comes a very strong statement showing that neglect of and disobedience to the intervening ordinances by Gentile nations was regarded by Almighty God with the deepest abhorrence.

‘Defile not ye yourselves in any of these things ; for in all these the nations are defiled which I cast out before you, and the land is defiled ; therefore I do visit the iniquity thereof upon it, and the land itself vomiteth out her inhabitants. Ye shall therefore keep My statutes and My judgments, and shall not commit any of these abominations : neither any of your own nation, *nor any stranger that sojourneth among you* (for all these abominations have the men of the land done, which were before you, and the land is defiled) : that the land spue not you out also, when ye defile it, *as it spued out the nations that were before you*. For whosoever shall commit any of these abominations, even the souls that commit them shall be cut off from among their people. Therefore shall ye keep Mine ordinance, that ye commit not any one of these abominable customs, which were committed before you, and that ye defile not yourselves therein : I am the Lord your God’ (verse 24 *ad fin.*).

We have set these passages out at length, because of their overwhelming importance to our argument. They show, in the first place, the intensely moral character of the ordinances referred to ; and secondly, their specific and positive, as distinguished from their merely general, application to the whole of the Gentile world. Moreover, in this chapter the ordinances are placed on purely spiritual ground—viz. the absolute prohibition of Almighty God. Many of them are repeated over again in the twentieth chapter, with an enumeration of the sanctions or special penalties attached to the breach of them.

Now let us look carefully at the list of statutes thus solemnly fenced. It will be observed that they all refer to sins of the flesh, with one single exception, viz. the offering of

human sacrifices to Molech; and this very exception proves the rule, seeing that idolatry is constantly spoken of as spiritual harlotry or fornication. (See Lev. xvii. 7; Hos. ii. 2, 19, 20; iii. 1.) The abominations denounced are seven in number:—1, Unlawful marriage. 2, Polygamy. 3, Improper use of marriage. 4, Adultery. 5, Human sacrifice. 6, Sodomy. 7, Bestiality. Of these horrors we are in this place happily concerned only with one directly, and indirectly perhaps with one other. But it is right for us to have the entire list present to our minds, in order that we may understand with what unspeakable abominations Almighty God classes marriage within degrees prohibited by Him.

And what are the prohibitions? Those actually enumerated in the admirably drawn scheme of Mr. Vincent's *Village Talk* are fifteen in number, nine of which are mentioned twice, viz. here and in the twentieth chapter, while one (the father's daughter) is named as many as three times. Parity of reasoning—*i.e.* arguing from one sex to the other—exactly doubles the fifteen, making it thirty, as in our authorized 'Table of Kindred and Affinity,' and a like number of relations is of course forbidden to the woman. All the prohibitions, however, may be taken as included in the well-known list of twelve contained in the memorial lines which we copy from Poole's *Synopsis (in loco)*:—

'Nata, soror, neptis, matertera, fratris et uxor,
Et patruī conjunx, mater, privigna, noverca,
Uxorisque soror, privigni nata, nurusque,
Atque soror patris, conjungi lege yetantur.'

All these are given, we must observe, as illustrations of the general law stated in the sixth verse: 'None of you shall approach to any that is near of kin to him, to uncover their nakedness: I am the Lord.' Moreover, the slightest consideration shows us that they are only illustrations, and are not intended to form an exhaustive list.

'God by Moses,' says Bishop Hall (*Works*, folio 1662, p. 867), 'expressly forbade the uncovering of the nakedness of father and mother, He expressed not the nakedness of son and daughter: He expressly names the nakedness of the father's wife, He expresseth not the nakedness of the mother's husband: He expressly names the nakedness of thy sister, He expresseth not the nakedness of thy brother: He expresseth the nakedness of thy son's daughter, He expresseth not the nakedness of thy daughter's son: He expresseth the nakedness of thy father's wife's daughter, He expresseth not the mother's husband's son: He expresseth the father's sister, not the mother's brother: He expresseth the daughter-in-law, not the son-in-

law. So as by this rule, if it should be carried only by mere verbal expressions, a woman might marry her son-in-law : the nephew might marry his great-aunt : the niece her great-uncle : the daughter might marry her mother's husband's son : the grandmother might marry her daughter's son : the daughter might marry with her mother's husband. Were these things to be allowed the world would be all Sodom. These things, therefore, are of necessity included in the law by a clear analogy, no less than if they had been expressed.¹

We have ventured to quote in this place what is in fact but an illustration of our second canon of interpretation, because the quotation helps us to draw out a clear principle from the enumerated list of prohibitions. The principle is this : that a man must not marry any sort of mother, any sort of aunt, any sort of sister, or any sort of daughter ; and, in like manner, that a woman must not marry any sort of father, any sort of uncle, any sort of brother, or any sort of son. The word mother will include grandmother, mother-in-law, and step-mother. The word aunt will include father's sister, mother's sister, father's brother's wife, and mother's brother's wife. The word sister will include father's daughter, mother's daughter, brother's wife, and wife's sister. The word daughter will include grand-daughter, daughter-in-law, and step-daughter ; and the same inclusive meaning must of course be given to the words descriptive of male relations, either by consanguinity or affinity, whom the woman is by analogy forbidden to marry. For a full half of the stated prohibitions refer to relationship by affinity, which is consistently treated throughout as equivalent to consanguinity.

Here, then, is a perfect and perfectly intelligible law ; of universal application ; admitting on the face of it of no exception : ' totus teres atque rotundus.' On what ground is its plain principle to be assailed ?

First, attention is drawn to the sixteenth verse : 'Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy brother's wife : it is thy brother's nakedness.' We are bidden to compare this with Lev. xx. 21, where the same command is repeated with a penalty attached, and with Deut. xxv. 5, &c., where an exception is taken to this law in a certain special case—a case, moreover, which was brought directly under our Lord's notice by the Sadducees (S. Matt. xxii. 24), and the exceptional rule

¹ The above passage is accurately quoted from Bishop Hall's Works, and is strictly in point for the principle which we desire to establish. It contains, however, as will be observed, a mistake as to a matter of fact, there being no prohibition against marrying a father's wife's daughter, if she be not also the father's own daughter, in the Levitical law. See Lev. xviii. 11.

respecting which was not repealed or in any way condemned by Him. We are asked to draw the inference that a law so confirmed by statutory penalty, and so excepted to in a particular case, could be only a Jewish national ordinance, and not a moral law of universal or even general obligation. Then we are further asked to draw the parallel between brother's wife and wife's sister, and to give licence, free and unreserved, in both cases. This is a very modern argument which could hardly have been urged thirty years ago; and the fact of its being urged now, as we have repeatedly heard it urged, shows what a wound has already been inflicted on the delicacy of public moral feeling by the ceaseless agitation of the last half-century on this subject. Even yet, however, public feeling does revolt against the idea of marriage with a brother's widow. We were ourselves present not very long ago at an influential meeting held under the auspices of the Marriage Law Reform Association, and by the courtesy of the chairman were permitted to bear testimony against the proposed relaxation of the law. A very remarkable circumstance connected with the meeting was this: a lady who was present, an eager Marriage Law Reformer, who had been prepared to advocate relaxation in both directions at once, had the candour to say that she had called that very morning on thirteen women, whom she took to be fair representatives of the sex in various classes of life, to enlist their sympathies in favour of general licence in this matter. But of the thirteen, she found that nine were entirely and thoroughly opposed to a woman being permitted to marry a deceased husband's brother; and this experience (the lady admitted) had severely shaken her own convictions about this relationship. But as we have hinted, a few years ago the so-called reformers were most anxious to assert that the cases of deceased wife's sister and deceased husband's brother were by no means parallel; saying that there was a physiological objection in the latter case which did not exist in the former. They did not tell us even then why a man was forbidden to marry the mother or the daughter of his deceased wife, relationships as to which physiological considerations could afford them no help whatever.

Surely the answer on the whole subject of the husband's brother is this: The Divine Author of all morality has power to dispense with His own law if He pleases, and under certain very rare circumstances of necessity or propriety He is pleased to do so. Those who hold mankind to be descended from one pair, and who believe that 'God hath made of one blood all

nations of men,' must believe that He did so with respect to the second generation of men.¹ He did so in commanding Abraham's obedience in the sacrifice of Isaac. He did so in commanding the extermination of the Canaanites by the sword. And if He were pleased to consider the ancestorship of the Messiah or the Sacramental inheritance of the Holy Land a sufficient reason for specific interference with the universal law of marriage, who should say Him nay? Moreover, the concession, or rather the command, was limited to those cases in which the natural consequence of marriage, the birth of issue, had not ensued.

We cannot, however, pass over unnamed, much as we should like to do so in order to show how utterly foreign we deem it to our present subject, what learned professors call the *locus classicus*, '*the only passage*,' bearing on the question of marriage with a deceased wife's sister, the famous eighteenth verse, 'Neither shall thou take a wife to her sister, to vex her, to uncover her nakedness, beside the other in her lifetime.' With respect to it we must bear in mind that we have so far had what we believe to be a perfect Divine law resting on clear and intelligible principles; and that, by parity of reasoning from the case of the brother's wife, that law has at least seemed to forbid marriage with a wife's sister. We must also bear in mind that the unlawfulness of all the unlawful unions hitherto spoken of has rested on one reason: to wit, nearness of kin.

To contravene such a law resting on such a reason we should at least expect to find an exception to the law clearly stated, recognizing, even if it were only to evade, the stated reason, and not a merely permitted exception to a new prohibition, which prohibition itself rested on a totally different reason. We would submit, then, that *any* plausible interpretation of the eighteenth verse which did not seem to contradict the law just enunciated were preferable to any other interpretation which did seem to contradict it. Now, there are several such interpretations. Those who defend the existing law are in no way bound to make any absolute choice among these. We may hold with John Keble that the expression 'in her lifetime' is merely intended to emphasize the general prohibition against taking a wife to her sister; or we may refer the words 'in her lifetime' to the sister so forbidden to be

¹ 'Who was Cain's wife?' is the commonest of all questions among infidel operatives: the suggested inference of course being that if she was, as she must have been, his sister, the laws of sexual morality have no satisfactory foundation.

taken, and construe the command thus, 'Thou shall not marry thy sister-in-law so long as she lives ;' or we may adopt the marginal rendering 'one wife to another,' and construe the text as prohibitory of polygamy ; or, yet again, we may accept another ancient interpretation, and say that we have here an exception to the law of Levirate marriage,¹ declaring that even the holy entail protected thereby must be allowed to lapse, in case the brother's widow should happen to stand also in the relation of sister to the living wife. We really are not concerned to choose among these explanations. It is for our opponents *to prove* (which we submit they have never done) that this verse will not admit of any other fair and reasonable construction save that of an implied permission to marry the sister of a deceased wife. It seems to us, indeed, that the interpretation given by the writers favourable to relaxing our law gets them into hopeless difficulty at every turn. As the Bishop of Lincoln points out :—

'If it were allowable to infer that, because a man is forbidden to marry his wife's sister during his wife's lifetime, *therefore* he may marry her after his wife's death, it would be equally reasonable to infer that because he may not marry his wife's sister in his wife's lifetime, he may marry *any other* person who is not his wife's sister. But this was expressly forbidden by the Law of God. The fact is that (as Hooker says) it is altogether inconsistent with a right interpretation of the Holy Scriptures to imagine that a thing *denied* with special circumstance doth import an *opposite affirmation* when that circumstance is expired. . . . Christ promised to be with the Apostles *until the end of the world*. Will He begin to be absent from them then? No : He will come then in His glorified body, and they will be *for ever with the Lord*. If, then, our English translation represents correctly here the sense of the original, the meaning of this verse is, that though a man's wife may become aged, infirm, or ungracious, and though her sister may be more fair and attractive in person and disposition, yet he may not espouse the sister in addition to the wife, *however long the wife may live*. And this prohibition may have been occasioned by the case of the patriarch Jacob, who, under extenuating circumstances, married Rachel, the sister of Leah, his wife, in her lifetime ; and whose example, by reason of his patriarchal dignity, might perhaps be construed into a dangerous precedent.'

The Right Reverend Prelate further points out in a note, as justifying his own contention that polygamy is the real sin prohibited in this verse, that in Hebrew anything is called *ish* (man) or *ishah* (woman). In Exod. xxv. 20, the correspon-

¹ Gerhard, *De Conjugio*, p. 377 ed. Genevæ, 1639.

dence of the faces of the cherubim to one another is described by the phrase 'one man to his brother.' In Exod. xxvi. 3, the curtains in like manner are said to be coupled 'one woman to her sister.' Nay, he quotes from the Rev. Charles Forster a statement that the phrase 'a man to his brother' or 'a woman to her sister' occurs two-and-forty times in the Hebrew Bible without once designating the blood relationship of sisters or brothers, but always meaning (when used of persons) *two men together* or *two women together*. 'If, therefore, this expression designates in Lev. xviii. 18 the blood relationship of two sisters, I can only say that this is *the solitary instance in the whole Bible where it has such a meaning*.'

Now, we are not disposed, as we said before, to lay undue stress on any of these criticisms, or to favour exclusively any of the interpretations adduced. But with such criticisms only plausibly adducible, and with such interpretations barely possible, we ask very solemnly indeed whether it can be safe for a Christian State to make this disputed verse a reason for relaxing a law which, but for it, would appear to be most plain in itself, and to rest on the very plainest of principles.

We are almost ashamed to mention an argument which some of the Marriage Law Reformers have thought to be deducible from this verse, to the effect that though under its provisions marriage with a wife's sister would be not simply illicit, but incestuous, yet the death of the wife would at once bar the incest.¹ Do they mean us really to conclude that all relationship by marriage ceases at the moment when marriage is itself dissolved by death? and that consequently a widower is left at perfect liberty to marry mother-in-law, or step-daughter, or daughter-in-law? If they mean this, surely the words of Holy Scripture are entirely against them. If they do not mean this, to what purpose is the argument alleged at all? If the bond of affinity be dissoluble in one case, it is dissoluble in all: if not dissoluble in all, it is dissoluble in none.

What now in brief is the history of the law now so much called in question? During the first three centuries from the Christian era no authentic document is found bearing on the subject. Indeed, it is remarkable that our earliest information connected with the fourth century comes from a political rather than from an ecclesiastical source. For it is found in a record of the Roman civil law being altered in two particulars. That law was altered so as to forbid, firstly, the

¹ *The Present State of the Marriage Law*, by a Graduate (Hatchard & Co. : 1863), pp. 28-34, *et alibi*.

marriage of uncle and niece ; and secondly, the marriage of a man with his wife's sister. The latter change was made A.D. 355 by the Emperors Constantius and Constans in the following words:—‘ Although the ancients thought it lawful, when the marriage of the brother was dissolved, to marry the brother's wife, and also, after the woman's death or divorce, to contract marriage with her sister, let all abstain from marriages of this sort, nor think that legitimate children can be born of this union.’¹

This was doubtless, in fact, the raising of the old heathen law to a Christian standard. And some fifteen years or more after this we find S. Basil the Great addressing a letter to one Diodorus, who had written to request his opinion on the lawfulness of marriage with the sister of a deceased wife. S. Basil speaks with horror of the suggestion, declaring that whenever such unions had occurred, they had never been reckoned by Christians as hallowed by the name of marriage. Alluding to the want of any express prohibition in words occurring in Lev. xviii. he says:—

‘ It is not written in these laws that father and son ought not to cohabit with one woman ; and yet by the prophet it is denounced as the greatest of crimes, “for the son,” it is said, “and the father have gone in to one woman.” But I maintain that this point is not passed over in silence, but that the lawgiver hath forbidden it in the very strongest manner ; for the expression “None of you shall approach unto any that is near of kin to him, to uncover their nakedness,” embraceth also this species of relationship. For what can be more akin to a man than his own wife, or rather his own flesh ? for “they are no longer twain, but one flesh !” So that by means of the wife the sister also passeth into the kindred of the husband ; so that as he shall not take the mother of his wife, nor the daughter of his wife, because he shall not take his own mother or his own daughter, so in like manner he shall not take the sister of his wife, because he cannot take his own sister. And on the other hand, neither shall it be lawful for a woman to marry the kindred of her husband, for on either side the rights of kindred are common to both.’²

So far as the Western Church was concerned, we must in candour admit that the practice of multiplying prohibitions began very early, a doctrine of spiritual affinity (*i.e.* relationship between sponsors and those for whom they answered in baptism, and also between sponsors for the same baptized person with reference to each other) being superadded to the nearness of kin spoken of in Holy Scripture ; and there is

¹ See Pusey's *Preface to Evidence*, pp. lii. liii.

² S. Basil, *Ep.* cxi.

too much reason to suppose that the object of these prohibitions, which extended now to the fourth, and now to the seventh degree, was to obtain money for Papal dispensations or licences to disregard them. These dispensations began about the year 1100, in the time of Paschal II. That Pope ventured to dispense in a clear case of adultery, conniving at the union of Philip I., King of France, who had another wife then living, with Bartrade, who was herself already married to the Count of Anjou.¹ The first Pope who dispensed in the case of marriage with the sister of a deceased wife was Martin V., who, in the tenth year of his pontificate—that is to say, about the year 1427, granted permission to one John ‘comes Fuxius’ to espouse Blanche the sister of his former wife Joanna. The reasons for this permission, as recited in the dispensation itself, were two: first, that Joanna had died childless, from which it is clear that this was no case of an aunt being required to perform the duty of a stepmother to her brother-in-law’s children; and secondly, that such a marriage was absolutely necessary in order to secure the succession to the sovereignty of Navarre, and so to prevent war and bloodshed.² The strong assertion of the historian that this was the first instance ever known of such a dispensation³ is in itself direct evidence as to what the law and custom of the Western Church had been for fourteen hundred years. About the year 1500 Alexander VI. (Borgia) granted a dispensation to Emanuel, King of Portugal, to marry the sister of his deceased wife, and afterwards another to Ferdinand II., King of Sicily, to marry his aunt. The Council of Trent, in order probably to shield those monstrous exercises of a dispensing power, pronounced an anathema on those who deny the Levitical degrees to be dispensable:—‘Si quis dixerit, eos tantum consanguinitatis et affinitatis gradus, qui Levitico exprimuntur, posse impedire matrimonium contrahendum, et dirimere contractum, nec posse Ecclesiam in nonnullis eorum dispensare, aut constituere, ut plures impediunt, anathema sit.’⁴

The English Reformers, while rejecting all the restrictions which the Roman Church had added to the Levitical Law, agreed in the main in holding, and formulated under Archbishop Parker, by the Table of prohibited degrees, the doctrine that marriage with a deceased wife’s sister is forbidden.

¹ Thomassinus, *De Vet. et Nov. Disc.*, Pars II. lib. iii. c. 28, n. 10.

² Baronius, *Ann. Ecc.*, in Martinum V. pp. 500, 501, ed. Luc.

³ Thomassinus, Pars II. lib. iii. c. 29, n. 10. (See a letter by Mr. Knight Watson in the *Guardian* of December 13, 1882.)

⁴ *Conc. Trident.* sess. 24, can. 3.

Bishop Jewel, indeed, apparently changed in 1563¹ the opinions which he had expressed two years before adverse to these marriages. But it was only in appearance. For whereas his utterance in 1561² is an elaborate argument founded on careful exposition of Holy Scripture, the later utterance is only a passing peevish expression contained in a letter to Parker, to the effect that he wished the subject altogether out of his way. In the seventeenth century there was absolutely no difference of opinion among the Protestant theologians of England, Scotland, and the Continent. The Eastern Church has from the beginning held the union unlawful, and has never allowed dispensations. It is right to add that in Russia the State allows such marriages among Dissenters only. But, as a general rule, the whole of the Eastern Church, including the various heretical bodies which adhere to its discipline, observe carefully, in obedience to the Council of Trullo (A.D. 692), all which up to the time of S. Basil was regarded as unwritten custom, dating from immemorial antiquity; and their rule—from which, be it remembered, there is no dispensing power—is a far stricter one than any which the Western Church, much less this realm of England, has ever submitted to.

Even the Mohammedan law forbids marriage with two sisters, and that without any expression of limitation to the lifetime of either :—

‘Ye are forbidden to marry your mothers, and your daughters, and your sisters, and your aunts, both on the father’s and on the mother’s side, and your brother’s daughters and your sister’s daughters, and your foster-mothers and your foster-sisters, and your wives’ mothers, and your step-daughters born of your wives, and the wives of your sons who proceed out of your loins; and ye are also forbidden to take to wife two sisters’ (*Koran*, chap. iv. 4).

In France, under the old Republic, marriage with a deceased wife’s sister was at first allowed, but, owing to the bad effects which followed, this law was changed.³ Under the Code Napoléon it was absolutely forbidden, and no dispensations were allowed. The same thing was done about uncle and niece. By the law of 1832, both are admitted by dispensation for grave reasons; it being strongly laid down that prohibition must be the rule, and dispensation the exception. The state of the law in Holland is of the same nature. In Germany great licence is now permitted; and as a result we

¹ *Correspondence of Matthew Parker*, Parker Society, p. 176.

² *Jewel’s Letters*, Parker Society, p. 1244.

³ Preface to Pusey’s *Evidence*, p. lxxxi.

have it in evidence before the Royal Commission that 'all domestic relations are broken up: the uncle's house cannot be the home for the orphan niece, nor the sister-in-law take charge of her deceased sister's children, since marriage is permitted.' All the cantons of Switzerland, with (we believe) one exception, have yielded, and allow these unions either under dispensation or otherwise. Our own colonies, we grieve to say, have not been true to the traditions of the mother country; while Republican America has a sad tale of licence to tell.

'It is evident,' writes an American clergyman, 'to those of us who are old enough to remember the state of things previous to these innovations, that a change for the worse has been brought about. I can well recollect when ladies in the lifetimes of their husbands used to feel as if their brothers-in-law were their *own* brothers, and to treat them accordingly, in all the unreserve of domestic intercourse; when a brother-in-law, after an absence, would kiss his brother's wife in all purity as his own sister, and she would confide in him without a thought of evil, or a feeling of embarrassment; and when, too, in case of a wife dying, her sister would remain in charge of her family, or would remove to the bereaved home, to live with the widower, and take care of his children as a thing of course, without a whisper of slander, or any occasion for it; when the children, too, knowing that their aunt could never be in any nearer relation to them, loved and revered her, and confided in her, and yielded readily a most wholesome influence to her.

'But since such increased nearness of connexion has been deemed not improper and even desirable, there has grown up in families a perceptible and painful constraint; the children learning to look with apprehension on their mother's sisters, and the wives becoming jealous of their influence with their husbands, while familiarities which formerly were thought to be, and really were, innocent, have come to possess a consciousness of evil tendency which itself is of the nature of sin.

'I know of a wife whose health was gradually declining, a woman of the world, with a husband as worldly as herself, and in their house was a young and attractive sister of hers, between whom and her husband there had grown up gradually a degree of affectionate intercourse which in the days of the wife's health had been thought only natural. But as her end drew near, it became on his part more pointed, and drew to it her attention so agonizingly that it became the one engrossing feeling of her soul for the last few weeks of her life, exciting in her an undisguised dread of what she foresaw would, as it did, take place, and so absorbed her as to shut out all thought of religion, and make her miserable to her very death.'

These are facts vouched for in a letter addressed to the late Lord Hatherley, and published by him. The writer

naturally desired to conceal his name, but declared that, if the facts were questioned, he was perfectly ready to substantiate his statement.

And what has been the history of our own country in this matter? It has been briefly this: Before 1563 the Canon Law, with its prohibitions and possible dispensations, was in force; save that for some years immediately preceding that date (interrupted only by the short reign of Queen Mary) Papal dispensations had not been allowed to run. Archbishop Parker drew up our existing Table of prohibited degrees, which was set forth by authority in 1563, and is confirmed and made specially binding on the consciences of the clergy by the ninety-ninth Canon. The principle of this Table is precisely what we have indicated above as conformable to Holy Scripture. It counts man and wife to be one flesh, and forbids marriage with the relations of either up to the third degree inclusive. It has commonly been said that from 1563 to 1835 marriage with the sister of a deceased wife was voidable, but not void. A certain justification can be pleaded for this statement, which we will presently explain, but such unions were so far absolutely void as that, even after the death of one party, the survivor could still be punished for the incest committed during cohabitation.¹ Thus much, however, is true, that the Civil Courts would not allow the legitimacy of children born in such quasi-wedlock to be questioned after the death of either parent; and, so far as the Ecclesiastical Courts were concerned, it became a common and shameful practice for some friend of the parties to institute a collusive suit and, by keeping that suit unprosecuted, to prevent any other plaintiff from prosecuting to conviction. The offenders were in fact nearly all wealthy people. One result of the Royal Commission was to bring out this circumstance, which is of some value to those who think they are called upon to emancipate the poor from a galling yoke, that of 1,648 marriages which were found to have taken place within the forbidden degrees, only forty had occurred among the poorer classes. In 1835 Lord Lyndhurst's Act was passed—an Act which cannot be otherwise described than as being, in the strict meaning of the word, unprincipled. For in order to create a legitimate heir to a great patrician house, it made a breach of God's Law to be counted lawful in the past, while yet the same should be counted unlawful for the future. It pronounced all marriages between widowers and the sisters of

¹ See Phillimore's *Ecclesiastical Law*, pp. 736, 739.

their deceased wives which had taken place up to that date to be valid, and the children born of such unions to be legitimate, while it made such unions for the future void by special statutory enactment, and no longer by merely general adoption of the Church's Law. This had, however, the effect of putting an end to the collusive suits spoken of above.

Very shortly after this piece of legislation was perpetrated, began that disastrous agitation which has wounded so terribly the national conscience, and which at this time, unless the danger be averted by God's good hand upon us, threatens a ruin far more terrible (to use Lord Hatherley's comparison) than would be the landing of 300,000 French at Dover. The Deceased Wife's Sister Bill, as it has been called, was first introduced to the House of Commons by Lord Ellesmere, then Lord Francis Egerton, in 1842.¹ Its history has been briefly this: It has been four times thrown out in the Commons; it has once passed a second reading in the Commons, and broken down on the motion that the Speaker do leave the Chair; it has three times passed a second reading in the Commons, and broken down in Committee; it has once been sent up to the Lords from the Commons, and withdrawn without a division; it has been five times sent up from the Commons to the Lords, and thrown out by them; and it has been five times initiated in the Lords, and rejected there. In-

¹ Date	Result	Numbers
1842	Rejected in the Commons	123-100
1847	Royal Commission appointed	
1849	Lost in the Commons' Committee	
1850	Passed the Commons. Withdrawn in the Lords .	
1851	Rejected in the Lords	50-16
1855	Lost in the Commons' Committee	
1856	Rejected in the Lords	43-19
1858	Passed the Commons. Rejected in the Lords .	46-22
1859	Passed the Commons. Rejected in the Lords .	49-39
1861	Rejected in the Commons	174-155
1862	(Rejected in the Commons on the motion that the Speaker do leave the Chair)	148-116
1866	Rejected in the Commons	174-155
1869	Withdrawn in the Commons' Committee.	
1870	Passed the Commons. Rejected in the Lords .	77-73
1871	Passed the Commons. Rejected in the Lords .	97-71
1872	Withdrawn in the Commons.	
1873	Passed the Commons. Rejected in the Lords .	74-49
1875	Rejected in the Commons	171-142
1879	Rejected in the Lords	101-81
1880	Rejected in the Lords	101-90
1882	Rejected in the Lords	132-128

terest has been specially called to the matter at this time, partly because of the unusual amount of energy and industry which has been thrown by the Earl of Dalhousie into his perilous task, partly because of the narrowness of the majority which ruled against the proposed change in the House of Lords last Session, the number of non-contents being 132 as against contents 128¹; but chiefly, and above all, owing to the prominent action taken in the matter by certain illustrious personages (one especially), who, on ordinary occasions, consider it a duty to abstain from anything which bears the least appearance of political partizanship.

In gathering up our results, let us try to arrive at some practical hints as to the way in which battle ought to be done for our God and for the purity of the marriage tie.

In the first place, let us put the proposed change on its right footing, as a national ignoring of law which God formulated for all nations, and as a degrading of that ideal of marriage which Christ has given us in the New Testament. We cannot but feel that justice was not done to this feature of the subject in the conduct of last Session's debate in the House of Lords. This consideration must come first of all, and of course, in the minds of those who accept it, must supersede the necessity for any other.

This paramount consideration first dealt with, it is of course fair to introduce social considerations also. As to this, it has been too much the fashion to regard all the sentiment as lying on one side of the argument. We are constantly asked, 'who so fit to take charge of a deceased woman's children as their aunt?' Unquestionably this is so, if she is recognized as an aunt, and not as a stepmother, who may too probably rear in her own household rivals in her affection to those very children. Then, is no consideration to be shown to those of the sterner sex on whose life a great shadow has fallen, and who, as things are, find in the affection of sisters-in-law, precisely because they are sisters and never can be more, a blessing perfectly unspeakable; and this all the same, whether they have thought of marrying again in the future or not? We believe these cases to be far more numerous than is generally thought. Within the circle of our own immediate acquaintance we have known several. In one single family, the head of the house, and his brother, and his son, were all left widowers; and, in each instance, recourse was had to the honourable and pure regard of the

¹ The same majority, though in a thinner House, had been obtained in 1870, when the numbers were—non-contents, 77; contents, 73.

wife's sister to help in patching up the old and desolate home, or in forming a new one. Moreover, in every one of these cases, had no such arrangement been practicable, the sister-in-law would have been turned out homeless on the world. This fact suggests another question, to wit: Is no consideration to be shown to the moral sensibilities of the sister-in-law herself? is she to be pointed out by statute as the proper Parliamentary successor of the wife,¹ and to be charged in the minds of the scandalous (if she enters the widower's house) with manifestly seeking that position? What modest woman can endure this? And why is the hardship of breaking tender ties to be inflicted on the great majority who are content with the law as it stands, in order to gratify a few people who cannot bring themselves to control desires which they knew were lawless when they first conceived them?

Is it nothing, again, that a Table of degrees, which rests on a clear principle, should be superseded by one which rests on no principle whatever? To allow marriage with a wife's sister and forbid it with a wife's niece is surely the very essence of legal absurdity. And what about the other relationships of affinity? It cannot be too often repeated that all must stand or fall together.

It has been said that this is a woman's question, and we believe it is. Then let the women of England bestir themselves and speak their minds. Let them draw up petitions to be signed by women only, and with these let them besiege the Legislature. Let them point out the unutterable selfishness of men in this matter. Every man of self-respect feels that it would be pollution to him to live with a woman who had been married to his brother. But he does not, it would seem, think a woman defiled by living with one who had been married to her sister. Is a woman's purity of less consequence than his? Is a man really to be allowed to say, 'I would not sully myself by marrying a woman already married to my brother; but if a woman chooses to marry me, who have before married her sister, this does not sully me, and about her it does not signify'? Will not the whole female sex rise in arms against such selfish licentiousness as this?²

We have kept far in the background another question which, if ever the time for action comes, it will be impossible

¹ See Lord Coleridge's speech in the House of Lords, delivered on Friday, June 25, 1880.

² See a powerful sermon by the Rev. Henry Carrington, Dean and Rector of Bocking (Longmans: 1850).

to ignore: viz. the position of the clergy, who will still be bound by the law of their Church, whatever Parliament may do. It has been the fashion to quote the name of Dean Hook as favourable to the proposed change. It should never be forgotten that he spoke of it as an intolerable burden to lay on the souls of the clergy that they should be forced to solemnize such marriages.¹ And the difficulty does not end there. What about admitting to Communion brothers and sisters who are united in this unholy bond? What, again, about those cases (and we know of such) where the clergy have exercised a legitimate moral influence and have effectually advised such sinners to repent and to separate from those with whom they were living in sin? What, again, about cases where penitents, so separated, have formed new ties which, as the law stands, they are quite entitled to do, and in many instances have done?

There is yet one point on which we could desire to address respectfully, yet fearlessly, our Right Reverend Fathers in God. The Bishops of England, with some few exceptions, have earned the undying respect of those who reverence God's Law in this behalf, by the noble stand which they have made from first to last in the House of Lords.² We ask them now very earnestly whether, in case this unhappy proposal should pass the Legislature, they are prepared as a body to give their clergy distinct, uniform, and consistent advice how to act? We have of course our own opinion as to how the clergy ought to act. But it will be important for our Prelates to speak. Will they tell us that these unions are simply to be treated as irregular marriages which time and faithfulness will purge, and the perpetrators of which may after an interval without separation be admitted to Communion? or will they say boldly and with united front that the whole thing is pollution from first to last, and that they will support their clergy in treating it as such?

The whole question seems at present to be in the hands, under God, first, of English women, and secondly, of English Bishops. Let these two classes of persons for once come boldly to the front. Let English Bishops tell their clergy how to act. Let English women speak their minds, and call

¹ Speech of Lord Houghton in the House of Lords, Tuesday, May 6, 1879. There is, moreover, a passage in his life of Archbishop Parker which hints at least at a modification of the Dean's earlier opinion on the main question. See *Lives of the Archbishops*, vol. ix. (new series iv.) pp. 301-2, footnote.

² Especially do we welcome the feeling and thoughtful utterance of the Bishop of Exeter, delivered at his recent Diocesan Conference.

for support on those who love their Bibles, on those who reverence the deep foundations of ancient law, on those who regard the Church as the Divinely-appointed keeper and expounder of Holy Writ ; and, lastly, on those who believe the sacred mystery of the marriage-tie, and treat social purity as the foundation of family happiness. Then will we trust in God to avert the evil which threatens us, and give one more new reading to the oft-repeated phrase, ' Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.'

ART. VIII.—CAN UNFERMENTED WINE BE USED IN THE HOLY COMMUNION?

1. *Wines : Scriptural and Ecclesiastical.* By NORMAN KERR, M.D., F.L.S. (London, 1881.)
2. *Thoughts for Christians on Bible Wines and Temperance.* By the Rev. WILLIAM CAINE, M.A. (Manchester, 1876.)
3. *Holy Scripture : Temperance and Total Abstinence.* By WILLIAM BONNER HOPKINS, Vicar of Littleport, &c. (London, 1879.)
4. *Diocesan Addresses.* By C. WORDSWORTH, D.D., Bishop of Lincoln. (Lincoln and London, 1876.)
5. *A Reply to a Pamphlet by the Rev. William Ritchie on the Scripture Testimony against Intoxicating Wine.* By the Rev. HENRY TATTAM, LL.D., D.D., F.R.S., Rector of Stanford Rivers. (London, 1859.)
6. *The Wines of the Bible : an Examination and Refutation of the Unfermented Wine Theory.* By the Rev. A. M. WILSON. (London, 1877.)
7. *The Church of England Temperance Chronicle.* (London, 1878–1882.)

It will be within the recollection of our readers that upon two previous occasions we have felt it our duty, in the true interests of the work of the Church of England Temperance Society, to call attention in the pages of this *Review* to the dangerous tendencies of exaggerated teaching in regard to the use of wine and strong drink.¹ No cause, however excellent, can be advanced either by perversions of the meaning of Holy

¹ *The Church Quarterly Review*, July 1879, 'The Scriptural View of Wine and Strong Drink ;' January, 1880, 'The Church of England Temperance Society.'

Scripture or by aggressive attacks upon lawful Christian liberty; and when a society even seems to favour methods such as these, it will undoubtedly forfeit the confidence of a large body of its most useful members and hinder waverers from joining its ranks. What was then written has, we have reason to believe, been found useful by some in the resolution of difficulties which had come across them, while their energy in temperance work has not been diminished. It is with similar aims in view that we approach the consideration of a subject which we feel has in it the elements of very serious mischief to interests higher than those of any movement or society, and which, in consequence of the dissemination of cheap literature and the teachings of such organizations as 'the Good Templars' and the 'Blue Ribbon Army,' is causing a large amount of perplexity in many quarters. We refer to the use of 'unfermented wine' in the Holy Communion.

Many of our readers may perhaps be unaware of the pressing nature of this question, but it cannot be said that we have been unwarned of the real tendencies of much teetotal teaching.¹ In 1876 the Bishop of Lincoln drew attention to the danger likely to ensue 'by recommending, and even in some cases by enforcing, the use of the unfermented juice of the grape for the Eucharistic cup in the Holy Communion.' In a charge delivered that year he pointed out that this was already the practice in upwards of eight hundred congregations in Great Britain, and that it might lead 'to a schism in the holiest of temperance societies, the Church, and this in reference to the holiest act, the Holy Communion.'² 'The Scripture Wine Question' has been frequently discussed in the pages of the *Church of England Temperance Chronicle*, in which Dr. Norman Kerr and other writers have endeavoured to prove that this unfermented wine is a fact.³ So long as the matter was treated simply as a matter of science it did not occasion any serious anxiety. It does not require any large amount of scientific information to know that fermentation is a natural process; and that, if bottles containing the fluid described as unfermented wine are obliged to be kept tightly corked up lest they should ferment, nature is against the practical chemists who manufacture these beverages. The subject, however, has recently assumed an aspect which compels the attention of Churchmen. On May 2, 1881, the

¹ Archdeacon Tattam had expressed apprehensions of its results in 1859 in the excellent tract placed at the head of this article.

² *Diocesan Addresses*, 1876, p. 46.

³ *Church of England Temperance Chronicle*, Dec. 13, 1879.

annual service of the Church of England Temperance Society was held in S. Paul's Cathedral. In the course of an admirable sermon preached on this occasion, the Bishop of Bedford took occasion to express the pain felt by himself and 'very many loving reverent minds at the mistaken and uncharitable attacks that have been made by fanatical partizans upon the use of fermented wine in the Holy Sacrament.' The remark which, in an assembly of Churchmen, might have been supposed to be universally accepted, was not left unchallenged. Two days afterwards, at the annual meeting of the Total Abstinence Section, Dr. Kerr stated, amidst cheers, that 'the pure juice of the grape, unfermented and unintoxicating, was the only kind of wine which common sense, scientific research, and a special study of the subject, left him free to believe his Saviour made and God's Holy Word commended the moderate use of.' More important, however, was the announcement made by the Rev. Edgar Jacob, of Portsea, that, 'with the consent of the Lord Bishop of Winchester, he conducted once a month the celebration of the Holy Communion with unfermented wine.' He earnestly hoped 'that this may be allowed to be an open question.' The Bishop of Bedford was charged by a correspondent of the *Chronicle* with 'denouncing him and hundreds, if not thousands more,' for their use of unfermented wine,¹ and shortly afterwards, as a specimen of what is going on, two clergymen in South London publicly stated at a meeting at which a lecture upon the subject had been given by Surgeon-General C. R. Francis, that 'they saw no reason why they should not produce "this liquid" at the Lord's Table, and they proposed therefore to introduce it.'² One of the foremost leaders of the 'Blue Ribbon Army'—Mr. W. Forbes—is reported to have said that 'fermented wine at the Lord's Supper is a great danger and a great snare.' A clergyman who presided over the meeting took the opportunity to announce that 'as he believed that some weaker brethren were made to offend by it, he had given up using anything in his church but unfermented wine.' Far more serious, however, considering the occasion and the circumstances under which they were uttered, were Dr. N. Kerr's utterances at the Church Congress in Derby.³ 'In every intoxicating cup,' he said, 'the enemy of the reformed inebriate waits for him. . . . Let us demand as an act not of mercy but of justice, not as a favour but as a right, . . . that the Church shall no longer

¹ *Church of England Temperance Chronicle*, May 14, 1881.

² *Ibid.* July 2, 1881.

³ On October 5, 1882.

endanger his safety by the proffer of his inveterate foe under the guise of sanctity.' The paper in which these words occur is pronounced by the *Church of England Temperance Chronicle* to be 'one of the most useful from his pen.' A well-known archdeacon was in the chair on this occasion, and the speaking was almost entirely in the hands of clergymen, yet not a single protest was raised. In *Wines, Scriptural and Ecclesiastical* (p. 147), we are informed by Dr. Kerr that 'in the Church of England, as in nearly all religious denominations in the United Kingdom, in many parishes, while the parish church communicates in fermented wine, the incumbents use unfermented wine in their mission stations.' He knows, he says, of two bishops who 'have authorized the use of unfermented wine at the Lord's Table, and I know,' he adds, 'of other members of the Episcopal bench who have communicated in this wine and have made no sign' (p. 149). Some 1,800 congregations¹—an increase of 1,000 since 1876—have adopted the use of 'Frank Wright's unfermented wine;' and, although there is no doubt that of these a large number are Dissenting, it is also certain that the practice is far too common among ourselves.²

The objection to the use of fermented wine in Holy Communion does not stand by itself. If, without any reservation as to quality or quantity, 'fermented intoxicating wine is a narcotic poison, poisonous alike to body and brain' (*Wines &c.* p. 10); if alcohol, no matter whether anhydrous or not, is 'a demon;' if it is 'a poison of virtue, morals, and religion;' and has the power (perhaps denied to any other known article) of 'almost instantaneously intensifying the vilest passions of the soul;' then, no doubt, the use of this 'sin-generating element'³ in the Eucharist is at least a serious difficulty. We do not

¹ Reported speech in *Church of England Temperance Chronicle*, July 2, 1881. Owing to the influence of 'Blue Ribbon' teaching, this number is, we fear, increased.

² As some clergymen may have been induced to adopt the use of unfermented wine in consequence of the following note in *Holy Scripture and Temperance* (p. 95), by Canon W. B. Hopkins, who, it will be remembered, is 'Chairman of the Committee on Intemperance of the Convocation of Canterbury,' we feel reluctantly obliged to call attention to it. 'Of living authorities, two, the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Lincoln, are reported to have given opposite decisions upon this point. The Archbishop allows liberty (only insisting upon "the fruit of the vine"), while the Bishop of Lincoln restricts his clergy to the use of fermented wine only.' We do not doubt that Canon Hopkins made this statement in perfect good faith, but we are enabled to say, on the highest authority, that the Archbishop 'never gave sanction to the use of unfermented wine.'

³ *Communion Wine*. By the Rev. W. Reid, D.D. Edinburgh.

quote the language, which reminds us of the worst excesses of Manicheism, willingly, but we must be consistent. As the Bishop of Peterborough remarked in his recent diocesan addresses, 'we cannot speak on Sunday in the most sacred part of the Communion Office of wine as a "creature of God," and on Monday denounce it as a creature of the devil.'

Wines, Scriptural and Ecclesiastical, to which we propose to devote the larger portion of this review, is an expansion of a lecture delivered on November 1, 1881, in the Chapter House, S. Paul's, before the Church Homiletical Society. The exact connexion between the study of homiletics and wines is not very obvious, but we will let that pass. The admiring reporter of the *Church of England Temperance Chronicle* informs us that the lecture was illustrated by 'large diagrams of Hebrew and Greek words, and ancient descriptions of unintoxicating wines, by a forest of bottles, each containing a different variety of pure unfermented juice of the grape, by the analysis of various Tents, and by the entire process of the manufacture of unfermented wine, from the crushing of the cluster to the bottling of the wine.' The lecture is dedicated to the late Primate and other patrons and members of the Church Homiletical Society; and to the circumstances under which it was delivered we may, in part, attribute the attention which it has received.

The writer states that he is personally indifferent to the Bible wine question :

'The God of Nature is the God of Revelation, and there can be no contradiction between His Work and His Word. It has been demonstrated that fermented and distilled intoxicating liquors are irritant narcotic poisons. To teach that Christ made, and the Bible approved, the social use of fermented intoxicating wine is, therefore, to teach that He made, and the Bible sanctioned the social use of, a narcotic poison, poisonous alike to body and to brain—a proposition which seems to me to carry with it its own condemnation. Such being my position, the controversy that has raged so long and so fiercely over the wines of the Bible has no interest for me' (p. 10).

But 'the question has been thrust upon him' :

'Infidels deny to me the inspiration of the Bible, the Infallibility of its Author, and the Divinity of Christ, on the ground that the Bible approves, and He made, what all men of science know to be poison. These unbelievers exultingly quote to me the dogmatic assertion of a host of divines, that Christ made and the Bible commends, intoxicating wine. I have met Christians, too, who have opposed the beneficent total abstinence reform from the supposed Scripture sanction of intoxicating drink. For once, Christian divines and

avowed infidels have united in an interpretation of Scripture which places the Bible in direct antagonism to the facts of everyday life' (p. 11).

The real object of the book, however, is not only or chiefly to provide a method of meeting sceptical objections, in which it would signally fail, for, even if the wine at Cana was non-intoxicating, fermented wine is His work 'without Whom was not anything made that hath been made,'¹ nor yet to prove merely that the social use of intoxicating fermented wine is unlawful :

'My work as a physician with inebriate patients is marred, my labour as a Christian among the intemperate is to some extent undone, by the present very general use of intoxicating wine at the Communion' (p. 134).

He pleads 'for the poor, the helpless, and the weak.' He appeals accordingly to the bishops and clergy to study 'the evidence now before the Church for twelve months,' and, as a result of this study, 'to make her most sacred services safe for these weak brethren—the repentant dipsomaniac and the yet unfallen hereditary legatee of alcohol—by the celebration of the Lord's Supper with healthful, innocent, un-intoxicating wine' (p. 135).

This appeal deserves consideration, and if we feel compelled, so far as this *Review* may be considered to express the opinion of an important school in the English Church, to dissent altogether from the request so made, and to question the value of 'the evidence' upon which it is grounded, we wish once more to repeat that our observations must not be taken to indicate any lack of sympathy with those who are striving by all legitimate means to diminish the crime and curse of drunkenness, and to reduce the traffic in intoxicants to its legitimate dimensions. We believe that before the Church of England Temperance Society especially there is a future of wide usefulness, and of Dr. Kerr's own philanthropic labours we desire to speak with respect. Although he tells us that he has 'little time for philological or theological controversy,' it appears that he has read '5000 volumes of ancient and modern works with reference to the wine question,'² and he is, no doubt, sincerely convinced of the soundness of the conclusions at which he has arrived. We need, we hope, scarcely say how heartily we agree with the protests made by Canon Hopkins against even the slightest approach

¹ S. John i. 3.

² *Church of England Temperance Chronicle*, Dec. 13, 1879.

to excess in the use of alcoholic drinks and against the partaking of ardent spirits as an ordinary beverage.¹ But the real importance of temperance work, the necessity which exists for it, and the energy with which it is conducted, are the measure of our regret at the adoption of an inconsiderate policy and merely showy arguments, which may produce a short-lived success, but will, we fear, end in a prolonged reaction.

Wines, Scriptural and Ecclesiastical, would appear to the unlearned reader, for whose benefit it is mainly written, as a 'popular temperance handbook,' to be a work of considerable erudition. Reference is made, not only to medical and scientific authorities, but to the Fathers of the Church, to ecclesiastical historians, mediæval and modern Ritualists, and to an imposing array of archbishops and bishops, deans and archdeacons. But Dr. Kerr will scarcely blame us for observing that the materials for his work have been largely gathered from the *Temperance Bible Commentary* of Dr. F. R. Lees and the Rev. Dawson Burns. An estimate of the 'industry, scholarship, and acuteness of reasoning' displayed in that work has already been given in the pages of this *Review*: and in the article entitled 'The Scripture View of Wine and Strong Drink' Dr. Kerr's candidly acknowledged solution of the Bible wine question, so far as the Old Testament is concerned, has already been examined and, we think, refuted. But we wish to point out for the benefit of persons disposed to adopt an opinion which such a host of authorities and figures in Dr. Kerr's work seem to favour, that the fashion in which evidence of all kinds is jumbled together is an indication of some want of knowledge of the precise value of the authorities quoted. Gossiping books of travel tread closely on the heels of Professor Max Müller (p. 20); 'Columella, Julius I. 337, Augustine, 390,' elbow 'Gerarde, 1636,' or the 'Bishop of Rochester, F.R.S., 1702.' 'Homer, B.C. 850, Hippocrates, B.C. 400,' and 'Archbishop of Canterbury, 1737' (p. 51), assure us of the undoubted fact that 'in Greece the wine was generally mixed with water;' and the Rev. T. Harmer (*Obs.*, p. 149, fifth edition, London, 1816) remarks that 'sweet wines a few generations ago were preferred in England.' While 'in the region of philological speculation,' 'Bishop of London, 1770, Parkinson (*Theat. Bot.*),' Dr. Adam Clarke, or 'Harmer (*Obs.*),' the time-honoured Donnegan (pp. 64, 69), and many other divines and lexicographers of equal authority are quoted, there is a remarkable absence of reference to the familiar works of Dean Alford or Bishop Ellicott, the *Speaker's Commentary*, or the

¹ *Holy Scripture and Temperance*, p. 47.

Lexicons of Gesenius, Grimm, Bruder, and even Liddell and Scott. Accentuation is sometimes at fault: διὰ τῆς ῥίξης εἰς αἶνον τρεῖσιν ὅπερ ἐν τῷ φυτῷ διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου γίνεται (p. 25), εἰργάσατο (*ib.*), βότρυας and ποτήριον (p. 136), can hardly be altogether due to the printer. Translation is not always successful; προσενέγκατε προσφοράν (*sic*) ἄρτον ἅγιον is scarcely 'approach with an offering of holy bread' (p. 136). 'Notemus quidem Christi sanguinem eadem hac die confici ex novo vino, si inveniri potest, aut aliquantulum ex matura uva in calicem expressa,'—'Let us note that some on this same day set forth the Blood of Christ from new wine, if it can be found, or from ripe grapes expressed into the cup' (p. 139); 'Cui symbolo licet substitui possit aliud,' &c.—'for which symbol it is lawful for another to be substituted,' are suggestive specimens. 'Botrus ante vuz' and 'in calice prematur' were certainly not written either by Durandus or S. Thomas Aquinas (p. 137). In the work of the Rev. W. Caine the confusion both of subjects and authorities is extraordinary, and we could have wished that in the more important books by Canon Hopkins and Dr. Kerr there had been some approach to uniformity in the description of the drinks against the use of which they desire to warn us. Sometimes we have 'fermented and distilled intoxicating liquors,' sometimes 'fermented intoxicating wine,' 'fermented liquors,' or 'alcoholic wine,' and then we are informed (*Wines* &c. p. 116) that the words 'fermented' and 'intoxicating,' though generally considered to be synonymous, are not absolutely so. In one passage Canon Hopkins appears to allow that the whole Bible 'settles absolutely the lawfulness and propriety of the moderate use of wine and strong drink,' while he thinks, as we do, that 'it remains an open question whether the use of ardent spirits is fitting at all if they be used as beverages,' and decides in the negative (pp. 20, 21); but elsewhere (p. 40) he says that 'it has yet to be proved that Holy Scripture allows the use of wine or strong drink, except on religious or festive occasions.' We have no desire to give any overdrawn description of the arguments of either of these writers, but it is obvious that when terms are so loosely used there must always be considerable risk of being misunderstood.

The medical aspects of the question have been already carefully treated in the pages of this *Review*,¹ and to deal with them is not the immediate object of the present article. We must, however, protest against the attempts of extreme advocates of total abstinence to prejudice the calm consideration

¹ In the article 'The Church of England Temperance Society,' Jan. 1880.

of the use of fermented wine in the Holy Communion by describing it as 'the sacramental use of a narcotic poison' (*Wines* &c. p. 126); or by grouping together, as if both were equally dangerous, 'fermented and distilled intoxicating liquors' (*Ib.* p. 10). We do not of course forget that pure anhydrous alcohol is, even in small quantities, a deadly poison; but it is not inconsistent with this statement to affirm that alcoholic drinks have a medicinal value, and in a large number of cases contribute to the nutrition of the body.

Dr. Kerr naturally places in the forefront of his work the familiar sentence from Sir W. Gull's testimony before the Lords' Committee on Intemperance, that 'alcohol is the most destructive agent known to us in this country' (p. 10), and Dr. Andrew Clark's *dictum*, 'alcohol is a poison, so is arsenic.'¹ Quite so; but this sentence of Dr. Clark's, to be really understood, must be read in connexion with what follows: 'It ranks with these agents; but of these agents, arsenic, strychnine, opium, and many others, there is this to be said, that in certain small doses they are useful in certain circumstances, and in certain very minute doses they can be habitually used without very *obvious*—mark what I say—prejudicial effect.' We have no wish whatever to diminish the weight attached to the utterances of so distinguished a physician as Dr. Clark; but it is undeniable that there is a very large number of persons in a state of what he calls 'secondary health' who are certainly benefited by a strictly moderate use of alcoholic drinks, and this Dr. Clark admits.² Sir William Gull did, no doubt, say before the House of Lords' Committee, that 'he knew alcohol to be a most deleterious poison' (10032), but it is not always remembered that he also said that he thought a man of twenty-five, 'sound in wind, limb, and health, much occupied out of doors, might find beer a good form of food; he could recommend beer as a light feeding material' (9996–9997). Sir W. Gull's warnings deserve most serious consideration, both from clergymen and physicians; but it is neither exact nor truly scientific to take evidence of this kind in merely detached sentences, and not as a whole.

But, as a matter of fact, the medical profession is far from unanimous in regard to the entire prohibition, in ordinary cases, of intoxicating drinks. If we cite an instance or two,

¹ The point is a small one, but it is an instance of the carelessness which characterizes the whole book that Dr. Kerr seems unable to quote accurately even in an instance like this. The sentence really runs: 'Alcohol is a poison, so is strychnine, so is arsenic, so is opium' (*The Action of Alcohol upon Health*, p. 4).

² *Ibid.* p. 6.

we only do so in order to remove difficulties which might otherwise meet us in considering the nature of the wine of the Eucharist. 'For young and active men' the *Lancet* (Jan. 1878) allows 'a glass of beer, or one or two glasses of claret at dinner; while men of middle age may with advantage stop at the third glass of claret, sherry, or port, and fear no ill result.' While Dr. Kerr assures us that 'a pint of pale ale contains $2\frac{1}{2}$ oz. of alcohol,'¹ in which case it is difficult to see how the business of the world could be carried on, for almost every moderate drinker would be intoxicated, Dr. Dyce Duckworth is equally positive that a pint of ordinary ale does not contain one-sixth part of an ounce of absolute alcohol, 'and,' he adds, 'two or three glasses of claret do not contain half an ounce of alcohol. To talk of drinking a pint of ale, or two or three glasses of claret, as being either harmful, or to be classed with careless taking of strong wine or but little diluted spirit, is practically almost ridiculous.'² Under certain conditions, Dr. Duckworth thinks that 'alcohol is truly a food,' and we believe that his opinion was shared by the late Dr. Parkes. But we do not pursue this part of the subject further. Instances might be largely multiplied, but it is sufficient to have shown that the dietetic value of alcoholic drinks is far from disproved. We object, altogether, in a work intended to be a popular handbook, dealing with a subject of so much delicacy as the wine of the Eucharist, to the indiscriminate use of the word 'alcohol,' as if every beverage contained the same proportion. Putting aside the division of opinion within the ranks of the medical profession, the incontrovertible fact that many of our leading statesmen and ecclesiastics who are non-abstainers are now doing an amount of work which puts many a younger man, albeit an abstainer, to shame, seems to us a practical proof that a moderate and guarded use of alcohol does not hinder capacity for exertion.

Nor need much be said in regard to Dr. Kerr's account of the Hebrew words translated 'wine' and 'strong drink' in the Old Testament. His conclusions are those of the *Temperance Bible Commentary* which have been already discussed in this *Review*, and more fully in Mr. Wilson's *Wines of the Bible* and Dr. Tattam's pamphlet. We can only find room for one or two specimens of our author's powers of exegesis. The well known passage, Hosea iv. 11, in which *tôrôsh*, described in

¹ *Church of England Temperance Chronicle*, July 12, 1879.

² *Ibid.*, Sept. 3, 1881.

thirty-seven other instances as a blessing, because, according to Dr. Kerr, it was 'unfermented and unintoxicating,' denoting 'a solid fruit, not a liquid wine,' is spoken of 'as taking away the heart,' in close connexion with a deadly sin, naturally occasions some perplexity. Dr. Kerr has, in the opening pages of his book, committed himself to the statement that the Bible speaks of a wine, *yayin*, which is a 'poison,' and of a wine, *yayin*, which is 'a good wine,' and 'maketh glad the heart of man.' But if *tırôsh*, 'described as a blessing,' can also be described, when misused, as an occasion of danger and sin, why should not a single sense of *yayin* bear alike God's approval and condemnation? It was pointed out in 'The Scriptural View of Wine and Strong Drink,' that this involved the total collapse of the argument in support of a duplicate meaning for *yayin*, and Dr. Kerr can only escape discomfiture by veiling the difficulty with a comment which does not touch the subject; 'But this is a taking away or alienation of the affections from God by absorption of all the faculties, irrespective of the nature of the object engrossing the heart' (*Wines &c.*, p. 90). The passage would certainly seem to refer to the stupid sottishness of the confirmed voluptuary produced by indulgence in wine and fleshly sin, but if Dr. Kerr is right in his inference that *tırôsh* denotes 'a solid fruit, and not a liquid wine,' we are driven to the astonishing conclusion that whoredom, and *yayin*, and eating grapes and raisins, have an equally demoralizing tendency. Nor are Dr. Kerr's etymologies more successful than his exegesis. On p. 94 an attempt is made to prove that *shehkâr* was a 'sweet drink' by arguments of a certain kind, ending with a remark by C. J. Addison, *Dam. and Palmyra*, ii. 190: 'At Damascus [at a shop] I called for *sookhar*.' It has already been shown (*Church Quarterly Review*, July 1879, p. 430) that this derivation will not stand, but for a complete refutation of arguments in its favour we will refer our readers to Mr. Wilson's work,¹ which, in spite of some minor defects, we consider most convincing here and elsewhere. *Shehkâr* may be the designation of a saccharine drink, but whether that sweet liquor was a fermented or unfermented beverage, whether or not it was no more than a 'naturally fermented wine, no stronger than our claret' (*Wines &c.*, p. 97), is only

¹ *The Wines of the Bible*, pp. 277-292. Dr. Kerr, in *Unfermented Wine: a Fact*, p. 32, says in regard to Mr. Wilson's work: 'into his theological and exegetical reasons . . . I decline to enter.' He thinks it sufficient to show 'that the ancient Jews could have had ample supplies of unfermented wine wherewith to celebrate' the Passover.

determined from the usage of the term itself. *Asis* is explained in a way which, to say the least, is incomplete. Dr. Kerr informs his readers that it 'occurs five times.' Most likely it represented the 'freshly expressed, and therefore unfermented juice of various fruits.' He then quotes three passages which he supposes prove its unintoxicating character, but, for the best of reasons, he passes in silence over the remaining two, Joel i. 5, and Isaiah xlix. 26, in which there is no question whatever that the effects ascribed to *asis* are those which an intoxicating liquor could alone produce. The catalogue of mistakes might be largely extended, but to do so would involve the quotation of whole chapters of this book. But as our author's object in this part of his book is to endeavour to prove that the unfermented wine only was approved by God in Old Testament days, and so to prepare his readers to accept the opinion that this fluid was used at the institution of the Eucharist, we feel bound to illustrate the untrustworthy character of his arguments.

In order to show that *olvos* in the New Testament is a general term for 'wine,' including both the unfermented and the fermented, Dr. Kerr has scattered throughout his book instances of changes in the meaning of words connected with his subject, in order to show that the term wine 'not necessarily always means the same kind' (p. 20). 'We must not,' he observes, 'conclude that the term wine, or its equivalent in other languages, as *oinos* or *vinum*, always meant precisely the same thing as we have been accustomed to call wine.' But we are not now concerned with mere grape-juice, but only with such grape-juice as was preserved and used as a beverage by the ancients, and unless Dr. Kerr's 'host of authorities'¹ can demonstrate that 'the expressed juice of the grape before fermentation,' which 'nearly all reliable authorities believe that the ancients were in the habit of drinking,' was the liquor preserved under the name of *wine* in the cask or bottle, poured into the drinking vessel, and served up at the festive gathering, they are in reality beside the question. We grant that *mustum* was not only drunk fresh but preserved, but where is the evidence that the term *vinum* includes *mustum*? We admit that a great variety of sweet wines were manufactured, sometimes by checking the fermentation, or by partially drying the grapes, or by converting them completely into raisins, but we have yet to learn that such preparations were *simply* called *olvos* or *vinum*. There is no evidence to

¹ *Church of England Temperance Chronicle*, Nov. 5, 1881.

show that these terms were used in any other way than 'as general terms for the fermented juice of the grape.'¹

But Dr. Kerr pleads that he has demonstrated in his essay, *Unfermented Wine: a Fact*, that the preparation and preservation of unfermented wine 'is not only possible, but simple and easy' (p. 29). That there are methods by which the natural process of fermentation may be artificially prevented we do not deny. Liebig and other chemists have, we believe, shown that it is quite possible: but, to use Mr. Wilson's words,² 'we respectfully submit that the facts can in no way determine the question whether the wines of the ancients, and of the Bible in particular, were fermented, or the reverse.' Able chemists and others may have discovered, by the aid of modern science, methods of preserving the juice of the grape unfermented, but what evidence is there that the modern discoveries have been anticipated by the ancients? Mr. Wilson has shown from the writings of Liebig and others that it is simply impossible to extract the juice from the grape as the ancients did it without inevitable fermentation,³ and if the expressed juice can only be preserved unfermented by destroying the yeast fungus 'by artificial means,' were they

¹ Among the few modern books of any real weight cited by Dr. Kerr is Dr. Smith's *Dict. Gk. and Rom. Ant.*, art. 'Wine.' His readers might infer that the learned contributor of that article, Professor Ramsay, agreed with the views of Dr. Kerr as to the usage of the terms *vinum* and *olivos* to include both fermented and unfermented fluids. On the contrary, the statement quoted above gives the exact words with which the article opens, and we are obliged unwillingly to add that Dr. Kerr does not fairly represent the real sense of 'his old and venerated teacher's' remarks on *defrutum* and *sapa** (pp. 36, 44). Quoting from a work which he calls *Evan. Repos.*, Glas. June, 1877, he writes, 'We thought we remembered hearing our old professor, William Ramsay, maintaining that the *defrutum* of the Romans might be called un-intoxicating wine.' Professor Ramsay's own words, (Smith's *Dict. Gk. and Rom. Ant.*, p. 1002) express his real opinion; 'these grape-jellies, for they were nothing else, were used extensively for giving body to poor wines, and making them keep.' And again; 'observe that *mustum* is strictly the sweet juice of the grape before it had undergone any chemical change, although this word is sometimes used loosely for wines, as where Martial (i. 19) speaks of—'In Vaticanis condita musta cadis;'' after fermentation it became *vinum* (*Rom. Ant.* p. 439). *Mustum*, on the contrary, is described by Professor Ramsay as 'sweet grape-juice.' Dr. Kerr includes *πρόχυμα* under the head of 'Greek and Roman Unintoxicating Wines.' He quotes half a sentence from *Dict. Ant.*, p. 1201, but omits to add, 'and was reserved for manufacturing a particular species of rich wine, &c.'

² *The Wines of the Bible*, p. 82.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 87–89.

* *Defrutum*. 'Vinum coquendo defraudatum defrutum dictum est, quod defrudetur, et quasi fraudem patiatur. *Sapa*, mustum coctum, a sapore sic dici videtur.' Ducange.

acquainted with such methods of destruction? He has proved, we think, that except by boiling it, the ancients had no means of preserving the grape juice unfermented, and he has also made it clear that (1) there can be no doubt of the fact that a boiled wine may be, nevertheless, a fermented liquor;¹ (2) that the purpose of the boiling was not to prevent fermentation, but that, by the evaporation of some of its alcohol, liquor already fermented might lose a portion of its alcoholic strength; (3) that the preparations of boiled grape-juice, known as *defrutum* and *sapa*, in other words, *mustum*, reduced to one-half and one-third its original bulk, were not 'unintoxicating wines,' but jellies, and can no more be regarded as favourite beverages than syrup can be classed among wines at present in ordinary use. We may remark that each of these positions in Mr. Wilson's book, to which we do not find the slightest reference in the general index to *Wines, Scriptural and Ecclesiastical*, finds ample confirmation in the writings of Dr. Kerr's favourite authority, Professor Ramsay, as everyone may see for himself by consulting the article *Vinum* in the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* or pp. 437-439 of the *Roman Antiquities*.²

Our author's quotations from the classics are not very successful. If any of our readers should feel some difficulty in disposing of the testimony of Aristotle to the thick wine of Arcadia (p. 56), backed up by a Captain Sutherland's account of a remarkable discovery at Pompeii, we would refer them to Mr. Wilson (pp. 129-133) for a full explanation. But Dr. Kerr appeals to Anacreon, who, he thinks, speaks of unfermented grape-juice as wine;

μόνον ἄρσενες πατοῦσι
σταφυλήν, λύνοντες οἶνον.—*Ode lii.*

This, he thinks, is conclusive, and so he triumphantly translates:—

Only males tread the grapes,
Setting free the WINE.

We will not be so cruel as to translate, but it is the duty of reviewers, as well as authors, to speak truth, and therefore feel obliged to continue the quotation:—

¹ *Gk. and Rom. Ant.* art. 'Calida,' p. 233.

² We refer our readers to 'The Scriptural View of Wine and the Quarterly Review, July 1879, pp. 414, 415.

μέγα τὸν Θεὸν κριτοῦντες
ἐπιληνίοσιν ὕμνοις,
ἐρατὺν πίθοις ὀρώντες
νέον ἐς ζέοντα Βάκχοι.
ὃν ὅταν πίνῃ γεραίως,
τρομεροῖς ποσὶν χορεύει,
πολὺς τρίχας τινύσσων.

On others of the company the effects of the unfermented grape-juice are still more surprising ;

μετὰ γὰρ νέων ὁ Βάκχος
μεθύων ἄτακτα παίζει.

After this, our readers will feel that we need not pursue Dr. Kerr's classical quotations further, and indeed he has, in reality, disqualified himself, on his own admission, for dealing with the matter ; for he prefaces some sixty pages, out of which a summary of facts is evolved on p. 89, with the following statement of 'Cyrus Redding' :—'The knowledge of the essential properties of the ancient wines is a sealed book for ever' (p. 21).

We pass now, and more seriously, to the consideration of the New Testament use of *οἶνος*. We have, we think, shown that Dr. Kerr's line of argument will not, in reality, meet sceptical objections ; that his estimate of the valuelessness of alcoholic liquor from a dietetic and medicinal point of view must be considerably qualified ; that the effort to duplicate a meaning for *yayin*, and to show the non-intoxicating character of *tirôsh* cannot be sustained ; and that the evidence produced to show that *οἶνος*, or *vinum*, may be applied to unfermented liquor breaks down. The question, therefore, of the New Testament use of *οἶνος* may be argued simply upon its own merits.

In order to avoid any suspicion of evading difficulties we will, in translating, use the Revised Version. The *Temperance Bible Commentary* had been already published before the Revisers began their labours in June 1870 ; some of the most influential members of the Company are, we believe, total abstainers ; and we will not doubt that, in the Jerusalem Chamber, the scholarship of Dr. F. R. Lees and the Rev. Dawson Burns received the attention which is its due.¹ To the

¹ Among the Revisers it should be remembered are the Bishop of Durham, who, in an excellent speech at Cambridge, October 1881, said : 'I come before you to-day as a teetotaler,' and the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, whose zeal and energy as a total abstainer are well known. See *Church of England Temperance Chronicle*, May 18, 1878.

'Temperance World' the results of the revision are not unsatisfactory; for Dr. Valpy French, who deems it 'unquestionable that wine, both fermented and unfermented, is contemplated in the writings of the New Testament,'¹ considers that, 'regarding it as a whole, impartiality characterizes the work.' The passage on which, perhaps, the greatest stress is laid, both by Dr. Kerr (p. 101) and Canon Hopkins (*Holy Scripture and Temperance*, p. 42), is S. Matthew ix. 17, with the parallel report of S. Luke v. 37-39. 'Neither do *men* put new wine into old wine-skins: else the skins burst, and the wine is spilled, and the skins perish: but they put new wine into fresh wine-skins, and both are preserved.' 'What, then,' asks Canon Hopkins, who 'is indebted to Dr. Kerr's *Unfermented Wine: a Fact* for the facts and scientific data upon which his argument is built up,' 'was this wine which would be safely preserved in new bottles, but would ferment and cause old bottles to burst? The only answer is that it was wine, the juice of the grape, which was as yet *unfermented*, and contained no alcohol whatever!' Now, in reference to this statement, we may remark that,

1. There is an assumption which scarcely entitles Canon Hopkins to Dr. Kerr's encomium as 'one of the most judicious theologians of the Church of England.' The term *ὁ νέος οἶνος*, *ὁ παλαιὸς* used quite generally as a sort of proverbial saying, is arbitrarily regarded by Canon Hopkins as equivalent to *ἀεὶ γλεῦκος*, or *semper mustum*.

2. There is no proof whatever that there was any intention of preventing fermentation in the fresh wine-skins.

3. As 'the unfermented wine,' on Dr. Kerr's own admission, 'meets with organic *débris* from the previous contents, and, by the enormous force evolved during fermentation, bursts the skins,' the statement implies that all the wine preserved in skin-bags must have been fermented, otherwise the organic *débris* would not have been deposited, nor would it have been necessary to provide new wine-skins at every succeeding vintage.

4. But, as a matter of fact, the apprehended distension occurred not merely in old wine-skins but in new ones. We read in Job xxxii. 19, 'Behold, my belly is as wine which hath no vent; it is ready to burst like *new* bottles.'²

5. Of 'the old wine' which, in spite of Dr. Kerr's 'scientific data,' Canon Hopkins still describes as *semper mustum* (p. 44), Our Lord, without any comment, announces the

¹ *Church of England Temperance Chronicle*, June 4, 1881.

² *Dict. Bible*, iii. 1776.

common, popular, prevailing opinion of his contemporaries, that 'the old is good'—most grateful to the taste of those accustomed to it.

But the fact is, as Mr. Wilson points out, that Our Lord's reference is simply to 'old bottles,' or 'skin-bags,' which had become unfit for use by reason of age ;

' His purpose, evidently, is to illustrate the truth, " In that He saith a new covenant, He hath made the first old. Now that which decayeth and waxeth old is ready to vanish away " (Heb. viii. 13). The Old Economy had served its purpose in preserving the old wine of the kingdom, but it had now become effete, and must vanish away. The old bottles were worn out in the service, and were too weak to endure the expansive force of the new wine, "for the kingdom of Heaven is like unto leaven" (S. Matt. xiii. 33).'¹

Dean Alford puts the real drift of the whole passage into one sentence: 'The new wine is something too living and strong for so weak a moral frame.'²

We pass on to the miracle at Cana. Dr. Kerr considers that 'the hypothesis that the wine Christ made was unintoxicating invests the miracle with peculiar beauty and force, inasmuch as it represents Him accomplishing in a moment that which takes several months each year—the conversion of the watery sap of the vine into wine in the grape' (p. 25). This is followed by the opinion of S. Chrysostom and others, S. Augustine, Josh. (*sic*) Hall, and Archbishop Trench. We freely confess to some surprise that a writer who 'lays science under tribute to throw a little fresh light on a complex and obscure question' (p. 22) should be so willing to accept an explanation of a miracle which, however beautiful, has notoriously exposed S. John's plain and simple narrative to needless criticism. The miracle becomes no easier or more comprehensible by supposing that we have here only an accelerated process of nature, and, moreover, as Dr. Farrar has noted, '*Nature alone* will never, whatever time you give her, make thirty imperial gallons of wine without at least

¹ *The Wines of the Bible*, p. 180.

² An interpretation precisely similar is given by S. Chrysostom, *Hom. xxx. 5*; Bishop Ellicott, *Lectures on the Church of Christ*, p. 173. Dr. Farrar, *Life of Christ*, vol. i. p. 351, speaks of 'new wine put in all its fresh, fermenting, expansive strength, into old and worn wine-skins.' Archbishop Trench describes it (*Studies &c.*, p. 180) as wine 'not as yet having worn off its fermenting strength.' The same view is taken in an article entitled 'The Testimony of Holy Scripture regarding Fermented Liquors,' by the Rev. Dr. Hayman, *Clergyman's Magazine*, August 1879; and compare Jeremiah xiii. 10-12, on which Our Lord's language may be founded.

ten pounds avoirdupois of carbon.'¹ Professor Westcott is altogether silent. He wisely leaves his readers to accept the fact without inquiring into the method. But, whatever the means by which the miracle was worked, Dr. Kerr cannot claim 'the opinion of Chrysostom and others' in favour of 'the hypothesis that the wine was unintoxicating.' S. Chrysostom answers by anticipation a possible sneer based upon the supposed intoxication of the guests. To S. Augustine, 'water' is the insipidity (*insipientia*) of prophecy, but 'the insipidity is taken away when thou hast passed over to the Lord, and what before was water now becomes wine unto thee.' We scarcely think that preserved grape-juice would have suggested the contrast. The Archbishop of Dublin interprets 'well drunk' not, indeed, of the guests present, but as a general reference to 'the unseemly revels which too often disgraced a marriage.'²

It is perfectly true that we know nothing of the nature of the wine produced by our Lord, but if, as has been already shown, the term *olvos* in ancient times was used only for fermented wine, if unfermented wine was not then a welcome or customary beverage, it is altogether inconsistent not to allow that the wine of Cana possessed all vinous properties. 'Indeed,' adds Dr. Hayman, 'unfermented grape-juice would have required a sustaining miracle to keep it so.'³ With Archdeacon Tattam (p. 17) we are satisfied with the translation 'well drunk' or 'drunk freely,' but no one, without a preconceived theory, could interpret the words of 'the ruler of the feast' as applying to a boiled syrup or jelly which is the only unfermented grape-juice discoverable among the ancients.⁴ When S. John ii. 10 is read in the light of S. Luke v. 37-39, the wine thus commended certainly could not have resembled the 'new wine;' it must then have been like 'the old,' and, as we have seen, the old was certainly fermented. Mr. Wilson gives apposite illustrations from Ecclus. xxxi. 6, 7, and 28, and also various passages from Athenæus (A.D. 230) and Pliny (A.D. 79),⁵ and the known character of Jewish marriage feasts⁶ certainly creates a presumption in favour of the general use on such occasions of the *yayin* which, when used in excess, is indeed 'a mocker' (Prov. xx. 1), but which, when used with self-restraint, 'maketh glad the heart of man' (Ps. civ. 15).

¹ *Life of Christ*, vol. i. p. 169.

² Chr. Hom. in *Joan.* xxii.; Aug. Hom. ix. 3; Archbishop Trench, *On the Miracles*, p. 111.

³ *Clergyman's Magazine*, August 1879.

⁴ *The Wines of the Bible*, pp. 114-127, &c.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 106-192.

⁶ Archdeacon Tattam's *Reply*, &c., p. 17.

The question of the fermented character of the wine is not affected whether we believe with Bishop Wordsworth that Our Lord made 120 gallons, or with Dr. Farrar that He made 30;¹ whether with Professor Westcott we think that ἀντλήσατε, with the addition of the emphatic νῦν, is applied most naturally to the continued drawing of water from the well when the stone water-jars had been filled, and then bearing it in smaller vessels to the ruler of the feast,² or whether we accept the ordinary interpretation.

We are not careful to reply to the infidel taunt, 'his ministry commences with the production of fermented liquors, it closes with their sanctification,'³ followed by an insinuation that Our Lord sanctioned excess in the social use of suitable alcoholic beverages. It is enough to say with Archbishop Trench, that 'to excess the Lord would as little have given allowance by His presence as He would have helped it forward by a special wonder-work of His own.'⁴ Dr. Kerr in ch. viii. speaks of the 'ancient preference for diluted wine.' This is perfectly true. To drink wine mingled with water was an almost universal custom, and, as a rule, this is implied when wine is spoken of as being drunk.⁵ If the ἀρχιτρίκλινος in any sense corresponded to the *symposiarchus* of the classics, the mixture of water with the wine would have been one of his chief duties. To speak then, as Dr. Kerr does (p. 25), of the wine at Cana irrespective of its purity, its mixture, and its temperate use, as 'an irritant narcotic poison,' as if it were anhydrous alcohol, or ardent spirit, and then to charge those who accept the Scripture narrative as it stands with placing the God of Revelation in opposition to the God of Nature, is no doubt to give renewed occasion to the old sceptical sneer which S. Chrysostom had to face: but the person who revives it is not the expositor of the miracle as it stands, but the advocate of an extreme theory who regards alcohol in every shape and form as evil. That the Lord did Himself partake without singularity of the usual solid and liquid food is clear from the calumny—flagrantly untrue and unjust—which we only know from His own lips, 'Behold, a gluttonous man and a winebibber, a friend of publicans and sinners' (S. Matt. xi. 19). Dr. Kerr very wisely does not allude to this passage.

¹ *Diocesan Addresses*, 1876, p. 43. *Life of Christ*, i. pp. 166, 169.

² Commentary on S. John, ii. 8.

³ *Westminster Review*, Jan. 1875, quoted by Dr. Kerr, p. 13.

⁴ *On the Miracles*, p. 111.

⁵ See further *The Wines of the Bible*, pp. 135-141.

Whether from 'the little time left him for philological or theological controversy,' or from the want of accuracy and thoroughness which characterizes his book, our author passes but lightly over passages in the Epistles which can only be explained upon the supposition that there were risks in the use of wine such as are the result of immoderate partaking of fermented liquors. He thinks (p. 109), that 'there is no warrant for such an inference' as that in 1 Tim. iii. 8 and Titus ii. 3 'fermented wine' is indicated, because a similar caution is given, Prov. xxv. 27, against 'much honey,' which, as he truly says, 'no one will contend is intoxicating.' 'To be enslaved to grape-jelly' would, we think, have been rather a strong description of aged women who may have been fond of 'the cute,' *sapa*, or *defrutum*,¹ which on the authority of one Parkinson, Dr. Kerr assures us 'helpeth the cough and shortness of breath, and to expectorate rough phlegm from the chest and lungs.' He is of opinion that the injunction to 'bishops' to be *μη πάροινον* (1 Tim. iii. 3, Titus i. 7) seems to involve 'abstention from drinking parties and avoidance of the drinking customs' (p. 110). Doubtless, it forbids the first, and regulates the second, for, in the words of the *Temperance Bible Commentary* (p. 385), 'the profligacy of the Gentile world was boundless, and associated all its excesses with the intoxicating liquors then in use.' But if Dr. Kerr imagines that *μη πάροινον* means nothing more than 'not by or near wine,' he has against him the unanimous opinion of the Revisers of the New Testament, of whom the majority translate 'brawlers,' and the minority 'quarrelsome over wine.' Of course, in commenting on Eph. v. 18, *ἐν ᾧ* is made to refer only to *οἶνον*, partly because 'in all narcotics . . . each dose begets a desire for another dose,' and partly because 'the Iman Jumah,' on reading this passage told Mr. J. Usher that 'the Christians disobeyed their own sacred books in drinking the forbidden liquor' (p. 111). So far from this being the case, the riotous excess and prodigality expressed by *ἀσωτία* implies that there was such a thing among the Ephesians as the use of wine in moderation, and such passages as Col. ii. 16, Rom. xiv. 14, and 1 Tim. iv. 4, surely recognize the use of the ordinary drink, *i.e.* wine in some form of it, mixed or neat, as included in the charter of Christian liberty. 'Such language,' Dr. Hayman adds, 'would, at least, have been greatly misleading, had S. Paul held and wished to inculcate that abhorrence of all enjoyment of wine which many modern abstiners freely express.'² The whole drift of the passage

¹ 'Cute' = new wine unworked.

² *Clergyman's Magazine*, Aug. 1879.

has led the best commentators to refer ἐν ᾧ to the whole phrase, not to wine only, and even if it did, there is no prohibition of its moderate use. μὴ μεθύσκεσθε is not an expression which could be used of ordinary drinking, but of drunkenness.¹

Of all the explanations 'of the remarkable occurrence narrated in Acts ii. 13-15, none is satisfactory' to Dr. Kerr's mind. As he thinks that 'Gleukos was usually indicative of sweet, unfermented grape-juice,' this is not surprising. But, as S. Peter's reply to the mockers, 'οὐ γὰρ, ὡς ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετε, οὗτοι μεθύουσιν,' would lead most people naturally to suppose, the γλεῦκος, although sweet, was yet intoxicating. That γλεῦκος was fermented is clear from the fact that it could burst even those 'fresh wine-skins,' of which we have heard so much. In Job xxxii. 19, this is clearly indicated by the LXX: ἡ δὲ γαστήρ μου ὥσπερ ἀσκὸς γλεῦκος ζέων δεδεμένος. Moreover, as Pentecost fell in June, and the earliest vintage was not till August, the wine could not have been new, and wine especially prepared to retain its sweetness was of extra strength.²

Our author will scarcely allow that even the medicinal use of fermented wine is mentioned in the New Testament. Although 'the character of the wine ordered by Paul to Timothy is to us a sealed book,' Dr. Kerr, after adding a number of illustrations of 'medicinal intoxicating wine' and 'medicinal unintoxicating wine,' appears to incline to the opinion that the wine in question was non-alcoholic. The context in which the passage occurs (1 Tim. v. 23) shows that Timothy, in the midst of his difficult duties as bishop in Ephesus, required some slight use of a stimulant, such as Dr. Clark allows to persons in 'a secondary sort of health.' Either from an ascetic tendency, or as an example to luxurious Greeks, Timothy had been an ὑδροπότης, and now, that he might be better fitted to do his special work, S. Paul gives a prescription which, if right for Timothy, is right for anyone else under similar circumstances.

Dr. Kerr's arguments in 'the region of exegetical and philological speculation' are, we think, now fairly disposed of, and we can accordingly estimate on its own merits his statement about the wine used by Our Blessed Lord in the insti-

¹ See Chrys. *Hom.* xix. in *Eph.* 'How then,' he asks, contrasting the passage with Prov. xxxi. 6 (LXX) and Ps. civ. 15, 'does wine produce drunkenness? For it cannot be that one and the same thing should work contradictions. Drunkenness then surely does not arise from wine, but from intemperance.'

² Bishop Jacobson, *Speaker's Commentary*, l.c. *Dict. Bible*, iii. 1777.

tution of the Holy Eucharist. He disposes of the question in eight lines, followed by some 'weighty words of the Dean of Carlisle, 1861,' and seems to suggest that the matter is settled in the following paragraph, which, like the quotation from Dr. Close, contains no solid reasoning one way or the other:—

'As to the wine used by our Lord at the Last Supper, the original, *γεννήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου*, *geneematos tees ampeleou*, gives no countenance to the idea that the liquid was intoxicating. Unfermented grape juice can truly be called "the fruit of the vine," but after fermentation the nature of the liquid is completely changed. From an innocent, nourishing drink, it is converted into a beverage with poisonous properties.'

It is argued that if our Lord had used fermented wine, He would not have used the expression *ἐκ τούτου τοῦ γεννήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου*,¹ but simply *οἶνος*. But periphrastic expressions of this kind are, it is needless to say, perfectly common. Pindar calls wine *ἀμπέλου παῖς*, *N. ix. 124*, and Euripides speaks of the vine as the mother of wine;

πίνει μελαίνης μητρὸς εὐζωρον μέθυ. Alc. 757.

But the real reason for Our Lord's use of the term is almost certainly to be found in the fact that it occurs in the Passover ritual and also in the Sabbath Eve service of the Synagogue. In the 'Consecration,' which was sung by the reader in the Synagogue as he held in his right hand a cup of wine, and which was said at the Passover by the master of the family and the rest in concert, the following words occur: 'Blessed art Thou, O Lord God, King of the world, who hast created the fruit of the vine.'²

Τὸ γέννημα τῆς ἀμπέλου is then equivalent to *οἶνος*, but it is argued that this could not have been fermented, because of the general prohibition against leaven (*Exod. xii. 15*); but in the Pentateuch, as is well known, there is no mention of wine in the laws connected with the Passover as it was originally instituted. It was introduced at a subsequent date, and the Mishnah strictly enjoins that there should never be less than four cups of it provided at the Paschal meal even of the poorest Israelite³ (*Pes. x. 1*). Hence, against the use of fer-

¹ In *S. Matt. xxvi. 29*, of the third cup—'the cup of blessing'—which He consecrated, and in *S. Luke xxii. 18* of the first cup.

² Jewish Services, *Pedahzur*, p. 51, quoted by Freeman, *Principles of Divine Service*, ii. 294.

³ For an answer to an objection based on the unproved assumption that 'each person' had to drink two-and-a-half pints of wine at the Passover, and, therefore, ran grave risk of intoxication if the wine was fermented, see Wilson, *Wines of the Bible*, pp. 351–353.

mented *wine* there was no Levitical prohibition ; and, as Dr. Edersheim has recently said, in a letter published in the *Guardian* of September 20, 1882, the principle is distinctly laid down in the Talmud (*Pes.* 40 a, line 8 from top) 'that the juice of fruits does not produce leavening.' So, too, Lightfoot observes : 'Diserto mandato tenebantur ad comestionem panis azymi hoc tempore, Exod. xviii., sed potum vini adjecerunt generali principio nixi : *Quia oportebat virum laute excipere uxorem et liberos, ut in hoc convivio hilares essent. Qua autem re eos exhilarabat? Vino.*'¹ Moreover, it is not true that all fermented substances were excluded from the Passover, because it is certain that the *Charoseth* contained vinegar, the formation of which is accompanied by 'the acetous fermentation.'² 'Habebant etiam patinam,' says Lightfoot, 'cujus crassum erat condimentum, quam vocabant *Charoseth*, plenam dulcibus et amaris cibis, ut dactylis, ficubus, uvis, aceto, &c.' Not only so, but, if the 'unfermented theory' be correct, Our Lord deliberately broke the law upon the Cross. S. John distinctly states (ch. xix. 29, 30) that after the fifth saying, 'I thirst,' He received 'the vinegar' (τὸ ὄξος), and that unmixed. The idea that the Passover wine was unfermented probably arose from the fact that the greatest care was taken to prevent any artificial fermentation such as would arise from the presence in the liquor of any grains of wheat, so that there might be nothing but the true vinous fermentation.³

Again, the wine of the Passover was mixed with water as it was drunk. 'In hisce quatuor vini calicibus sedulo observabant certam quandam mensuram et mixturam,' are Lightfoot's words (*Opera*, i. p. 735). This, on the authority of Dr. Edersheim, Archdeacon Tattam, who quotes from *Pes.* cap. 7, 13, and cap. 10, 1, and the Chief Rabbi, Dr. Adler,⁴ was

¹ *Opera*, i. p. 735.

² Dr. Kerr, *Wines &c.*, p. 30.

³ Dr. Edersheim (*Guardian*, Sept. 20, 1882) adds that in the *Mishnah* (*Pes.* iii. 1) 'among the things by which the Paschal regulations are infringed is mentioned *chometz havedomi*, "Edomite vinegar," which seems to have been a kind of wine in which fermentation was produced (or increased) by putting in barley ; and this seems at one time to have been done with some sort of wine in Judæa (see *Pes.* 42 b, line 7 &c. from top); and *such* wine, but *not* that by natural fermentation, would, of course, be interdicted.' This illustrates a remark made in the article, 'The Scriptural View of Wine and Strong Drink,' viz., 'that the simple and natural effect of the atmosphere on the juice of the grape could not be viewed as having, for the purpose of the legislator, anything akin to the *insertion* of leaven into a lump of dough, even assuming that the knowledge existed of their identity in physical principle.'—*Ch. Quart. Rev.*, January 1879, p. 47.

⁴ See *Holy Scripture and Temperance*, by Canon Hopkins, p. 93.

done in order to *avoid intoxication*, and as it was the ordinary custom in drinking wine to do this, Lightfoot's explanation, given on the authority of Maimonides, that it was done 'ut vinum gratius redderent,' is no contradiction. Dr. Edersheim says that the ordinary proportion was two parts of water to one of wine, though strong wine was mixed in that of three parts of water to one of wine. And, finally, to prove this practice, in the *Mishnah* (*Pes.* vii. 13) it is directed that if two companies eat (the Paschal Supper) in the same place, the one turns its face to the one side, the other to the other, '*and the kettle*' (for mixing the wine with water) '*stands between them.*' The use of the kettle, it may be well to observe, although an apology is almost needed for even an allusion to so absurd an argument, by no means proves that the diluted wine was nothing but dissolved grape-jelly, for wine mixed with hot water was everywhere a favourite beverage.¹

Further, intoxication was possible. 'In *Jer. Pesach*, 37 d, line 23 from bottom,' says Dr. Edersheim, 'the direction of the *Mishnah* (*Pes.* x. 6) to the effect that it was lawful to drink between the first and second, but not between the third and fourth, Paschal cups,' is explained, 'this for fear of becoming drunken;' it being added 'that such was not to be apprehended in regard to drinking between the first and second cups, since the wine which was drunk while people ate rarely intoxicated, but it was otherwise with wine drunk after food.' He also states that in *Jer. Pes.* p. 37 c, &c, a number of instances are given in which certain Rabbis (who are named) suffered in consequence of the intoxicating nature of the Passover wine.

But Canon Hopkins has enabled us to add the testimony of a witness who, in consequence of his high position and devoted services to the Jewish community, can scarcely be regarded among the number of those who are described by the Rev. William Caine as men who 'transgress the commandments of God' by using fermented wine at the Passover. Canon Hopkins appealed to the Chief Rabbi to ascertain 'what might be known respecting the practice of the Jews in modern times;' for, as he truly observes, 'it is well known that they are strongly conservative in their traditions, and unwilling to meddle with those that are given to change.' We subjoin in full the copy of the Rev. Dr. Adler's reply:²

¹ Wilson, *Wines of the Bible*, pp. 352-353.

² *Holy Scripture and Temperance*, p. 93.

Office of the Chief Rabbi, 16 Finsbury Square, London,

March 22, ⁵⁶³⁹
1879.

'Rev. Sir,—I willingly reply to the question you have addressed to me in your favour of the 18th instant.

'1. There is no precept whatever bidding us use other than fermented wine for the Passover and other religious ceremonies. The prohibitions relating to leaven are taken by all our interpreters to apply only to the fermentation of grain, and flour produced from it.

'2. Such wine is prepared in the usual way. From the notices in the *Talmud*, however, it is apparent that the wine was invariably mixed with water, so as to prevent its having an intoxicating effect. Nor was the wine partaken of in sufficient quantity to induce excess. I need not point out to you the numerous prohibitions of intemperance in the Bible, more especially in the Proverbs. . . .

'I remain, yours faithfully,

'N. ADLER, DR.'

The testimony of Dr. Kalisch as to the quality of the wine is precisely the same,¹ and against such evidence we venture to say that some vague rumours about the use of 'unfermented wine—wine simply made from raisins' (p. 94)—by 'the more orthodox and bigoted Jews in Poland and Russia,' are of no value at all, especially as the real cause of that usage is probably their poverty, and consequent inability to procure the purest wine.

One more argument might be adduced. The vintage occurred in September, the Passover was not celebrated until eight months after. Our readers are already in possession of facts, from this and a previous article, which show that the modern scientific processes of arresting fermentation for so long a period were then unknown; and therefore it follows that even if the arguments just adduced could in any point be weakened, the fact remains that the Passover cup—the cup described by our Lord 'as the fruit of the vine'—the cup of which He said, 'This is My Blood of the Covenant, which is shed for many unto remission of sins,' must have contained fermented wine, simply because it could contain no other. Not merely now, in symbol, but in reality, the apostles were a band of orphans (S. John xiv. 10). And in their desolation, although in a sense far deeper than ever had been possible before, was the command fulfilled, 'Give . . . wine unto those that be of heavy hearts. Let him drink, and forget his poverty, and remember his misery no more.'² The whole

¹ Quoted by 'Sollicitus,' *Guardian*, September 20, 1882.

² Prov. xxxi. 6, 7. See Archdeacon Freeman's *Principles of Divine Service*, ii. p. 306.

argument establishes the conclusion which we are permitted to state in words written to a friend by Dr. Pusey in 1879: 'There is no doubt that the wine of Holy Scripture was fermented. It is certain that there was a custom of mingling water with wine at the Paschal feast, when Our Lord instituted the Holy Eucharist.'

In connexion with the quality of the wine used at the institution of the Holy Communion, the account of the Corinthian abuse of the Agape and the Eucharist occasions serious perplexity to the defenders of 'the unfermented wine theory.' It has been no doubt a grievous disappointment 'to the students of the Bible wine question, who are searching in hope that they may find their theories or beliefs based upon a more unquestionable testimony,'¹ that the Revisers, without any hesitation or apparent difference of opinion, translated 1 Cor. xi. 21, 'for in your eating each one taketh before *other* his own supper, and one is hungry, and another is drunken.' The wine was clearly ordinary wine, *i.e.* intoxicating, and although the reference in this verse is probably to excess at the love-feast which up to that time had been chiefly connected with the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, no reasonable person can suppose that the wine used at the one differed in quality from the wine used at the other. Although in a passage like S. John ii. 11, *μεθύειν* may be used to designate large drinking (without intoxication), there must be good reason, either from the context or the circumstances of the speaker, to give it an interpretation different from its ordinary meaning, expressing with its kindred *μέθη*, *μεθύσκω*, and *μέθυσος*, the notion of intoxication.² *μεθύειν* is not the exact opposite of *πεινᾶν*,³ but, as Meyer remarks, 'it makes the picture all the fuller and more vivid, because *πεινᾶν* and *μεθύειν* lead the reader in both cases to imagine for himself the other extreme corresponding to the one specified.'⁴ 'Paul,' he adds, 'paints the scene in *strong* colours; but who would be warranted in saying that the reality fell at all short of the description?' The poor man fasts till he is hungry, the rich man feasts till he is drunken. Dr. Kerr, who does not

¹ Dr. Valpy French, *Church of England Temperance Chronicle*, 1881, p. 362.

² See S. Matt. xxiv. 49; Acts ii. 15; 1 Thess. v. 7. Among the Corinthian Christians some were at least in danger of becoming *μέθυσοι*, 1 Cor. vi. 11. Cf. LXX, Prov. xxiii. 21; xxvi. 9, &c.

³ The opposite is *χορράζεσθαι*: Bishop Lightfoot, Philipp. iv. 12. If S. Paul had intended to say 'quite full,' he would have employed this word, which has that meaning.

⁴ Meyer's *Commentary on 1 Cor.* vol. i. p. 336.

understand that the passage (vv. 17-34) refers to the Agape as well as to the Eucharist, thinks that the words, 'Wherefore, my brethren, when ye come together to eat, wait one for another,' is not commensurate with the heinousness of the sin 'of intoxication at the table of the Lord' (p. 106). Doubtless it would have been an altogether inadequate admonition; but the fact is that something more than 'an apostolic injunction' had already been pronounced in reference to that part of the Corinthian offence (vv. 27-32), and the sentence in v. 33 applies to their excess at the Agape, which S. Paul describes as *Κυριακὸν δεῖπνον*, 'a meal belonging to the Lord.' The wine, then, employed at Corinth, both at the Eucharist and Agape, was clearly intoxicating, and is it likely that within thirty years of the institution of the Sacrament it would have been so, if the Passover cup had been unfermented? S. Paul had received his account of the institution of the Eucharist, like the Gospel generally, in the way of authentic revelation from Christ. If, indeed, 'the smallest sip of the weakest form of an intoxicating liquor'¹ *would* have endangered the safety of the penitent and believing among these Corinthian communicants, who may have been *μέθυστοι* in former days (1 Cor. vi. 10, 11), is it credible that Our Lord would not have warned S. Paul against possible risks to the souls whom He came to save? But it was not so; it was not in the alcohol, but in the souls of irreverent and unbelieving communicants, that the danger really lay.²

Dr. Kerr proceeds from Scripture to Church history. In a chapter headed 'Communion in Unfermented Wine at all Periods of the Church's History,' he remarks: 'There need be no difficulty. We have evidence of the use of unfermented wine in the very infancy of the Christian Church' (p. 136). The editors of the *Temperance Bible Commentary* are even more confident. They assure us that 'hardly any Church *but* the corrupted, intolerant, and persecuting Churches of the West ever introduced any other practice than that of the abstainer' (p. 201).

Our readers will look with some curiosity for 'the evidence' on which so sweeping a statement is based. We have already seen that S. Paul, whose life synchronized with 'the

¹ Dr. Kerr, *Wines &c.*, p. 121.

² That *μέθυστοι* implies intoxication is the opinion of S. Chrysostom, Dean Alford, Professor Evans (*Speaker's Commentary of New Testament*, vol. ii.), Meyer, Bishop Wordsworth. The Vulgate translation is 'ebrius est.' See also, in regard to the Agape and the Eucharist, Suicer, *The-saurus*, p. 23, and Dean Plumptre's article, 'Lord's Supper,' *Dict. Bible*, ii. 142.

very infancy of the Christian Church,' had to deal with questions in connexion with Eucharist and Agape which arose out of the use of wine certainly not unfermented. We await then the evidence of Justin Martyr, of Tertullian, of S. Irænaeus; but so far as Dr. Kerr and the *Temperance Bible Commentary* are concerned, we wait in vain. It is not to these accustomed sources that the unfermented wine theory looks for support, but to others less familiar, but, it may be, none the less convincing, even if the number of witnesses in the first five centuries should be but two. The first is anonymous:—

'A.D. 200. The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles (2nd century) incidentally testify to this practice. In the *Acts and Martyrdom of Matthew* these words are narrated as having been addressed to Bishop Plato: "καὶ προσενέγκατε προσφορὰν ἄρτον ἅγιον, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀμπέλου τρεῖς βότρυας ἀποθλίψαντες ἐν ποτηρίῳ συγκοινωνήσατέ μοι."—"And approach with an offering of holy bread, and having pressed out three clusters from the vine into a cup, communicate with me"' (Tischendorf, *Acta Apostol. Apocr.*, p. 184, Leipsiæ, 1851. *Acta et Martyrium Matthæi*).¹

We do not suppose that Dr. Kerr knows more of the 'Acts and Martyrdom of Matthew' than appears in this extract. Had he gone to the original he would perhaps have been less confident in producing this bit of evidence from a work which is nothing but a romantic creation of fancy, written at an uncertain date between the second and third centuries, in order to diffuse and support the doctrines and customs of the various Gnostic schools, among whom *Wines, Scriptural and Ecclesiastical*, would have met with a cordial welcome. Tatian used pure water instead of wine at the Eucharist; his followers bore the name of *Hydroparastatæ*. By Encratites and Marcionites intoxicating liquors would have been denounced with as much fervour as by Dr. Kerr, and so far as the very doubtful production known as *The Acts and Martyrdom of Matthew* can be cited at all as an evidence of ecclesiastical usage, the customs it describes are not those of the Christian Church, but of that subtle heresy which did its best to ruin the cause of the Gospel altogether.²

¹ *Wines &c.*, p. 136. That this evidence is regarded as very convincing is shown by the fact that with testimonies from S. Thomas Aquinas, Dr. Close, Rabbi Manasseh Ben Israel, &c., and Gilbey and Co.'s Annual Circular, it appears in advertisements of 'Unfermented Wines.'

² See Dr. Smith's *Dict. Christian Biogr.* vol. i., article 'Acts of the Apostles' (Apocryphal), pp. 20, 29; Mansel, *The Gnostic Heresies*, pp. 136, 137, and *The Acts and Martyrdom of S. Matthew, Apocryphal Gospels*, &c., pp. 304-5 (T. and T. Clark).

The anonymous witness, 'A voice' heard by 'Bishop Plato' just before that prelate saw 'Matthew standing on the sea,' although his body had been put into an iron coffin, sealed up with lead, and thrown into the depths of ocean, is, we think, silenced in regard to the use of unfermented grape-juice in the Eucharistic cup in the infant Church. For our second witness we have to wait for over another century. At last, A.D. 337, Dr. Kerr produces him and, strange to say, from the Western Church. In a note which bristles with references to many recondite authorities, Gratian, Labbé (*sic*), and Durandus, a decree of Pope Julius I. is presented to our notice. Whether or not the *Corpus Juris Canonici* has been included among the 5,000 volumes read by our author with reference to the Scripture wine question we cannot say, but had he referred to Richter's edition (Leipsic, 1839) he would have perceived the following note: 'Eadem fere habentur nunc in Bracarensi 3, c. 1 ;' and had he also referred here, as he appears to have done elsewhere, to 'the excellent contributions of Scudamore,' he would have discovered that a council was held at Braga, as, indeed, he informs us himself under 'seventh century,' in A.D. 675. It is true that the words upon which he sets so much store, 'si necesse sit, botrus in calice comprimatur et aqua misceatur,' do not occur in the Decree of Braga, but it is at least equally improbable that they are due to Pope Julius I. The fact is that our author has been quoting one of the spurious decretals, and innocently assigning it to 'the very infancy of the Christian Church.'

Thus, then, 'Pope Julius I.' is no more substantial a witness than 'the voice,' and, therefore, we are left with only one piece of evidence of the use of unfermented wine in the Christian Church up to the seventh century, and that is Dr. Kerr's own assertion.

We will, however, supply the absence of Dr. Kerr's witnesses by some others who are better known. Here are a few which describe the general feeling of the infant Christian Church with regard to persons who, on grounds purely ascetic, or for fear of contamination with matter, abstained from using certain kinds of food. In Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* v. 3, the Churches of Vienne and Lyons say in their Epistle concerning the Martyrs, A.D. 177 :—

'That when one of that number, Alcibiades, practised austerity, living on bread and water, and continued to do so in prison after his first conflict with wild beasts in the amphitheatre, it was revealed in a vision to Attalus that Alcibiades did not well in not making use of God's creatures, and in giving an *example of scandal to others* ; and

that after this Alcibiades changed his diet, and received God's creatures with thankfulness.'

It may be presumed that he had abstained from them on a supposition that they were evil. In the so-called Apostolic Canons, the 51st, considered by Hefele to date from the second or third century, runs thus:—

'If any bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, or generally any of the number of the clergy, abstain from marriage, and flesh, and wine, not for the sake of discipline, but on account of detestation of it, forgetting that all things are very good, and that God made man male and female, but blasphemously pronounces censure on creation, let him either submit to correction or be deposed and excommunicated from the Church. And a layman likewise.'¹

The language of the Apostolic Constitutions, i. vi. c. 8, 10, 26, and of S. Chrysostom, as quoted by Suicer, *Thesaurus*, p. 467, is precisely similar.

In the infancy of the Christian Church, then, fermented wine was clearly not regarded with abhorrence as in itself either a demon or a poison, and, therefore, 'the practice of the abstainer' was not the practice of primitive Christians in the administration and reception of the Eucharist. Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 65) speaks of the mixing of water with the wine as universal; 'to *each* of those who are present,' he says, 'a portion of the Eucharistic bread, and *wine*, and *water*' are given. S. Irenæus (*Adv. Hæres.* v. ii. 3) speaks of 'the cup which is mingled.' S. Clement of Alexandria does the same (*Paedag.* i. ii. c. 2). Tertullian (*Apol.* i. 39), in describing the Agapæ, implies the use of intoxicating wine. 'They eat,' he says, 'as much as hungry men desire; they drink as much as is profitable for chaste men,' clearly implying that the liquid drunk might in excess become unprofitable. The whole argument of S. Cyprian in his letter to Cæcilius (*Ep.* 63, ed. Bened.), written for the sake of some persons who through ignorance received the Sacrament in water, turns upon the intoxicating character of the wine mixed with which the cup should be offered. Quoting from Ps. xxiii. 5, as LXX translate² it, 'Thy inebriating cup how good is it,' he says, 'But the cup that inebriateth must surely be mixed with wine. For water cannot inebriate any one.' Patristic testimony is confirmed by the evidence of the ancient liturgies, which either contain a direction for mixing water with the wine, or else in the canon the mixing is re-

¹ Hefele, *Hist. of the Christian Councils*, vol. i. p. 479.

² So too the Vulgate, 'calix meus inebrians quam præclarus est.'

ferred to.¹ So also in the third of the Apostolical Canons, the substance of which Hefele pronounces very ancient,² the penalty of deposition is held over a clergyman who should celebrate in anything but *olvos*. The fact that the Manichæans rejected the cup of the Holy Communion proves that the wine there used was of an intoxicating nature.

'The Manichæans,' says Bishop Wordsworth, 'did not reject the *juice* of the *grape*, but they condemned *wine*. In the words of S. Augustine,³ "What perverseness is it, to feel no scruple as to grapes, and yet to call wine the gall of the Prince of Darkness?" And again, "They regard it as a sacrilege to touch wine, as if *it were a creature of the Evil One*, and therefore an impure thing, although they willingly taste *the fruit of the vine*."⁴

'And therefore when they came to the Holy Communion they made a feint of drinking the wine from the consecrated cup, but they secretly ejected it from their mouths.'⁵

These instances, all within the first five centuries, will, perhaps, suffice to show what the judgment of the Church in its 'very infancy' would have been in regard to the question of Communion in unfermented wine. In Churches Eastern as well as Western the custom was the same, and certainly that custom was not 'the practice of the abstainer.'

With regard to Dr. Kerr's mediæval authorities, mainly extracted from Scudamore, one or two general observations will suffice, but it may be worth while to examine a little narrowly a statement which implies that 'Communion in unfermented wine' would have met with the cordial approval of 'the Angelican (*sic*) Doctor.' The editors of the *Temperance Bible Commentary*, from whom Dr. Kerr derives his erudition (pp. 139, 140), inform us that, in reply to the question, 'Utrum vinum vitis sit propria materia hujus sacramenti?' S. Thomas replies, 'Mustum autem jam habet speciem vini,' 'grape-juice has the specific nature of wine;' and decides, 'Ideo de musto potest confici hoc sacramentum,—' Therefore this Sacrament can be kept (*sic*) with grape-juice.' The intention, no doubt, of this appeal to scholastic theology is to gain the support of persons in whose eyes the traditions of the Western Church are not wholly valueless, and for the benefit of such Canon Hopkins (*Holy Scripture and Temperance*, p. 95) adds the remarkable fact, for which no authority is given, that 'Popes

¹ *Dict. Christian Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 604.

² Vol. i. p. 358.

³ *De Moribus Manichæorum*, sect. 44, vol. i. p. 1182, ed. Paris.

⁴ *De Hæresibus*, sect. 46, vol. viii. p. 51.

⁵ *Diocesan Addresses*, 1876, p. 45.

have permitted the use even of milk in countries where wine could not be obtained.' The ordinary reader would understand that the authority of the *Summa* may be pleaded in favour of leaving the character of the wine of the Eucharist an open question, and as we fear that, even in some quarters where considerations based upon ecclesiastical usage may be treated with respect, 'unfermented wine' is regarded with favour, we feel bound to expose the sophistry, for no other word can be used, with which a sentence or two from S. Thomas, detached from their context, are made to sanction this serious innovation.¹ So far from doing anything of the kind, S. Thomas begins by affirming that *vinum vitis* is proper matter of the Sacrament. 'Respondeo dicendum, quod de solo vino vitis potest confici hoc sacramentum.'² He grounds this reply upon the institution of Christ, Who 'in vino vitis hoc sacramentum instituit,' and adds that fluids made from other fruits (*alii liquores*) are only called wine from a certain likeness to *vinum vitis*. He then refers to 'vinum lætificat cor hominis,' saying that 'vinum vitis magis competit ad effectum hujus sacramenti, qui est spiritualis lætitia,' just as S. Cyprian, in his letter to Cæcilius, had spoken of the 'calix inebrians.' After pointing out that the Sacrament may not be celebrated with wine in process of becoming vinegar, nor yet with 'agresta,' because it is '*in via generationis: et ideo nondum habet speciem vini*,'³ he says that 'mustum' may be used '*in necessitate*,' but this passage, taken as a whole, leads to a conclusion altogether different to that which Dr. Kerr, and the Editors of the *Temperance Bible Commentary*, would desire us to infer.

'Mustum autem jam habet speciem vini, nam ejus dulcedo attestatur digestionem, quæ est completio a naturali calore: . . . et ideo de musto potest confici hoc sacramentum. Non tamen debent uvæ integræ huic sacramento misceri: quia jam esset ibi aliquid præter vinum. Prohibetur etiam ne mustum statim expressum de uva, in calice offeratur: quia hoc est indecens propter impuritatem musti. Potest tamen in necessitate fieri, dicitur enim ab eodem Julio Papa, si necesse fuerit botrus in calicem prematur.'

If, on the one hand, *agresta* was invalid matter because it was '*in via generationis*;' if, on the other, *mustum* was something which '*jam habet speciem vini*;' if, moreover, mention is

¹ A sentence from the *Summa* forms the first of a series of 'illustrative excerpts' in a circular containing 'over 100 testimonials in favour of the use of unfermented wine.'

² *Summa*, iii. 74, 75.

³ Explained by Ducange 'Omphacium, *Verjus*.'

made of its 'naturalis calor,' then S. Thomas' language amply justifies Mr. Scudamore's description, 'the fermented juice before it is refined.'¹ As fermentation is a natural process,² it can only be stopped, as we learn from the numerous circulars of Mr. Frank Wright, manufacturing chemist, by artificial processes which destroy the germs of fermentation. Not only is the grape juice raised to a temperature of 190° immediately on being squeezed out, and poured off into bottles at once hermetically sealed, but as fermentation is possible even after these elaborate preventive measures have been taken, when the cork is withdrawn, 'a minute portion of a perfectly innocent antiseptic' is added, which is stated to preserve 'the wine' from fermentation under all circumstances. As the fluid is not, and never can become wine, it is altogether different from the *mustum* of S. Thomas, or even the newly expressed grape juice of Pope Julius, and is, therefore, invalid matter for consecration.

The remainder of Dr. Kerr's instances of the use of the juice of grapes, or the liquor squeezed out of raisins, taken from Mr. Scudamore's *Notitia Eucharistica*, are equally inconclusive. These practices were, as Mr. Scudamore himself describes them, 'expedients in scarcity.' So far from being the rule, such expedients were the exception, and in the single instance to which the reason of scarcity would not apply—namely, a practice of Communion in juice expressed out of the ripe grape on August 6, the festival of the Transfiguration, the day on which new grapes were offered in the Mass—the liquor would be already inchoate wine, like the 'mustum' of S. Thomas. Considered as a whole, the language of Mr. Scudamore does not lend the slightest support to the use of 'unfermented wine' in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist in this country, or in any other where alcoholic wine can be obtained. Dr. Kerr (p. 144), taking an isolated sentence in the *Notitia Eucharistica* (2nd edition, p. 885), apart from the whole section in which it occurs, claims one of the most reverent and Catholic-minded of English clergymen as his ally.³ Mr. Scudamore can no longer speak for himself, but

¹ *Notitia Eucharistica*, 2nd edit., p. 283.

² 'It is well known that alcoholic fermentation is due to the presence of a minute fungus, the yeast fungus, the living protoplasm of whose cells have the property of separating solution of sugar into alcohol, which remains in the liquid, and carbonic acid, which escapes into the air.'—*Address of Dr. Allman*, British Association, August 20, 1879.

³ In the *Notitia Eucharistica* (p. 883) Mr. Scudamore wrote, 'In a case of necessity the expressed juice of grapes has always been held to be wine for the purpose of the Sacrament.' Pp. 883–885 distinctly show that

we are enabled to state, on authority too high to be questioned, that Dr. Kerr 'has clearly attributed to him opinions that he never advocated either in his writings or, as far as is known, by anything he ever said in his lifetime.'

Little more remains to be said. For instructed and believing Churchmen the proceedings of the 'General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Organization in America,' or of 'the Free and United Presbyterian Bodies in Scotland,' or of 'English Presbyterians,' or 'of Congregationalists, Baptists, &c.,' or even the 'Established Church of Scotland,' or 'the Mildmay Conference,' or the opinion of one 'Johannes Marck, Amst., 1722,' who, in Dr. Kerr's eyes, represents 'the Reformers' rolled into one, have, in a matter of this kind, the slightest interest, except so far as they exhibit the carelessness in regard to the administration of the Sacraments which seems to be the sure result of self-constituted ministries. The answer to the opinion of 'the well-known ecclesiastical lawyer, Dr. A. J. Stephens, Q.C.' (quoted by Dr. Kerr, p. 148) has already been given in the foregoing pages. Our readers can judge for themselves of the value of an 'opinion' which begins by saying 'that there is no evidence to show whether "the fruit of the vine" our Saviour administered at the Last Supper was "unfermented" or "fermented;"' and if it be urged that there are no decrees of Councils against the use of the unfermented liquor, the simple reply is that the practice is so entirely novel, that save in cases of scarcity it has never been seriously entertained in any part of the Catholic Church, and, therefore, did not require Synodical attention. But the Church's action in the Manichæan controversies in the fourth century, and the treatment of the Manichæan sects which arose at the beginning of the middle ages, indicate clearly enough what the verdict would have been if the question had been raised among the Orthodox.

In his appeal to the bishops and clergy to treat the use of unfermented wine at the celebration of the Holy Eucharist as an open question, Dr. Kerr asks 'whether any custom can be wholly in accordance with the teaching and character of Christ, which in the days of widespread and hereditary alcoholism is unsafe for the weakest of those for whom He died' (p. 150). We reply that if the Son of God in His

such a necessity was scarcity of 'vinum vitis' in the ordinary acceptation of the term. Dr. Kerr represents him as saying, 'In the case of necessity, the expressed juice has always, &c.' There is no reference to the general principle of using 'expressed juice' any more than there is in the passage of Durandus quoted by Dr. Kerr (p. 137).

wisdom and omniscience used, as we claim to have shown, alcoholic wine at the institution of the Sacrament, we dare not alter the matter which He chose to be the means of conveying His Sacramental gifts to the members of His mystical body. Fermentation is a natural process ; a liquid in which it is *prevented* by artificial means ceases to be in any true sense wine ; and the Sacrament can be no more celebrated with such a fluid than it can be celebrated with water, according to Gnostic or Manichæan usage, or with the liquid of the cocoanut actually used by missionaries connected with the London Missionary Society in their 'love-feasts,' for they are nothing else, in the islands of the South Sea. With Dr. Kerr's views about the Holy Eucharist we are not concerned (see p. 133), but no one who believes in the reality of Sacramental grace can doubt for one moment that in the faithful use of the cup of salvation our Lord will shield His own redeemed from any possible harm.

Dr. Kerr uses himself, or else quotes from speeches or writings of a few other physicians, language in regard to the reception of the chalice by 'reformed drunkards' which we will not repeat. (See pp. 126, 128, 133-134, 150-153.) He tells us that—

'Not a few victims, saved through abstinence from this vice, and crime, and sin have, after manfully resisting the temptations of the world for years, been tempted again to ruin by partaking of alcoholic wine at the Holy Communion, *in which they had with difficulty been persuaded to join by an unenlightened, though zealous Christian minister*' (p. 123).

In illustration of this he gives an instance (pp. 123-125) of the relapse of 'a Christian worker, B,' once a drunkard, who had been appointed 'to the responsible post of Scripture reader to S. —'s church,' but who in fear of 'partaking of ever so small a quantity of intoxicating liquor,' refused to receive the Holy Eucharist. A., 'with whom B. was closely allied in all Church fellowship except the Communion,' persuaded him to receive the Sacrament. 'Immediately after communion' B. left A.'s pew, and was found 'late at night, mad with drink, in a gin-shop near the church.' We cannot, of course, doubt the fact, and, although it is difficult to imagine that any clergyman would engage a 'Scripture reader' who from whatever cause was a non-communicant, we must accept the statement that this occurrence took place in the Church of England. But there are certain phenomena in this and similar stories to which we beg attention. The church must have been one in which Zwinglian teaching prevailed ;

the person in question had probably no real faith in Sacramental grace; and, although it is not distinctly stated, we suspect that the celebration was held, after the excitement and fatigue of a day's work, in the evening. The story is paralleled by another recently told at a 'Blue Ribbon' meeting, at which a case somewhat similar occurred after an evening celebration.¹ We appeal with confidence to clergymen who teach the reality of Sacramental grace, whose people are trained in an intelligent appreciation of Sacramental blessings, whose celebrations, whether in the early morning or at mid-day, are conducted with the dignity and reverence which the Eucharist demands, to say whether such cases have ever come within their experience? If, here and there, a lately recovered dipsomaniac, with mind and will as yet unhinged, is unable to receive the chalice with safety under existing bodily and mental conditions, then he is surely for the time being better without a Sacrament which, as a judgment upon former sin, he is as yet incapable of using aright.

We are quite aware that intemperance is sometimes a physical as well as a moral evil, but we decline to believe either that intoxication is in the great majority of cases a physical disease, or that, even where the law of heredity in alcohol operates, the grace of God is powerless to release the body as well as the soul of a man who yields his will to our Lord, and is constantly strengthened by His indwelling presence. We feel bound to say that much of the prevalent teaching in regard to the subject of 'the heredity of alcohol' (*Wines &c.*, pp. 130-132) appears to us most dangerous, for it is not to alcohol only that men will be tempted to apply it. But it has often been noted that low views of Sacraments, involving denial of the reality of divine grace, are accompanied by despair of the recovery of our fallen nature.

To the appeal of Dr. Kerr we feel confident that our readers can only give a decided and emphatic negative: but if the discussion of this very painful question should result in greater care being taken as to the unadulterated character of the wine used at the Holy Communion, it will not have been altogether in vain. It is much to be regretted that a proposal made in 1662 to add to the paragraph of the Rubric about the Eucharistic elements the words 'the wine also shall be of the best and purest that may be had,' was not

¹ See letter by the Rev. W. Reid, D.D., *United Presbyterian Magazine*, May 1875.

actually carried out.¹ There is no doubt that many of the wines now in use are open to grave objections, and we think that it would be a wise and prudent step if a Committee were appointed by Convocation to investigate the question and, after submitting certain specimens to thoroughly qualified public analysts, to report the result for the guidance of the clergy.

And with the Bishop of Bedford² we would plead also for a general restoration of the mixed chalice, not only on this special ground of mercy, but upon higher ones also. The ceremonial admixture during the service has, we are aware, been forbidden by the judgment of the last Dean of the Arches,³ but a mixture previous to the commencement of the Office has been sanctioned by that Court, and it is in harmony with the usage of all the Oriental Churches. Probably this would not meet the views of persons to whom 'it is a matter of perfect indifference what any ecclesiastical authority may decree,'⁴ but it would, we trust, simplify difficulties possibly felt by some who in their advocacy of total abstinence as a discipline, or as an act of self-denial on behalf of others, do not allow themselves to forget the reverence due to the Sacrament of Our Lord's own institution, the claims of Church order, and the real risk of confusion and strife at the holiest service,⁵ if alcoholic wine and unfermented fluids are indiscriminately used.

In matters ecclesiastical as in matters political it is a fatal mistake, however excellent an object may be and however disinterested the motives of its promoters, to allow it to be supposed that matters of essential principle can be treated as open questions. We consider that this rule of action, which is of the first importance, should be firmly upheld by all instructed Churchmen who join, as we hope they will continue to do in increasing numbers, in direct temperance work. We do not, of course, suppose that the opinions of Dr. Kerr are likely to be adopted by the Executive Committee of the Church of England Temperance Society in their official capacity, but anyone who has acquainted himself with the weekly newspaper which is the official organ of the society, will be aware of the prominent

¹ Scudamore, *N. E.* p. 381.

² Sermon at S. Paul's, *Church of England Temperance Chronicle*, May 7, 1880.

³ *Martin v. Mackonochie*. In the case of *Hebbert v. Purchas*, we do not forget that the Court of Appeal declared any mixture illegal.

⁴ *Wines &c.*, p. 150.

⁵ Bishop Wordsworth, *Diocesan Addresses*, 1876, p. 47.

place which has not unfrequently been afforded for the exposition of the views advanced in *Wines, Scriptural and Ecclesiastical*, and will have noted the deference with which they are received.¹ The writer of these pages has now for some years been himself a worker as a total abstainer in the society, and there is no wish whatever to hold the Executive responsible for any utterances beyond those of its officers and speakers specially appointed to deputational work: but we cannot imagine occasions more important than some of those on which the opinions we so sincerely deplore have been either hinted at or openly expressed.² Evidence of the clearest kind lies before us, showing that the reception of these opinions in a form still cruder has too often been the sequel of the Blue Ribbon Gospel Temperance Missions,³ and to these Missions the Executive of the Church of England Temperance Society have given an emphatic approval by inviting Mr. R. T. Booth, who claims to be the founder of the movement, to speak in the presence of 27,000 persons at the Annual Temperance Fête at the Crystal Palace on July 4, 1882.⁴ As

¹ See *Church of England Temperance Chronicle*, vol. vii. pp. 597, 793; ix. 722, 315; x. 649.

² At the Anniversary Meeting of the Total Abstinence Section in 1881, and at the Church Congress, October 1882. The lecture in the Chapter House of S. Paul's was very fully reported, and 'Wines: Scriptural and Ecclesiastical' is on sale at the dépôt of the C.E.T.S.

³ That this movement is thoroughly dissenting in its character is amply proved by the *Blue Ribbon Official Gazette*, although that paper is edited by 'the Rev. M. Baxter, Clergyman of the Church of England.' It has many of the most objectionable features of the Salvation Army, although it has not as yet proceeded to so much irreverence in its services. It is sometimes denied that it has any organization, yet the 'Army' now possesses sixty halls throughout England in which 'the glad tidings of the Gospel, together with the duty of temperance, are proclaimed nearly every evening, and these buildings are included, like those possessed by any other dissenting sect, in the returns issued by the Registrar-General.' See *Whitaker's Almanack*, 1883, p. 209. We believe that the object of the movement is not only to inculcate temperance, but to introduce the idea of a colourless Christianity from which all distinctive teaching of Church principles shall be eliminated. Canon Basil Wilberforce is reported to have said, 'The blue ribbon was the great source of unity in the Church; it smashed up sectarianism' (Speech at Aldershot, Oct. 11, 1882). The character of the Blue Ribbon and kindred movements is explained in an excellent paper by the Rev. T. P. Ring, Vicar of Hanley, published at the Church of England Temperance Dépôt, Lichfield, and to this we would refer our readers.

⁴ See also a speech by Canon Ellison, *Church of England Temperance Chronicle*, vol. x. p. 524. The pamphlet referred to has been published in a separate form under the title of '*The Blue Ribbon Army, or Gospel Temperance Mission—its Relation to, and Bearing upon, the Church of England Temperance Society.*' C.E.T.S. Publication Dépôt, price 1d.

we write, we note with the deepest regret that Canon Ellison has just issued a pamphlet in which distinct and formal encouragement is given, on behalf of the Executive Committee, to active co-operation in these so-called Missions. Into all the bearings of this step we may not now enter; but the leaders of the society cannot be made to understand too plainly that the price of the patronage of the 'Blue Ribbon Movement,' and the teaching which is its issue, will be the alienation of many earnest Churchmen who would otherwise be found among its most hearty and enthusiastic supporters. These will be obliged to work in other ways for the promotion of temperance and the rescue of the drunkard. Opinions such as have been reviewed in this article too often originate in a failure to grasp in their fulness the root-principles of the kingdom of the Incarnation, and in regard to the particular matter which has been before us, if the Executive Committee of the Society desires to retain the confidence of a large section of the English Church, its members must have the courage to say boldly that for us the question of the use of unfermented wine at the celebration of the Holy Eucharist is closed, because 'we have no such custom, neither the Churches of God.'

THE RETROSPECT OF 1882.

THE CHURCH AT HOME: THE END OF 1882.

WE reviewed the year in our last number at the close of the active season. But in the three months which have since elapsed events of so much interest to Churchmen have succeeded each other that we cannot afford to wait till the autumn of 1883 to refer to them. Admirable in every personal quality as Archbishop Tait was, he did not merely shine by personal merits. Riskful and mistaken his public policy no doubt was in various details, particularly in the earlier years of his episcopate: but he was one who learned by experience, and he had the distinguished excellence in a public man of grasping and putting forth the dignity and power of his office, and by the unexpected and unwonted strength which he infused into the Primacy of All England he has put the mark of inexpediency against that favourite creation of modern statesmanship, a weak Archbishop of Canterbury. Bright as are the hopes raised by the prospect of the Archiepiscopate of one who under the influence of a nature both energetic and sympathetic unites apprehension of the past and mastery of the present as the Bishop of Truro has shown himself to do, yet his succession has been rendered more easy by the career of the last Metropolitan having led

public opinion to expect self-assertion in the holder of the office. On his death-bed Archbishop Tait, by a single stroke alike generous and politic, went far to reverse the main error of his administration ; while, in the exchange carried out between Mr. Mackonochie and Mr. Suckling—for which also great thanks are due to the Bishop of London—we see the earnest of peace in the Church by a liberal recognition of the claims of the Ceremonial party. To this happy consummation the *Times* stood sponsor, and then in less than a fortnight was found applauding the inconceivable perversity of the Bishop of Manchester in refusing, on grounds of irritating pettiness, to induct Mr. Cowgill to Mr. Green's late living of Miles Platting. It is deplorable to view this wanton prolongation of strife ; but if, as we believe, the bishop's proceeding has no warrant of law, it will not be the High Church party who will be the final sufferers.

Other deaths of distinguished Churchmen besides that of the Archbishop have marked the closing months of 1882. In Bishop Ollivant of Llandaff we have an instance of decided opinion allied to sympathy and judicial fairness. We may reveal that he was the author of the article on the Welsh Church in our last number. Archdeacon Randall continued the best tradition of the learned High Churchman of an antique type. Dean Close was a foremost leader among Low Churchmen ; while Professor Challis and Sir Thomas Watson, both distinguished Cambridge graduates, showed that in England science and faith could go hand in hand.

THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION OUT OF ENGLAND.

No fewer than nine vacancies have occurred in the ranks of the Colonial and Missionary Episcopate during the past year. Bishop Barker, of Sydney, died in Europe at an advanced age, and after an episcopate of twenty-eight years. Bishop Merriman, whose long career had been full of the dangers which surround travellers in wild regions and among wild races, met his death by the commonplace overturning of a little pony-carriage close to his own door. Bishop Steere died almost suddenly at Zanzibar shortly after paying a too hurried visit to this country ; and Bishop Fauquier, of Algoma, a less well-known prelate, died at his post in the midst of abundant and self-denying labours in one of the poorest and most neglected of our colonial dioceses. Bishop Short has resigned the See of Adelaide in his eightieth year. Bishops Mitchinson and Bromby have returned from Barbados and Tasmania respectively and have taken benefices with the view of adding to their parochial work the duty of assisting, the former the Bishop of Peterborough, the latter the Bishop of Lichfield, in the care of their dioceses. Bishop Titcomb, not having recovered from the effects of a fall in the Tounghoo Mountains, has been compelled to resign work to which he was no longer equal, and is invalided at home. Bishop Cheetham, having resigned Sierra Leone, accepted, first, a benefice in Yorkshire, from which he has already moved to West Cowes.

To the dioceses of Barbados and Rangoon the Rev. Herbert Bree and the Rev. J. M. Strachan were respectively appointed, and

they were consecrated together on the Festival of SS. Philip and James. The Bishop of Rangoon holds a diploma as a medical man. He is not the only Bishop who has this distinction, for it is shared by the Bishop of S. John's, Kaffraria, the Rev. Dr. Callaway. The Rev. G. W. Kennion, Vicar of All Saints, Bradford, was consecrated on S. Andrew's Day Bishop of Adelaide. The other sees are still void, and we cannot forbear to call attention to the free and ready way in which Colonial Synods appraise the merits and qualifications of distinguished men in England, with an evident belief that they have only to 'throw the handkerchief' to them and they will be prompt to become their Bishops. This has been notably the case recently at Sydney ; we suppose that it is only to be prevented by suggesting to colonial synodsmen that such conduct is not in good taste, and may make the synodsmen themselves ridiculous. Another see remains vacant, and there is good ground for hoping that it will never again be filled ; we refer to the Anglo-German bishopric at Jerusalem, which has now existed for forty-one years without fulfilling the expectations either of its promoters or of its opponents.

The Bishop of Cape Town has been in England for a few months, and has returned to Africa in time to preside over the Provincial Synod which will be held in this current month of January. We have in a former number dealt with the Grahamstown judgment. We trust that the Synod of South Africa will take no hasty action. True wisdom lies in a Fabian policy, and until the Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Courts has been presented to the Crown, any action in regard to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council would be premature. Those who think that its position will be maintained unchanged, and that its contradictory utterances will still be permitted to add to the perplexities of lawyers all over the world, must have a sanguine belief in the doctrine that threatened institutions live long.

In another part of the world a vast empire is rapidly growing up, and in the North-West of Canada a virgin soil and cheap land are attracting hosts of immigrants from the older Canadian provinces, as well as from England and the Continent of Europe. Attention is being called to this development, wholly without precedent in the growth even of our Colonial Empire, in the newspapers and by other means, but the figures are so large that we hardly realize the vast scale on which these future colonies are being founded. When the Bishop of Rupert's Land states that the population of the city of Winnipeg was in 1865 250, and that at the close of 1880 it was 12,000, and twelve months later was 20,000, we can understand how natural is his lordship's anxiety that provision should at once be made for the vast multitudes who are settling down in his diocese. For these crowds are really settling down ; no sudden discovery of gold has produced 'a rush ;' it is only the temptation of cheap land and fruitful soil, and the prospect of easy communication with the rest of the world at no distant time, on the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which has attracted and is attracting an industrious immigration that will rapidly occupy the territory extending from Lake Winnipeg to

the Rocky Mountains. It is obvious that the resources of a young and struggling diocese are quite unequal to the sudden strain to which Rupert's Land is now subjected; if the mother Church does not assist, and that lavishly, for the next few years, the colony will not be Pagan, for the Dissenting communities of England and Canada are fully conscious of the position and are liberally helping their members; but the Church, which has had a good start, will lag miserably in the background, and will never recover the position which it is possible for her now to maintain.

The Bishop of Guiana, the Nestor of the Colonial Church, completed the fortieth year of his episcopate on S. Bartholomew's Day. The occasion was duly commemorated in the colony; many addresses were presented to the venerable Bishop, who, in good health and with unabated vigour, is prosecuting his work in a diocese which of late years has become one of the most remarkable spheres of evangelistic work, in consequence of the conditions of the colony, which demand the immigration of many thousands of coolies from China and India. These showed their gratitude to the Church in the person of the Bishop. The Chinese address, signed by 169 communicants, was written on a large sheet of silk; and the Indian coolies presented an address in Hindi and Urdu, which was signed by 239 persons in Urdu, Hindi, Tamil and Bengali. Such a day was a memorable one indeed, and the Governor of the colony, in presenting the address of the English clergy and laity, was fully justified in remarking that, 'while a large proportion of Bishops appointed to colonial sees subsequently to his lordship have been obliged to retire from their work, the senior Bishop in the whole of her Majesty's dominions is one who has had the courage to spend and be spent, protected withal by Almighty God, amidst the many dangers of a climate so often fatal to the European constitution.'

THE OLD CATHOLICS.

THE number of the members of the Old Catholic Church remains much the same. In the towns they have had some gains, in the country some losses, but no material change has taken place in the sum total of 100,000 souls.

In Germany the Ultramontanes have been strong enough to inflict a petty insult on them in the Prussian House of Deputies by denying them the name of Catholics in the ecclesiastical budget vote, and to do them a serious injury at Munich by withdrawing from them the use of the church of S. Nicolas, which they have held for the last eleven years. The plea on which this was done was that Bishop Reinkens had administered confirmation in the church, which the now Ultramontane majority of the Town Council of Munich pronounced to be a sacrilegious act. Thereupon they resumed the church, and handed it over to the Roman Catholics. The Old Catholics have appealed to their brethren in Germany and to their sympathizers elsewhere for help, by means of which they hope to build themselves a new church.

In Austria, where Old Catholicism has had so uphill a work to

do, one of the few priests belonging to the Old Catholic body, Pfarrer Kürzinger of Ried, has been induced, partly by the Bishop of Linz, an Ultramontane of the Ultramontanes, and partly perhaps by the pressure of poverty, to pass across to the Roman Catholic ranks. He has been followed by only two women of his congregation, and a new priest is about to be appointed in his room. There are ten Old Catholic communities in Austria, but only three of them have been rich enough to provide themselves with an Austrian-born priest, and the Government, which is anxious to stamp out Old Catholicism, takes good care that none but an Austrian-born priest shall be appointed or shall officiate even for a day. The Austrian Old Catholic Synod is making efforts to supply Meistersdorf and Aeussing with pfarrers as well as Ried.

The Christian Catholic Church of Switzerland (Bishop Herzog explains that the title *Christian Catholic* was 'the name gladly adopted in Switzerland from the earliest ages by those who did not wish to call themselves *Roman Catholics*') has lost the doubtful advantage that it derived from being put in possession of parishes in the canton of Berne, where it had not a real majority of the population on its side. It obtained this position through Pius IX. having forbidden the Roman Catholics to vote for the parish priest, according to the ancient national custom, on pain of excommunication. The result was that in some thirty places the Old Catholics, although in a minority, elected the curé. Leo XIII., reversing the policy of Pius, desired the Roman Catholics to take part in the ensuing election, and they have in consequence ousted their Old Catholic competitors by their preponderance of votes. There are some towns, such as Porrentruy, where, if the Old Catholic pfarrer had shown more zeal, the congregation might have been kept together, but this was not the case in many of these places. Bishop Herzog has during the year issued a Pastoral in which he once more states and defends the Old Catholic position. Their strength, he says, lies in 'the Catholic and national character' of their Church, in their firm maintenance of the Creeds, in an open Bible, in personal piety; and he justifies the introduction of such reforms as the use of the vulgar tongue, the marriage of the clergy, voluntary in place of enforced confession, the restoration of the cup, the election of bishops and priests.

In Italy an effort has been made by Count Campello to arouse his countrymen to an interest in religious reform on the basis of the Nicene Creed, the six Ecumenical Councils, the election of bishops and priests, the recognition of the Pope of Rome as no more than *primus inter pares*, liturgical worship in the vulgar tongue, marriage of the clergy, and voluntary confession. His effort has not met with present success, as the average Italian layman takes no interest at all in religion, and the priests are under the absolute government and control of their bishops, who are themselves nominated by the Pope. Count Campello is himself a regular attendant and communicant at the American Church, and has found some spiritual and pastoral work to do among the Jews in Rome. He has expressed a strong desire to make himself acquainted with the working of the Church in

England. Padre Curci, who has taken up a position similar to that long occupied by Passaglia, since the publication of his *Nuovo Testamento* has been preparing a Commentary on the Psalms, which he is about to issue. The relations between him and the Vatican are so strained that he is not allowed to preach nor even to say Mass except privately in his own house. A little more, and the chain would snap.

SHORT NOTICES.

The Pulpit Commentary. Exodus : Exposition and Homiletics, by the Rev. GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A. *Deuteronomy*, by the Rev. W. L. ALEXANDER, D.D., and Dr. CLEMANCE. (London : Kegan Paul, Trench and Co., 1882.)

A COMMENTARY on the Book of Exodus can hardly fail to be interesting, from the number and the striking character of the incidents to be treated of ; and that before us is no exception to the rule. In Canon Rawlinson we have a writer who is well acquainted with the literature of the subject, and qualified to put the reader of our day *au fait* with the mass of facts bearing on the subjects of the Israelite sojourn in Egypt and their remarkable Exodus therefrom, which recent travel and exploration, and more direct researches into the remaining monuments of those distant ages, afford.

The great advance of Egyptology during the present generation, the useful work of the Palestine Exploration Fund, the writings of Brugsch Bey, Robinson, Palmer, and others, have each their store of facts to adduce, and these have been carefully noted and used. Canon Rawlinson very wisely declines to accept Dr. Brugsch's brilliant theory so recently put forward, that what the Israelites crossed was not the Red Sea at all, but a lagoon leading from the Mediterranean, and that the Egyptian army perished in the waters of Lake Serbonis. But his counter arguments do not seem very cogent, though perhaps we have no reason to complain if, after this lapse of time, no really substantial refutation is forthcoming of an arbitrary theory. On the other hand, the section on the Mosaic authorship of the book is admirably and ably argued, and must carry conviction to every candid mind. The clear, succinct summary of 'Early Egyptian History and Chronology' will be of great use to many readers to whom most treatises on the subject are unintelligible because of technicalities, though some of its conclusions are disputable (see pp. xxiii-xxv). It is curious to notice that the 'lice' of the third plague (*kinnim*) are identified with the 'mosquitoes' (Egyptian *khennems*), and the fourth is made to be not 'flies,' which on this supposition would be *included* in the third, but 'beetles'—both probable suppositions.

On the whole, this seems to us a very good volume indeed. The

Homiletic element is about the same as in previous volumes, and requires no special remark. Surely, however, it is puerile to talk of Egypt as being 'God's Aldershot' (p. 8) : nor is it accurate either, for the Israelites were simply slaves in Egypt, not soldiers.

Another volume of the same work treats of Deuteronomy. The 'Introduction' appears to us a careful, industrious, and painstaking *résumé* of the evidence for the authenticity of the book. The writer unhesitatingly accepts and defends the integrity of the book, now so fiercely assailed in many quarters, while candidly admitting possible exceptions. He allows that it may yet be fairly inquired 'whether there may not be portions of it which are additions to the original writing, or interpolations introduced by some later writer.' For example, he is disposed to regard the ethnographical notices as being such. 'They have, it must be confessed,' he says, 'very much the appearance of being interpolations, and may possibly be glosses that have been introduced by some editor of the work into the text.' The account of the appointment of the cities of refuge on the east of Jordan (iv. 41-43) and Moses' song (xxxii. 1-43) he assigns to the original hand. Of the latter insertion into the body of the narrative he observes :—

'It is urged that this song is so constructed that the Divine guidance of Israel (v. 12, &c.) and their ingratitude (v. 15, &c.) are referred to as things already past. But this ignores the *prophetic* character of the song, and mistakes the style of the prophetic utterance. Moses was a prophet ; and the prophets, or seers, not only looked to the future, but beheld it as present ; and the energy of their perception of it stamped itself on their words, so that they very frequently represent as actually before them or as already done what in reality was yet future. So familiar is this usage that grammarians have recognized the "prophetic perfect" as an idiom of the Hebrew. Nor is it in prophecy alone that this presentation of the future as actual is to be found ; the poet also claims liberty to do the same, and exercises it freely. Even if Moses, then, be regarded as only an uninspired poet, the use of the preterite in the passages referred to may be accounted for without supposing that the song is the production of a later writer.' (P. xxxvii.)

It appears to us that this reassertion of the venerable age and the substantial integrity of the book is a timely one. The tactics of late adopted to discredit it are to avoid argument and to assert its non-Mosaic character as a patent fact, long since demonstrated and not deserving a reiteration of the proof. It is the same method over again which Bishop Butler, in the 'Advertisement' to his great treatise, noticed as having been observed by himself. 'It has come, I know not how, to be taken for granted by many persons that Christianity is not so much as a subject of enquiry, but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious ; and accordingly they treat it as if in the present age this were an agreed point among all people of discernment, and nothing remained but to set it up as a principal subject of mirth and ridicule.'

Just so the freethinkers of the day behave now ; and therefore we welcome the present volume, with its sensible and modest Introduction. We do not find much that is novel in it, though the homiletic part of it is fairly good.

The Medical Language of S. Luke. By the Rev. WILLIAM KIRK HOBART, LL.D., ex-Scholar, Trinity College, Dublin. (Dublin : Hodges ; London : Longmans, 1882.)

THE object of this work is to establish the fact that the third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles are both 'the works of a person well acquainted with the language of the Greek medical schools,' a fact which, if established, will of course serve as a strong confirmation of the belief of the Church that both works are written by the same person, and that that person is 'Luke the beloved physician.' The method by which Dr. Hobart seeks to establish his case is a thorough and exhaustive comparison of the vocabulary of the writer of these books with the phraseology of the Greek medical writers whose works have come down to us, viz., Hippocrates (B.C. 460-357); Aretæus (first century A.D.); Galen (A.D. 130-200); and Dioscorides (first or second century A.D.). The work as a whole is excellently done. Dr. Hobart is wisely not content with mere references, but quotes the illustrative passages in full, so that everyone can draw his own conclusions from them. It will be obvious how greatly this increases the value of the volume. It enables us to weigh the evidence for ourselves, and if we are forced sometimes to dispute the conclusions at which the author arrives, it is he himself who supplies us with the material on which to form our judgment, and furnishes us with arguments which may perhaps be turned against him.

The book is divided into two parts, the first of which is devoted to a careful examination of the language used in the accounts of the miracles of healing in the third Gospel and the Acts. Here we have, as is natural, all the more familiar instances of medical language, pointed out by commentators from time immemorial, such as πυρετός μέγας, ἀχλὺς, βάσεις καὶ σφυρά, παραλελυμένος (instead of παραλντικός as in S. Matthew and S. Mark). These are stock examples with which every one is familiar; but besides these Dr. Hobart points out how much more carefully S. Luke describes the details of the miracles of healing than do the other Evangelists, and how the precise words which he uses may in almost every case be illustrated by analogous usages in the professedly medical writers named above.

The second part is intended to establish the fact that

'S. Luke did not forget or abandon the language of his earlier years and professional training on becoming a Christian teacher and historian; but that even in his general narrative he frequently employs words and phrases, when they suited his purpose, to which, from long association, he had become habituated through his early studies and professional pursuits.' (P. 86.)

This part contains some of the most striking and convincing examples, and also, we fear we must add, some of the very weakest. It is really a little too much to ask us to believe that the reason why S. Luke alone records the saying 'If he shall ask an egg will he offer him a scorpion' is that it

'would be likely to impress itself on a physician's mind—from the

medical opposition, as it were, between the things' (why medical opposition?), 'and from his familiarity with the words. The egg was a frequent prescription for the nourishment of invalids and an ingredient in medical compounds; and the venom of the scorpion's sting had frequently to be medically treated.' (P. 135.)

All this is highly ingenious, but it is scarcely argument. Nor is it much more to the point to be told that σκάφη (which S. Luke uses in Acts xxvii. 32 for a *boat*) was the medical name of *the moveable bath*, σκαφίς that of *a measure for medicine*! and σκαφοειδές that of *a bone*! (p. 279). The information may be perfectly correct, but what in the world has it got to do with the fact that S. Luke uses σκάφη for a boat? Indeed a clever controversialist might just as plausibly argue that the passage in question could not have been written by a medical man, because to him σκάφη would have meant the moveable bath, and not the boat. Thus Dr. Hobart is playing with edged tools; and as he has so many really strong and conclusive instances of medical language, it is a pity that he should burden his pages with such specimens as these, and weaken his case by the endeavour to prove too much. As examples of the more valuable portion of his work we may select the following, which are of a very different character from the ones alluded to above:—

'In recording Our Lord's saying: "It is easier for a camel to go through *the eye of a needle*, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God," S. Matthew (xix. 24) uses the words—

διὰ τρυπήματος ῥαφίδος.

S. Mark (x. 25) has much the same, viz.—

διὰ τῆς τρυμαλίας τῆς ῥαφίδος.

S. Luke (xviii. 25), however, employs a different expression—

διὰ τρήματος βελόνης.

The words used by S. Luke are those which a medical man would naturally employ, for βελόνη *was the surgical needle*, and τρήμα *the great medical word for a perforation of any kind*. But still further, we meet with the same expression in Galen, *Comm.* ii. 7, *Offic.* (xviii. B. 740): ὥσαύτως δὲ καὶ ὅτι ῥάμμα τοῦ διατρήματος τῆς βελόνης διηρμένον ἔνεκα τοῦ συνάγειν ἀλλήλοις ἦτοι τὰ μόρια τοῦ διατετμημένου σώματος. And to express the puncture made by the needle: διὰ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν βελόνην τρήματος, Galen, *Sang. in Arter.* 2 (ii. 708).' (P. 60.)

Again, on Acts x. 11, 'And saw heaven opened, and a certain vessel descending unto him, as it had been a great sheet knit at *the four corners* (τέσσαρσιν ἄρχαῖς), and let down to the earth,' we read as follows:—

'ἄρχαι, in the sense it bears here, is peculiar to S. Luke, as also is ὁθόνη; and the phrase ἀρχαὶ ὁθόνης bears clearly on the face of it the mark of a medical hand, for this strange use of ἀρχαί, "the beginnings," for "the ends," was the technical expression in medical language for the ends of bandages, instead of πέρατα employed in ordinary language. Galen remarks on this use, *Comm. Offic.* ii. 8 (xviii. B. 748): καὶ τισιν ἔδοξεν ἀρχὰς ἐπιδέσμων ἀκούειν ἀντὶ τοῦ πέρατα, καίτοι γενικώτερον ὄνομα τὸ πέρασ ἐστὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς.' (P. 218.)

These instances, it will be seen at once, are worth something ; and though they are perhaps the strongest, yet they by no means stand alone. Taken as a whole the work is undoubtedly an instructive one, and contains an immense amount of curious and useful information on a subject which has hitherto been very little noticed. The instances require careful sifting, and a large number may require to be struck out as being nothing to the point. But after all necessary deductions have been made, a sufficient number of really solid ones will remain to justify Dr. Hobart's conclusion that

'there would seem to be a vein of medical language running through the general history, and appearing chiefly in the use of some *words peculiar to the author*, or in the use of others which, though not peculiar to him, are yet *of more frequent occurrence* in his writings than in the rest of the New Testament, and all of which were in common use with the Greek physicians.' (P. 54.)

The Book of Enoch : translated from the Ethiopic, with Introduction and Notes, by the Rev. GEORGE H. SCHODDE, Ph.D., Professor in Capital University, Columbus, Ohio. 1882.

THE Book of Enoch, though held in some estimation by several early Christian authors, and quoted also by Jewish writers, disappeared for many centuries, and was only known through the references in the Fathers and some extracts made by Syncellus in the eighth century in his *Chronography*. In 1773 the famous traveller Bruce discovered three copies of the Ethiopic version of the Book, and brought them with him to Europe. The Book, however, attracted but little attention until Archbishop Laurence published his translation in 1821, which went through two more editions in 1833 and 1838. Since that time the book has been subjected to a more thorough examination and analysis by German scholars and critics, and a useful digest of their results is now given by Dr. Schodde, together with a careful English translation and copious notes on the text.

The opinion of the majority of critics (p. 26) is that Enoch, like the Fourth of Esdras and other Apocryphal books, is a compilation, gathered from works by different authors ; or that the book in its present form contains the original treatise, together with a framework of interpolations by other hands.

I. The original treatise, which was the groundwork of the present one, is supposed to include chapters i. to xxxvi., and chapters lxxii. to cv.

II. The interpolation in chapters xxxvii. to lxxi. is described as *the Parables*. These are found to differ from the original treatise in their doctrine of angels, demons, and the world to come.

III. There are the *Noachic fragments*, which as claiming to be revelations to Noah, are *foreign* to the original plan, which was the description of the visions of Noah's progenitor Enoch. These fragments occur in chapters liv. 7 to lv. 2 ; lxx. 1 to lxx. 25 ; in chapters lx., cvi., and cvii.

To each of these portions an attempt has been made to assign a date by means of internal evidence.

The *original treatise*, since it contains the prophecy of the judgment quoted in S. Jude's Epistle, is generally assigned to a period prior to the Christian era. The complaints of the oppression of the saints by the ungodly, the hope of a just retribution in a future world, and of a speedy vengeance on the wicked, point to a time of persecution from heathen rulers, such as the faithful and pious Jews encountered at the beginning of the Maccabean struggle. 'The aim of the author was to restore the faith of his people in the promises of God, when it was sorely tried by calamities and reverses. Enoch was a name naturally connected with the hope of immortality which nerved the faithful to resist unto death the tyrannical attempts of Antiochus Epiphanes to force them to apostasy. Thus Enoch (chapters cii., ciii.) beholds Sheol as the place of departed spirits both good and bad. In chapter xxii. it is divided into four compartments : one for those righteous who died at the hands of sinners, the second for the other saints, the third for the sinners who were not punished on earth, the fourth for those whose retribution was partially given them before death. The wicked shall rise again for punishment, the righteous to partake of the glories of the Messiah's kingdom. But the Messiah of the *original treatise* differs from the Messiah of the *Parables*, being only a Deliverer and Conqueror, represented in the allegory in chapter xc. as a bullock with large horns, whilst the other princes of Israel are sheep (p. 40). The treatise also contains the fable of the angelic parentage of the giants in Gen. vi., which is related with much coarseness of detail. This notion about the fallen angels and the Nephilim, as well as the story of their communicating the knowledge of arts and inventions to mankind, may have been partly derived from Enoch by the early Christian writers who quote them. The doctrine is repudiated by the 'Book of Adam and Eve' (*Church Quarterly Review*, vol. xv. p. 225), and by the best Christian authors of the fourth and fifth centuries. A large portion of the treatise is devoted to an account of nature and its laws. Chapter lxxii. to lxxxii. is called 'the book of the courses of the luminaries of heaven, how it is with each one of them as to their classes, their governments, and their *times*.' There are twelve gates of the sun, out of six he ascends, and into six he descends. These gates vary through the 364 days of the year, which answer to the years of Enoch's earthly career. Then similar laws are given for the circuit of the moon. Uriel, the holy angel, is Enoch's instructor upon these points. Then follow the gates of the winds, whence proceed drought, rain, and dew; then the moon's waxing and waning is explained. Evil days are predicted, in which the years shall be shortened and the moon shall change her order. A lengthy allegory follows, in which the characters in the sacred history are represented as cows, elephants, camels, asses, sheep, &c. This allegory extends from Adam and Eve to the times of the author.

The *Parables*, three in number, occupy chapters xxxvii. to lxxi. The author of these is thought to differ from the writer of the *original treatise* in his doctrine as to the Messiah and the future state. Here God is called the Ancient of Days, as in Daniel, but more frequently

the 'Lord of Spirits.' Angels are more distinctly divided into ranks—Cherubim, Seraphim, and Ophanim. Instead of the Nephilim, or demons, who are the offspring of the angels, there are Satans, or angels of vengeance, who punish the mighty ones after their condemnation in the final judgment. The offences of princes and rulers being especially dwelt upon, it has been inferred that the author lived in a degenerate period of the Jewish kingdom; and from the mention of the Parthians, a date as late as the time of Herod the Great has been arrived at. The *Parables*, as distinct from the original treatise, set forth the supernatural character of the Messiah, and speak of his pre-existence, as one whose goings forth have been from old, from everlasting. Much of this is based on the vision of the Son of Man in Daniel vii.; and from the same source the doctrine is derived that all earthly kingdoms were to fade away and vanish in the presence of the kingdom of the Messiah; and the ascribing to Him especially of the office of Judge.

The *Noachic fragments* give no evidence of date, but it is supposed that the author wrote after the production of the *Parables*, and borrowed from them. Here the Deluge, omitted in the other parts, is especially dwelt upon, as fulfilling the predictions of Enoch.

We gladly welcome Dr. Schodde's volume, both for its exhaustive treatment of the subject, and as a fresh evidence of the interest which has of late years been awakened in Jewish Apocryphal literature.

Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum, editum consilio et impensis academiae litterarum Casareae Vindobonensis. Vol. VI. Magni Felicis Ennodii opera omnia ex recensione GUILIELMI HARTELI. Vindobonæ, 1882.

ENNODIUS is not a very attractive writer. Nine books of letters are full of emptiness and affectation, while the panegyric he addresses to Theodoric is as nauseous as the most shameless flattery can make it. Sicily does duty for 'Ethiopia and the tropic,' and Pannonia for 'the cold of Scythia.' Every sentence is a conundrum of perverse bombast, combining Tacitean difficulty with Ennodian inanity. Hard nuts these for the reader, and always empty. Even his epigrams are witless enough, and this when they are also something worse than witless. Nor is the poverty of his writings redeemed by any dignity of personal character, for in this respect Ennodius is no match for his nearest literary compeers. Symmachus breaks into genuine eloquence in his pleadings for the ancient faith of Rome, and Sidonius kindles into patriotism during the Arvernian war of independence; but Ennodius never rises above himself. He is a trifler from first to last.

Yet the historian has an interest even in this poor caricature of Mamertinus and Pacatus. His want of salient character is not surprising in an age of exhaustion, for however the literary coteries of Gaul and Italy might ignore the calamities of the Western Empire, they could not long survive its fall. We see Ennodius at his best on another side, as a fairly decent Christian bishop and a sincere admirer of his nobler predecessor Epiphanius. His chief value to us is in the facts we glean from him. In the absence of other material,

he is our best authority on the quarrel between Anthemius and Ricimer, on some aspects of the cession of Auvergne by Nepos to the Visigoths, and on the details of Theodoric's conquest of Italy.

As regards the text of Ennodius, little had been done for it since the editions of Schott and Sirmond in 1611 before the appearance of the present volume. It was entrusted by the Vienna Academy to the able hands of the editor of Cyprian, and has been executed by him with the same care as the earlier volumes of the series. It is enriched with new critical materials, and furnished with the same fourfold index as the others.

Erasmus Redivivus, sive de Curia Romana hucusque insanabili.

Scriptis CONSTANTINUS SCHLOTTMANN. Tom. I. (Halis : 1883.)

THIS volume is the first instalment of a work which has a double aim. The author, a Professor at Halle, whose studies have led him to pay especial attention to the revival of learning which ushered in the Reformation, seeks by an independent investigation to arrive at a critical estimate of the character and work of Erasmus. The ulterior purpose of the book is to compare Erasmus with Döllinger and the modern opponents of Vaticanism, and to discuss the recent policy of the Roman Curia. The last-named subject is reserved for the second volume, which is promised in the course of another year.

Of the introductory chapters the second, which deals with the history of the unhappy Vatican Council of 1870 and its sequel, has already excited considerable attention in Germany, where it originally appeared in the form of a 'programme.' For those who are interested in the Old Catholic movement, and in the other questions partly religious partly political which have of late so deeply stirred the national life of Germany, this portion of the work will possess much interest, as reflecting the judgment of a cultivated and responsible critic, who has lived in the heart of the struggle, and is capable of appreciating its significance.

For ourselves, the most attractive part of the present volume is that which brings us into sight of Erasmus and his times. The author does not profess to rewrite the biography of his hero, a task which he tells us is about to be executed by other hands. The earlier scenes of the great scholar's life, including those which connect him with England and the English Universities, pass almost unnoticed in the pages before us. But his character and conduct are submitted to an examination in which, *more Germanorum*, the minutest details are made subservient to a scientific appreciation of the whole ; and this will amply repay the careful reader. Especially we would direct attention to the chapters in which Erasmus is brought face to face with Luther. The comparison is drawn with great fairness and with a firm hand and full knowledge of the facts. We think, however, that the author is disposed to overstate the extent of his hero's agreement with the Reformer of Wittenberg. The truth is that Erasmus had little inclination for the thorny paths of polemical theology. His instincts were those of a man of letters rather than of a religious controversialist. Of the sincerity of his religion there can be no doubt ;

but religion in his eyes was synonymous with a simple and practical faith in the Person of Our Lord. For the rest he was content to submit himself to the judgment of the Church. It was better to err with the Spouse of Christ than to plunge with Luther into a headstrong course of opposition to her authority. Professor Schlottmann is certainly right when he declines to attribute the isolation of Erasmus to a selfish timidity. 'I am ready,' he once wrote, 'to be a martyr for Christ, but I will not be a martyr for Luther.' In point of fact his latter days would have been easier if he had joined the Lutheran party. To an English Churchman the steady refusal of Erasmus to commit schism in the interests of reform is one of the chief glories of his life; and that this was his real attitude the volume before us supplies abundant evidence.

It remains to say that Professor Schlottmann's Latinity is both perspicuous and elegant. We fear, however, that he has been ill advised in employing a dead language as the exponent of modern life and thought. The second chapter has already appeared in a German translation; and we hope that when the work is complete, the whole may be made accessible to readers who will be compelled to regard the present volume as a sealed book.

Beiträge zur Christologie. Von F. L. Steinmeyer. I. Die Epiphanien im Leben des Herrn; II. Die Theophanien im Leben des Herrn; III. Die Christophanien des Verherrlichten. (Berlin: Wiegandt und Grieben, 1880-2.)

HAD this book been written in a better style it would have been one which must infallibly have commanded a good deal of attention for its originality and thoughtfulness. But the writer seems to be one of those people who accept and act upon the Napoleonic dictum that language was given us to conceal our thoughts; and with the exception of Sanskrit there is no language which adapts itself to the concealment of thought so well as the German. It has been a difficult task to read and appreciate the polyglot style of our author. We have still another fault to find. In a book of this kind quotations are necessary and of the greatest value. But out of consideration to the readers the references should be added. Of these, unfortunately, there are very few.

When we come to the subject-matter of the book we come to a great deal that is helpful and suggestive. Only, like many other suggestive and helpful books, it must (especially in its first part) be handled with carefulness. It seems occasionally to come dangerously near to heresy, and although the author generally steers clear of false doctrine, yet in less skilful and less scrupulous hands the speculations he indulges in might prove very subversive of orthodox faith. The book professes to throw fresh light upon the nature and work of our Saviour, and to vindicate His Divinity against the criticisms of the modern school of rationalizing divines. It seems to us a misfortune that in these speculations the author should set aside the great assistance which he might obtain from the Catholic Church and her doctrines, and always refer to 'die Kirkliche Theologie' with

an almost undisguised contempt. On points such as these we should all be at one ; we are all fighting on the same side.

The book has appeared in three separate parts, each by the consideration of a triplet of events in the Sacred life bringing out some particular point in our Lord's life. The first part treats of the 'Epiphanies in the Life of the Lord.' There is something strange in our author's use of the word *ἐπιφάνεια*. He states that the Feast of the Epiphany was originally a heretical or schismatic festival (he does not quote his authorities), but that the heretics used the word to denote that at certain epochs in our Lord's life He received from His Father certain gifts and graces which He did not possess before ; and that the Catholic festival, to counteract the schismatic one, strove to bring out the true meaning of the Epiphanies as we have received them. Our author takes the Epiphany in its unorthodox sense, and strives to show that there were periods in the Lord's life in which He received from His Father certain fresh revelations, or, if not fresh, then fuller, revelations of His Father's will.

Herr Steinmeyer finds fault with most modern and ancient commentators, that in treating of the baptism they neglect the baptism for the consideration of the descent of the Holy Spirit and the voice from heaven. These, he says, are but accessories ; the important fact for the Lord Himself was the baptism itself—for as the waters of Jordan closed over His head He was, as it were, baptized into His own death, and the 'Epiphany' of the baptism was the light which was given Him as to His career as the Messiah : He had to 'become obedient unto death.' Till that period our Lord had been without a knowledge of the direction of His life. He had not known, for instance, the precise character of the enemy against whom He would have to fight, nor the particular methods of attack which that enemy would adopt. These were revealed to Him in the Temptation, which was (as Bengel rightly calls it) *omnium tentationum epitome*. And finally, when just before the last great battle of the Passion the flesh might possibly have asserted itself against the spirit, then to strengthen Him for His last great effort, the *βραβεῖον*, the prize, was set before Him and the glories of His mediatorial kingdom were set before Him on the Mount of the Transfiguration.

Such are the 'Epiphanies' which form the first portion of Herr Steinmeyer's work. They are suggestively treated, but the author's views are incompatible with a belief in the true doctrine of the Incarnation.

The second part—the 'Theophanies'—is in some degree a corrective to the first. 'What think ye of Christ, *whose son is He?*' The answer to this question was one of the most difficult portions of our Saviour's teaching. The disciples began by saying one to another, 'We have found the Messiah ;' but with the exception of Nathanael they were a long time before they could say 'Thou art the Son of God.' The blind man is asked by his healer, *σὺ πιστεύεις εἰς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ*. His immediate question is, 'Who is He?' The crowds in Galilee are ready to own, after seeing the miracle of the loaves, that 'this is of a truth that Prophet that should come into the

world,' and to ask with amazement, 'When Christ cometh, can He do greater miracles than these?' But when that same Prophet begins to speak about His Father and to claim to be the Son of God the reply of the same hearers is, 'This is a hard saying, who can hear it?'

What steps, besides simple assertion, did Christ take to establish His sonship? It is the declaration of the Nicene Creed that the Son is 'of the same substance with the Father,' *consubstantialis patri*. He therefore possesses the same attributes as the Father. God's attributes are divided into two classes, the *κοινωνήτα* and the *ἀκοινωνήτα*. The first class are those which men can possess as well as God, though in a lesser degree. The second class are those which are peculiar to God. The sum of the second class is comprised in the attributes which are involved in the incommunicable name and in the Greek paraphrase which is also applied in the Revelation to the Son Himself, *ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος*, God in His Nature, God as revealed in History, God as the Sovereign Ruler.

What steps did Christ take to show His claim to this title? Herr Steinmeyer takes three instances to prove his point. They are all three of them actions in the recording of which S. John has gone out of his usual way to narrate facts which had already been narrated in the Synoptics; they are all actions of a peculiar nature, bearing traces of deliberate premeditation and preparation on the part of our Lord; all have a deep symbolic meaning, all from the remarks made by the spectators produced a deep impression; and finally all three were wrought at critical moments, the beginning, the middle, the end of the ministry. The three events are the cleansing of the temple, the walking on the waves, and the entry into Jerusalem.

In the first Christ sought to show His Sonship by establishing His resemblance to the Father in His Nature (as *ὁ ὢν*). 'Make not *my Father's house* a house of merchandise' is His indignant expression as He sees the desecration of the temple; and the prophecy which forced itself upon the minds of the disciples is not the one generally quoted by commentators, 'the Lord shall suddenly come,' but *ὁ ζῆλος τοῦ οἴκου σου κατέφαγέ με*. Christ, like the Father, is *θεὸς ζηλωτής*, 'of purer eyes than to behold iniquity.' Thus did Christ show Himself to be one with the Father in Nature. One in Nature (*ὁ ὢν*), but also one in historical manifestation (*ὁ ἦν*). This is especially shown by the walking on the waves, which was purposely planned to give to His disciples the true knowledge of Him in all His dealings with the sons of men. Like His Father, He shows His omniscience by 'seeing' them in the dark watches of the night; His pity by coming to them when they were 'toiling with rowing'; His omnipresence by surmounting the natural barrier of waves that separated Him from them; His omnipotence by bringing them at once to the haven where they would be. The lesson was not without immediate effect; 'they that were in the ship came and worshipped Him saying, of a truth Thou art the *Son of God*.' (S. Matt. xiv. 33.)

The triumphal entry into Jerusalem was a manifestation of Christ to the world as '*ὁ ἐρχόμενος*.' It pointed backwards to the entry of

Solomon into Jerusalem (1 Kings i. 33), and forwards to the kingly glories which will attend the *παρουσία* of the Son of Man. *εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου*, say the crowd, and, with still deeper significance *εὐλογημένη ἡ ἐρχομένη βασιλεία ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου* (S. Mark xi. 10.) Christ, as his Father, is *ὁ ἐρχόμενος*, the sovereign ready to assert His sovereignty when the 'Kingdoms of the world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ.'

Such were the Theophanies, the manifestations of the Son of God, which took place during the Sacred Life. But Christ's work was not finished with the Passion, nor even with the Resurrection and the Ascension. There was still needing for the strengthening of the faithful the proof that He had entered into His glory, and that that glory was one *μέλλουσα ἀποκαλυφθῆναι* waiting for its manifestation.

The Christophanies, the manifestations of the glorified Christ, form the subject of the third part of the book before us. They are three in number: the vision of S. Stephen, the conversion of S. Paul, and the Apocalypse of S. John, the object of all three being to impress upon Christian believers the imperative duty of seeking those things which are above, *where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God*.

In the hour of the Church's earliest and probably most terrible persecution, the glorified Saviour was seen standing at the right hand of God. This was not, as Neander would allow, merely a prophetic insight into the future triumphs of Christianity, but a real vision of heavenly things accorded to the moribund martyr. It was received as such by the crowd of tormentors, it served to increase their rage and fury as they see on his countenance the traces of the glory revealed. Not, however, for S. Stephen, but for the Church's sake, was the vision revealed. The brunt of the persecution was to fall, not on him that was called away to his rest, but on those that remained. For them, therefore, the vision was intended. The Church in her hour of sorrow, when all her members were scattered abroad, was to 'seek those things which are above,' where Christ, the real object of the persecution, was *standing*, not so much in readiness to assist, as *standing unmoved* and unhurt amongst the blows showered on Him by His adversaries. The vision of S. Stephen was designed to give the Church confidence as to the ultimate result of her conflict with the world.

In the conversion of S. Paul we have not merely the fact that from being faithless he had become believing; we must remember that S. Paul's whole apostleship dates from this period. 'Am I not an apostle? have I not seen the Lord?' he says. It is true the Church of Antioch set him apart; but the inspired words which moved the Church to do this seem to refer to the former calling. 'Separate me Paul and Barnabas to the work for which *I have called them*.' He was essentially, as he declares of himself, 'an apostle, not of men nor by men, but by Jesus Christ and God the Father, who raised him from the dead.'

And as his commission, so was his message, *οὐ δύναμαι ἂ εἶδόν καὶ ἡκουσα μὴ λαλεῖν*. He conferred not with flesh and blood: it is

no human wisdom that he claims to deliver, it is a God-sent one. And in the delivery of this message he is responsible to no human authority—he cares not for man's judgment, he appeals to God and Christ to establish the truth of his words, and to God alone is he answerable. And throughout the whole of his life one great thought animates the Apostle—the *faithfulness of Him that called him to the Apostolate*. If then the true meaning of the vision of Jesus on the road to Damascus be not so much the conversion of a persecutor as the calling of an Apostle and the concomitant endowing of him with the grace of perseverance, we can see the meaning that this Christophany has for the Church :—

‘The Church has passed through sad periods, has seemed *ὡσεὶ ἴσον θανάτῳ*; the preaching of Paul has called to life the all but dead, and strengthened the enfeebled ones. The last evil days stand before the Church : the preaching of Jesus, *as Paul delivers it* (Acts xix. 13-15), will preserve and perfect her, so that as a *παρθένος ἀγνή* she may go to meet her Lord. That midday hour near Damascus is the hour upon which this view depends. There is the king of the realm, there we may see the might of his sceptre.’

We now come to the last of the Christophanies, the one accorded to S. John. We have to notice here, first, the recipient, the last of the Apostles to whom the gift came, we might almost say, as a fulfilment of the quasi-promise, ‘If I will that He tarry till I come.’ We have next to consider the time of its communication, the eve of the death of S. John, just before the apostolate was to disappear from the earth, and during the period of the persecution of Domitian. We have then the gift itself, truly a *δωρεὰ ἀνεκδήγητος*, a book which, except to reverent and holy minds, is simply unintelligible, and which in the hours of the Church's prosperity has ever been very unpopular ; a book, moreover, which the Church admitted to the sacred canon, and has retained there, in spite of the fact that criticism has mostly been against it. We have then the subject of the book—*ἀποκάλυψις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*—not a revelation of the righteousness of God, nor yet a revelation of the wrath of God, but a revelation of Jesus Christ Himself in the glory of His mediatorial kingdom. And, lastly, the Giver brings His own gift. ‘It is the fundamental condition for the understanding of the Apocalypse that we must take this *δωρεὰ* out of the hands of the *ἐρχόμενος*.’ And the gift comprises ‘the things that are,’ and ‘the things that must be hereafter,’ the condition of the Church on earth, and the condition of the Church hereafter : the exhortation to the ‘patience of the saints, now—the promise of victory hereafter to him that overcometh.’

We have striven, as far as we were able, to give our readers an analysis of Herr Steinmeyer's new work. It has defects, although the gravely erroneous teaching on the nature of our Lord is partly counterbalanced and corrected by the teaching of the later volumes. But it has also very considerable merits, and not the least among these is that it does not attempt too much, but what it does attempt it does well. It only treats of nine facts connected with our Saviour, but these nine facts it treats so fully and so thoughtfully that it can

justly claim to have fulfilled its author's intention when he set himself to work to write not a complete Christology, but only a few helps to the better understanding of that most difficult but important study.

Christian Ethics. Special Part. Second Division: Social Ethics.

By Dr. H. MARTENSEN, Bishop of Seeland. Translated from the Author's German Edition. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1882.)

SOCIAL ethics are understood and studied amongst us, we imagine, in but a fragmentary and imperfect way. This is to be attributed partly to a tendency in the English mind to decide questions empirically and *ad hoc*, as they arise; partly, we suspect, to that general suspicion under which the science of casuistry has fallen amongst us, which has caused its study to be almost wholly neglected. This is due, of course, to the abuse of it by the Jesuits, and to their doctrine of Probabilism; and it cannot, we fear, but be admitted that a habit of over-refining leads by degrees to tampering with the laws of right and wrong. Bishop Sanderson was the last great English casuist; and since it is evident that every conscientious person must practise casuistry in some form occasionally, it would be well that this should be done with a conscience to some extent instructed. The clergy might do worse than peruse with some care the treatises of the learned author above mentioned—*De Obligatione Conscientiæ* or *De Framento*—or the various collections of 'cases of conscience,' published at various times. One of these was republished by the late Dr. Whewell many years ago; and another by Bishop Sanderson's present learned successor in the See of Lincoln.

The work before us, though it can scarcely be called a treatise on Casuistry, yet aims at affording guidance to the individual in his capacity as a husband or parent, as a master or servant, as a citizen and man of business, a politician, or an artist. The non-formal way in which it is written does not hinder its being full of the most valuable and useful instruction upon such points as these; and the study of it could not fail to afford instruction to almost any reader. It is a drawback that its determinations of 'cases of conscience' (for that is what each of them really is) should appear to be empirically arrived at, and to rest upon no exactly stated principles; but with all this it is able, high-toned, pious, and sensible; and we are able fully to recommend it.

The Church and the Ministry: a Review of the Rev. E. Hatch's Bampton Lectures. By the Rev. CHARLES GORE, M.A. Second Edition. (London: Rivingtons, 1882.)

MANY of our readers are doubtless aware that a review of Mr. Hatch's *Bampton Lectures*, which appeared in our number for July 1881, has been published in a developed form by its author, Mr. Gore, the Vice-Principal of Cuddesdon College, under the title of *The Church and the Ministry: a Review of the Rev. E. Hatch's Bampton Lectures* (Rivingtons). In the preface to the second edition of his Lectures Mr. Hatch bestows some notice on Mr. Gore's

criticisms; and the second edition of *The Church and the Ministry*, now lying before us, contains a rejoinder. Mr. Gore remarks that 'Mr. Hatch has not thought it worth while to reply to his historical challenges.' These were certainly broad enough. Could Mr. Hatch prove 'that Church membership was not at first an essential of Christian life'? Could he 'justify the assumption that abuses protested against by sub-apostolic or later ecclesiastical writers were survivals of earlier, and presumably purer, forms of Christianity'? Could he produce any 'positive evidence that the Christian ministry was, as such, the creation of economic expediency; that the primary functions of the bishops were secular and financial; or that the spiritual conceptions of the Eucharist sprang out of the associations of a mere supper for mutual support and charity'? Mr. Hatch in his new preface represents Mr. Gore as having simply shown that if a person will start with the 'Augustinian theory' of the Church, he can represent the facts of early Church history in accordance with it. But, not to dwell on the unfair assumption implied in the appellative 'Augustinian,' Mr. Hatch himself appears to start with a preconception, the roots of which go deeper than may be apparent to cursory readers of his book. They are traceable, we believe, to a certain way of reading and estimating those very New Testament documents which in his Lectures he declined to discuss. This omission was naturally complained of. The *Guardian* of November 2, 1881, in reviewing his book, says, 'To dismiss summarily the whole of the New Testament statements respecting the institution and characteristics of the Christian ministry seems to us a most audacious proceeding, and one which really vitiates any conclusions which the clever author may reach out of the mutilated evidence which he has left himself.' Mr. Gore also 'challenged Mr. Hatch to show cause why he should have ignored, in his estimate of the evidence, the documents of the New Testament.' To *this* challenge Mr. Hatch makes a threefold reply: (1) that the New Testament passages relating to the ministry are theological rather than historical; (2) that Scripture requires Church history as its comment; (3) that the exegesis of the New Testament is encompassed with great difficulties. Similarly, in a letter to the *Guardian* of November 9, 1881, he had referred to 'the preliminary questions of authenticity and date, and the main questions of exegesis and harmony,' adding that he 'had for years been engaged in making somewhat elaborate investigations' on this subject 'with a view to publishing their results.' The first two answers are obviously evasive; the real question is, What light does e.g. S. Paul's 'theological' language as to the Church and the ministry throw on the early history of these institutions; and is the comment to be studied before the text? The third answer hints at broadly negative conclusions as to New Testament documents; and this, we suspect, is the root of the matter. But let that pass. What is now, by means of the new preface, clearer than before is this, that Mr. Hatch's whole view of post-apostolic evidence on his subject is determined by his conviction that the visible Church, as it existed in the apostolic age, and, of course, as it has existed ever since, is *not*

really of Divine institution, is *not* 'Christ's body,' is *not* a society which He has chartered and endowed ; that it has nothing about it specially sacred or supernatural ; that it is a community which grew up and organized itself under natural laws of providence, not under any unique operation of grace. Of course, a naturalistic view of the Apostolic Church necessitates a naturalistic view of its post-apostolic manifestation. Those who blithely accept the latter as a deliverance from 'hierarchical' or 'sacerdotal' pretensions will gradually be led on to accept the former, in order that their theory, in a familiar Arnoldian phrase, may 'stand upon four legs.' And when they have got thus far, some further questions, which Mr. Hatch leaves on one side, will encounter them. 'What about the original relation of the Apostles to their Master? Did *they* receive any special Divine commission? Need we retain that idea within the area of the Gospel history, after we have banished it from the area of the Church? Are we, indeed, justified in doing so until a number of difficulties as to the authenticity, harmony, and exegesis of the Four Gospels have been settled in a way favourable to ecclesiastical tradition? And if they should not be so settled, ought we to be unwilling to admit *here* also that "God acts in the realm of grace as He acts in the realm of nature, by the mediation of general and far-reaching laws, without any special interposition of that mysterious and extraordinary action of the Divine volition which, for want of a better term, we speak of as supernatural?"¹ Shall we not, by such an admission, be really completing our view of the uniformity of God's providential action, reconciling religion with philosophy by the sacrifice of the crude notion of "interference," and gaining a Christ who will be not less but more "Divine" to us when we see Him without the miraculous aureole, and hail in Him the richest development of man's moral nature under its general Divine education?' This will be said ; will Mr. Hatch's followers be ready to gainsay it? His new preface, as Mr. Gore points out, will enable thoughtful readers to see more clearly 'the coherence of the authoritative ministry with the visible Church,' and, we will add, the solidarity of Christian supernaturalism. A 'ministry' which is not a ministry, but a mere staff of officials created by social convenience, implies a visible 'Church' which has nothing of the sacredness attaching to that august name, but is just as simply natural, in origin and essence, as a benefit club or a literary society ; and such an idea of the Church will act on many minds as a solvent of belief in a miraculous Incarnation. This belief, seriously accepted and firmly held, must surely tell on a man's conception of that Christian body which comes before us in the New Testament ; while the theory of naturalism, applied to that body, will not in the long run be content to dwell together with the supernaturalist conception of its Founder and its Head.

Mr. Gore might, we think, have advantageously enlarged this preface ; it would have been well to test, not by reference, but by

¹ See Mr. Hatch's first and eighth Bampton Lectures in reference to 'the organization of the Church.'

extracts, the value of Mr. Hatch's quotation of Hooker's words : '*So far forth as the Church is the mystical body of Christ and His invisible spouse, it needeth no external polity*' (E. P. iii. 11. 14). Hooker gives the reason. 'That very part of the law Divine which teacheth faith and works of righteousness is sufficient for the Church of God in that respect. But,' he adds, 'as the Church is a visible society and body politic, laws of polity it cannot want' (cannot dispense with). Now, the sentence which we have italicized could only be of use to Mr. Hatch if Hooker held that the visible Church was a society of purely natural formation. Mr. Gore points out that Hooker held quite the opposite view ; although he restricted the term 'body mystical' to what he describes as the flock of which our Lord said that its members should not perish (iii. 1. 2), he yet applied the phrase 'one body' to the Church visible, adding, 'the unity of which visible body and Church of Christ consisteth in that uniformity, which all several persons thereunto belonging have, by reason of' the 'one Lord, one faith, one baptism.' Further on (iii. 1. 8) he uses the same phrase, 'the visible body and Church of Jesus Christ.' We are not now concerned with Hooker's contention that no one form of Church government is definitively prescribed by Scripture, although he adds that 'those things which are of principal weight in the very particular form of Church polity which we against them' (the Puritans) 'uphold are in the selfsame Scriptures contained' (iii. 4. 1), that Episcopacy 'best agreeth with the sacred Scripture' (iii. 11. 16), and that 'to the Apostles in the beginning, and to the Bishops always since, we find plainly both in Scripture and in all ecclesiastical records, other ministers of the Word and Sacraments have been subordinate' (iii. 11. 20). The point is, Did Hooker, or did he not, consider the visible Church to be, in the special, not general, sense, a Divine creation? We believe that Hooker would have been as much astonished at the negative proposition as S. Paul would have been by hearing that some readers of the Epistle to the Ephesians had imagined the 'one body' which was 'edified' through the ministry 'given' from above to be not more supernatural, *quâ* society, than a guild of woolcarders or of silversmiths. When Hooker is distinguishing things essential from things variable in Church polity, he plainly says that 'God's clergy are a state which hath been and will be, as long as there is a Church upon earth, necessary by the plain word of God Himself, a state whereunto the rest of God's people must be subject as touching things that appertain to their soul's health' (iii. 11. 20). Has Mr. Hatch, we ask, a moral right to claim Hooker? It is needless to refer to the chapter on the ministry in the fifth book.

We venture to commend Mr. Gore's pamphlet in its revised form to our readers' most attentive consideration.

Worship and Offices of the Church of Scotland. By G. W. SPROTT, D.D. (Edinburgh and London : W. Blackwood and Sons, 1882.)

THIS is an important and noteworthy book. Proceeding from the Established Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and consisting of

official 'lectures delivered at the Universities of Aberdeen, Glasgow, S. Andrew's, and Edinburgh,' by 'one of the lecturers on Pastoral Theology appointed by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland,' its tone is surprisingly Catholic and ecclesiastical. The Eucharistic doctrine, for example, is high. 'The Lord's Supper' is the 'chief ordinance of the Church, in which, united with Christ in His work of intercession within the veil, we represent and plead before the Father His sacrifice once offered on the Cross, make a spiritual oblation of all possible praise for the same, and feed upon Him risen and glorified, and witness for Him before the world' (p. 99). The consecration of the elements is spoken of in Catholic language (pp. 119, 120). Its effect is to make what was 'bread merely' to be 'Christ's Sacramental Body' (p. 127)—'no common bread and wine, but sacramentally the Body and Blood of Christ' (p. 122).¹ Again, he describes fasting Communion as 'almost as old as Christianity,' and has an obvious reverence for this and other Catholic practices, such as the use of the mixed chalice, of the prolonged survival of which among Scotch Presbyterians he gives us interesting notices (pp. 124, 242). Once more, his treatment of 'Sunday' is completely anti-Puritan in tone (pp. 175, 177, &c.), and the tendency of his whole book is in the direction of liturgical forms. He does, indeed, waive the question, as a disputed one, in his preface, but the tendency of the book is unmistakable. He feels the advantage of 'free prayer' where many Churchmen would agree with him (p. 175) and its astounding disadvantages in public ministrations. That a minister should make fancy additions to the formula of Baptism² (p. 74), and make any claim on the sponsor that he pleases, as, for example, 'that he should have family worship in his house regularly twice a day' (p. 68); that he should, *as part of his prayer*, give notice of the afternoon preacher and hour of the service (p. 49), and present the elements to the communicant with the phrase, '*I have much pleasure in putting into your hands,*' are among the almost incredible results here chronicled, to which the want of taste in ministers, unrestrained by fixed forms, has led in the public service. For the 'laying a foundation stone' Dr. Spratt actually supplies an office (p. 249), and we believe that he is among those ministers who, in their own churches, follow the course of the ecclesiastical seasons.

This book, then, is a remarkable phenomenon, and it cannot be taken alone. Dr. Spratt is one of a body of ministers of the Established Church, whose numbers we have no means of estimating, but of whose existence we have abundant evidence, who are working in a Catholic direction both in doctrine and practice.

Whither will this movement tend? At present Dr. Spratt's

¹ Dr. Spratt (p. 124, note 1), by a misuse of terms, speaks of doctrine similar to his own as '*Sacramentarianism.*' Historically this is taken to represent the opposite system. He means '*Sacramentalism.*'

² Dr. Spratt would lead us to believe the greatest carelessness in administering baptism, reaching the point of making it actually invalid, to have prevailed in the past (pp. 74-76).

position appears to one not surrounded by his difficulties one of singular inconsistency. He is 'halting between two opinions.' How can he adopt a line in the main Catholic and dismiss Confirmation in the slighting fashion he does (p. 84)? Surely a slight study of the theology of Confirmation in the Early Church¹ would convince him that it was regarded as the only appointed means of conveying the gift of the Holy Ghost to the baptized Christian. You cannot accept the Catholic Church and ignore Confirmation. Again, Dr. Sprott's treatment of the question of ordination is almost trifling with the subject. He seems to uphold three positions. First, that the Scotch Church maintains a Presbyterian succession—a position which must have received a rude shock when, in last June, the General Assembly determined, by a majority, we believe, of fifty-eight, to admit an Independent minister (one, that is, quite outside even of a Presbyterian succession) to the ranks of the Established Church clergy without reordination.

Next, Dr. Sprott maintains the position that a Presbyterian succession is adequate: a position in bold contradiction to the voice of the Catholic Church.

Thirdly, we have the astounding theory that the Scotch Presbyterian Church has as good an episcopal succession as 'the Southern Hierarchy' of the English Church! (p. 199). We must leave Dr. Sprott in the enjoyment of this last position, only remarking that, among other omissions, he does not seem to have realized that in the Catholic doctrine of ordination there is required not only 'matter' but 'form' for the Sacrament. So we leave Dr. Sprott in his ambiguous position, and shall watch with interest and hope the result of a Catholicizing movement side by side with the Rationalistic in the Scotch Establishment. We trust that the Church of Scotland, whose episcopal orders are beyond dispute, will show her true Catholicity and her reverence for the Presbyterate in such fashion as to help her Presbyterian brethren to see that to submit to the claims of the Episcopate is not to submit to mere 'prelacy.'

The Latin Prayer Book of Charles II., &c. By MESSRS. CHARLES and WILLIAM MARSHALL. (Oxford: Thornton, 1882.)

THIS expensive volume (in proportion to its size) is dedicated to the late Dean Stanley, because two of his predecessors at Westminster, Bishop Earle and Archbishop Dolben, were entrusted with the task (which they never performed) of translating the 'Revised Liturgy'—the Messrs. Marshall mean the whole Prayer Book—of 1661 into the Latin language; and because 'no one more highly values the Protestant principles, . . . and no one is more deeply sensible of the disastrous consequences of maiming the beauty of the most excellent religion in the world by sacerdotal errors and superstitions.' This last sentence gives the motive of the publication, the writers' competence for which may be estimated by the fact that they repeatedly (pp. 23–28) apply to the English Sovereign the title of

¹ See especially a tract by the Rev. F. Puller, *What is the Distinctive Grace of Confirmation?* (Rivington).

'Supreme Head' of the Church, in ignorance and forgetfulness of the important facts that, for the short period during which that title was insisted on, *i.e.* by Henry VIII., the Church only conceded it with the qualification, *quantum per Christi legem licet*, and that Elizabeth expressly repudiated it, and substituted the phrase Supreme Governour, which stands in the Declaration prefixed to the Articles.

Another reason given in the Preface is 'the remarkable scarcity' of the book itself, which doubtless is of some value and interest even at the present day. But surely common sense should have suggested, under these circumstances, the actual reprint, and not merely 'an account of' the book itself, the only part of which really given to us is the Catechism. This is reprinted with a translation, occupying, with the Messrs. Marshalls' 'collations, annotations, and appendices,' no less than 116 pages (83-198). Liturgical scholars would have gladly welcomed a reprint, without note or comment, of Dean Durel's Latin translation—and, indeed, of his French one also, published in 1662—and the cost need not have been much more than half that of the present volume.

Durel, who was a native of Jersey, had been a loyal adherent of Charles II., and was after the Restoration rewarded accordingly, being made, 1663-4, Prebendary of Salisbury, Windsor, and Durham, and having 'a rich donative' conferred upon him; while in 1677 he 'was made Dean of Windsor and of Wolverhampton, and was also presented to the valuable living of Witney.' It has a droll effect to read, within half a dozen lines of these announcements, that 'in religious principles Durel was what is called a "good Churchman," with hardly more sympathy for Dissent than for Papacy.' We can quite believe it. This doubly-decanal Dean had very solid reasons for being a 'good Churchman.' Our Editors are also at great pains to show that he was a 'High Churchman.' We are not anxious to claim him; but at any rate, he was more of a 'good Churchman' and of a 'High Churchman' than our Editors; for he was at least guiltless of calling Charles II. the 'Supreme Head of the Church of England.' We are treated on p. 27 to the astounding assertion that, after Durel had prepared his Latin translation of the Book of Common Prayer, he 'consistently and loyally, in a tone similar to that adopted by the last translators of the Bible, dedicated his work to the Sovereign of the Realm, the Supreme Head of the Church of England.' There are two inaccuracies here, to use a gentle term. The translators of 1611, in their dedication 'to the most high and mighty King James,' call him 'Defender of the Faith, &c.' There is not a syllable about 'supreme headship,' or any 'headship.' We suppose the powerful partizan magnifiers used by the Messrs. Marshall have discovered something lurking under the '&c.' which is invisible to ordinary eyesight. Of the second inaccuracy they, with admirable *naïveté*, convict themselves. For they give, p. 21, their own English translation of the Dedication to the King prefixed by Durel to his Latin Prayer Book of 1670. It is 'To the most serene and most mighty Monarch, Charles II., by the grace of God King of *Great Britain, France, and Ireland*, Defender of the

Faith.' Here, also, there is not a word about any headship, 'supreme' or other: not even an '&c.,' under which Erastian eyes could hope it might lurk. The account in part ii. chap. i. of the various editions of Durel's book and of other versions, earlier and later, Latin and Greek, will be useful to the student. Chap. ii. of part ii. is on the 'Meaning of the term "Priest"' and some words of 'Monsignor Capel,' to the effect that the Church of England has neither priest, altar, nor sacrifice, are quoted as 'a very accurate statement of the case.' Of course it is unfortunate, or worse, after this, that the word 'Priest' so often occurs in the Revised Prayer Book of 1662; but the Messrs. Marshall are much consoled by the fact that Durel renders it by 'presbyter' 'one hundred and sixty times in all,' and 'not once by the term "sacerdos."'

It would have been more satisfactory, to say the least, if the Messrs. Marshall had not suppressed all mention of the contrary facts of the Greek versions of Elias Petley, 1638, dedicated to Archbishop Laud, and Dean Duport, 1665, dedicated to Archbishop Sheldon. They include them in the account of the various versions given in their part ii. chap. ii., the really useful portion of their work; but they do not tell us that both these translators, while using in some places the terms *λειτουργός* and *πρεσβύτερος* where the English Prayer-Book has 'priest,' give in most places *ιερεύς* as its representative; and this especially in the Communion Office. Petley also, and this is very noticeable, has *ιερεύς* in the Rubric before the Special Absolution in the Visitation of the Sick. He does not translate the Ordinal; but Duport, in the decisive words accompanying the laying on of hands in the Ordination of Priests, has for 'the office and work of a priest' *τὴν λειτουργίαν καὶ τὸ ἔργον τοῦ ιερέως*.

After this we are not surprised to find that part iii., the largest portion of the volume, consists chiefly of a laboured attempt to minimize the sacramental teaching of the Church Catechism, by means of long and wearisome digressions in the course of their very minute annotations on their reprint and translation of this portion of Durel's work. Pages are taken up in the futile endeavour to show that the word 'generally,' in the phrase 'generally necessary to salvation,' is used only in the modern sense, *i.e.* as meaning pointedly less than all. Of course, Baptismal Regeneration is denied, and indeed all distinctively Church teaching of any kind. Perhaps the climax is reached in the following passage (p. 105), which we cannot forbear quoting:—

'Dr. Harrison writes to us: "Our Nicene Creed is quite wrong on the doctrine of Baptism. Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, recites an article from an earlier form of it as follows: 'I believe *in* one Baptism of Repentance for the remission of sins.' This is the obsolete Baptism of John, and not Christian Baptism. Cyril accordingly, in his exposition of this article, distinctly maintains that John's Baptism conveyed the remission of sins. Now John's Baptism was for, or in order to, repentance and conversion; and repentance was for, or in order to, remission. The error, when discovered, was only partially corrected by leaving out the words

'of repentance.' By this omission the Creed ceased to teach John's Baptism, but it was made to teach Christian Baptism as being for, or in order to, the remission of sins, which I am sure is neither the phraseology nor the doctrine of Scripture."

Athanasius contra mundum pales before 'Dr. Harrison' *versus* the Nicene Creed and the whole Catholic Church of the fourth century and onwards. Who 'Dr. Harrison' may be we are not told; nor why, after expressing himself thus, he should talk of '*Our* Nicene Creed'; but the interests of theological learning, if not of common honesty and loyalty, compel us to regret that he is a clergyman of the Church of England, albeit our authors seem to appeal to him as an infallible authority.

Ad Clerum: A Synopsis of Moral and Ascetical Theology, with a Catalogue of Ancient and Modern Authorities arranged according to Centuries. By JAMES SKINNER, M.A., sometime Vicar of Newland, Great Malvern, and First Warden of the Beauchamp Charity; with a Prefatory Note by the Rev. T. T. CARTER, &c. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Co., 1882.)

It awakens tender memories to criticize this volume. The originator of the scheme of which it forms a preliminary part, and the writer who was enabled to accomplish this portion, have both within the year passed to their last rest and their reward. Mr. O'Neill, of the Cowley Brotherhood, who urged upon us the importance of undertaking what many had long felt to be a crying need, and who gathered together a small company of priests, with Bishop Forbes as their chairman, to consult together about it, gave up his life as an offering to God for the conversion of India; and James Skinner, who, at the request of these friends, undertook to do what he could in furtherance of the scheme, during years of continual sickness and much suffering, has also been taken from us. Nearly all the work now published had received a last revision from Mr. Skinner's own hands; what remained required only a partial supervision, and this has with great care, as explained in a brief note, been supplied. The object of this work, the general position of the science of moral theology, and what is needed as a safeguard against error, is well stated in the Preface by Mr. Skinner. Mr. Carter's addition is but an explanation, given with much feeling, how the necessary completion of his friend's work has been effected.

There can be no doubt of the value of such a scheme as was projected, and of which this volume is the result. We have nothing of our own which at all meets it. There are indeed admirable works by English divines to which we can refer for guidance on questions of conscience, such as Jeremy Taylor's *Ductor Dubitantium*, Bishop Sanderson's *Lectures on Conscience and Human Law*, and Butler's great moral treatises. But we have no scientific *Summa*, nothing which in the least degree attempts to embrace, in order and detail, the various departments included under the head of Moral Theology. Yet in proportion as the clergy are called to deal with souls, they necessarily feel the need of such assistance. We are left to study

such subjects and to find answers to such inquiries in writers outside our own communion. The *Synopsis* does not profess to do more than supply a digest, in order, of the several divisions and subdivisions under which fall the various questions of practical religion. It is in fact a skeleton map drawn in minute detail of the several portions of the field—a series of heads of subjects—which may form the groundwork on which treatises might hereafter be written, as writers arise with adequate learning and leisure to complete the intended scheme. Together with these heads of subjects are given the names of authors to be referred to on each detail. Their names are given at the foot of each page. The digest of heads of subjects is very full, very carefully done, and apparently, as far as it goes, complete. The authorities are of all ages—from the first to the last century of the Church's history. We say 'as far as it goes,' for we observe that the scheme commences with what relates to 'the soul of man,' and 'human conduct.' The nature and attributes of God, with which the great moral theologians of old commenced such treatises, are not dealt with. Later on we come to questions of 'Grace,' but this still only as relating to human conduct, or to the Sacraments. We observe, too, that the Church is not mentioned among the heads of subjects; and though there are but few points needing to be treated of under this head, still it appears to us to be an omission not to touch, for instance, upon the 'notes' of the Catholic and Apostolic Church. The subject is dealt with, as far as practical points are concerned, under the head of 'Order,' but not as a matter *per se*.

There is added at the end of this skeleton map of subject-heads a valuable catalogue of authorities, century by century, from the beginning down to our own day, including writers of all portions of the Church—Eastern, Latin, and English. We understand that among the author's papers were found certain notes, intended evidently to have been completed, giving his view of the comparative worth or bias of the different authorities quoted, so as to supply a *catalogue raisonné*, but they are only fragments, and not sufficiently matured for publication. The only help, therefore, that is given to guide the reader is the fact of the country, or the religious order, to which the authors belonged. What, however, Mr. Skinner's judgment was as to such casuistry as is identified with the name of Liguori, or the Probabilists, seems clearly shown by his references. He refers, for instance, to Liguori only on the one subject of Priest-Missioners. In a note to his Preface he specifies Gerbert, and Père Graveson, of the Sorbonne, as safeguards against perverted views of 'Probabilism;' and while allowing that his catalogue is 'far from being exhaustive,' he regrets that he has omitted certain other works that he names, as 'special safeguards against the evils of the modern Roman system of casuistry.'

We heartily recommend this volume as a valuable contribution to a most important part of theological study, and one which we hope may lead on to further efforts in the same direction. While it is interesting and instructive in itself, this digest will form a most use-

ful groundwork to any one who is able to undertake any special subject for general treatment.

Histoire Contemporaine de l'Eglise. Par M. l'Abbé GUILLAUME.
(Paris : Librairie Victor Lecoffre.)

IN this work the Abbé Guillaume has undertaken to tell the history of the Church since the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789. The fact that it is contained in a single volume, extending indeed to some eight hundred pages, is a sufficient indication that fulness of detail is hardly to be expected. But it is astonishing how much the Abbé has succeeded in squeezing into this space. His work is a masterpiece of compression. It is written of course from the modern Roman—that is to say, from the Ultramontane—point of view, but no space is wasted in theorizing or arguing. The facts are set before us, and left to tell their own story with the smallest possible amount of comment. And the result is that in a series of fifty-seven lectures, delivered, we presume, to the students at the *Grand Séminaire de Verdun*, there is set forth an outline not merely of the history of the Gallican Church, but of the whole Church in all the four quarters of the globe ; and we have no hesitation in saying that the work forms the most convenient handbook that we know on this subject. Looking on it as a manual for candidates for ordination, we have been a good deal struck with the excellence of its plan and arrangement, and cannot help thinking that something of the kind is much wanted among ourselves.

(1) If only our own clergy were taken through some such course as this previous to ordination it would tend more than anything else to break down the absurd popular notion that, just as secular history is supposed to end with the battle of Waterloo, so Church history came to a close in 1662. Most of our Anglican text-books end abruptly at this point, if indeed they are brought down so far ; and the bishops' requirements for ordination, with scarcely an exception, are limited to 'the Reformation period' in English Church history. Hence, while everybody has some idea of the course of religious events in the sixteenth century and the early part of the seventeenth, the period from the Restoration down to the present day is to many a blank page. There is not space to point out the disastrous consequences of this notion, and the unfortunate divorce between the present and the past to which it gives rise. We can only call attention to the fact, and indicate how it is avoided in the Roman Communion by such a course of modern and contemporary history as that which now lies before us.

(2) Secondly, we notice its *comprehensive* character. Although not unnaturally the affairs of the Gallican Church are treated at the greatest length, yet (so far as we have observed) no country has any right to complain of neglect, while the movements of the Anglican Church, and even of Continental bodies outside the Roman Communion, are not forgotten. Herein surely lies a lesson for us. Our general ecclesiastical histories end with the Reformation ; and, in spite of Professor Stubbs's continuation of Mosheim, people in general

seem scarcely to feel that the fortunes of the Church on the Continent ought to have a living interest and importance for them.

(3) Thirdly, a most remarkable feature is the prominence here given to the history of the missionary work of the Church. We find scattered throughout the volume sketches of the progress of missions in all parts of the world—in Persia, India, Corea, China, Japan, Thibet, in Abyssinia and Madagascar, in Australia, and in both North and South America. The narratives, as may be supposed, contain only the barest outline; but still the fact that the Church's work in all these outlying fields is systematically recorded and brought under the notice of candidates for ordination must tend to impress them with a lively sense of its reality and importance, and were the same sort of thing done among us we might have less cause to lament the apathy and ignorance on the subject of mission work which is so painfully noticeable at present.

In all these points the Abbé Guillaume's work has much to teach us. We cannot, however, conclude without cautioning our readers against taking their ideas of modern Anglican Church history from this volume. It seems as if it were almost an impossibility for foreigners to be accurate in their accounts of English affairs, and we suppose that it is peculiarly difficult for one who belongs to another Communion to follow out carefully the various religious questions that arise and movements that originate in our island. Still, if matters so notorious as the Gorham controversy and the Tractarian movement are touched upon at all, they ought to be treated with care, and absurd and random statements such as the following might at least have been avoided :—

'L'on vit en 1847 l'évêque anglican d'Exeter, obéissant à la sentence de tribunaux civils, signer la nomination du curé Gorham, qu'il avait d'abord repoussé comme socinien. Gorham niait la divinité de Jésus-Christ et la nécessité du baptême' (p. 431).

And again on p. 433 :—

'Nous avons déjà vu qu'une partie des membres de l'université d'Oxford cherchaient à retremper la religion officielle dans les traditions et les pratiques des premiers siècles chrétiens. Ces aspirations se fortifièrent par l'opposition même que leur faisaient certains docteurs enclins au rationalisme. Les principaux chefs étaient Pusey, Vaughan, Thomas et Newman. A la fin de 1833 ils commencèrent à publier de petits *Traité*s populaires pour les temps actuels.'

This list of the Tractarians will come as a surprise to most readers. But it is easy to see that our good Abbé has sawn asunder poor Mr. Vaughan Thomas, and made him into two separate persons. Mr. Mozley describes him as 'a much respected though rather grotesque specimen of the Oxford of that day,' and though it is true that he presided at the preliminary meeting to decide on the course to be taken with regard to Hampden's appointment as Regius Professor, yet we think that he would be considerably startled at finding himself credited with a share in the Tracts, and represented as not merely *one* but *two* of the leaders of the Oxford movement.

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Theologische Literaturzeitung. (Leipzig : J. C. Hinrich.)

THE later numbers of this periodical have not been quite as interesting as usual. There seems to be a dearth of new German books which can claim foreign interest.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature is the great interest which seems to be taken just now in the life and writings of S. Boniface. Four books have been reviewed in this periodical during the past year on this subject. Fischer's *Bonifatius der Apostel der Deutschen* (Leipzig: Weigel) was reviewed in January. In June we had a review of an academic dissertation *On the Chronology of the Epistles of Boniface*; and again, in October, we have reviews of two books: Buss' *Winfrid Bonifacius*, edited by Professor v. Scherer (Graz, 1880), and Pfahler's *S. Bonifacius und seine Zeit* (Regensburg: Manz). The interest of all these books centres of course in the importance which attaches to the labours of S. Boniface. According to some authorities, of whom Ebrard would seem to be the chief, Boniface found in Germany a pre-existing Church of Irish or Scottish descent, which, while retaining its national peculiarities of government and organization, was thoroughly evangelical and orthodox. From such a standpoint S. Boniface can of course be regarded as nothing else but a meddler who in the interests of the papacy entered into other men's labours and disturbed the Church. The mass of evidence seems, however, to point the other way. The 'Iro-Scotic' Church on the Rhine was probably more or less tainted with heresy of one kind or another; and even had it been perfectly orthodox, its loose and unpractical organization could not possibly have succeeded in holding Germany for Christ. As with us, so with the Germans: it was needful for the Church to be brought under the Papacy. Under no other conditions could it then have flourished. On the other hand Boniface's outspoken denunciation of simony and worldliness at the Papal Court shows that his submission to the Papacy was by no means that blind and unquestioning submission which the modern Roman Church demands for her infallible Head.

We are not at all surprised to find that Drs. Westcott and Hort's edition of the New Testament should be very highly praised for its diligence and research; nor yet that the *Quarterly Reviewer's* attack upon both this work and the Revised Version should be condemned as thoroughly uncritical.

Pastor's *Kirchliche Reunionsbestrebungen während der Regierung Karls V.* (Freiburg: Herder) is not favourably reviewed in No. 12. It works upon the proposition that the Reformation was not doctrinal nor religious so much as political. The reviewer condemns this supposition as a false and an unscientific one, and yet it seems to us with our knowledge of the English Reformation that political considerations had a very great deal to do with the religious reform, and that had it been possible for these political considerations to be left wholly on one side the religious reformation might very possibly have been carried into effect without the division which all sensible Christians must deplore.

Professor Kuchler's *Zur Freiheit des Gewissens* (Leipzig : Lehmann) is well reviewed, and seems to be a book which contributes good suggestions towards the solution of many difficult points in the relations of Church and State.

Recreations and Studies of a Country Clergyman of the Eighteenth Century. Being Selections from the Correspondence of the Rev. Thomas Twining, M.A., Translator of *Aristotle on Poetry*; sometime Rector of S. Mary's, Colchester; and formerly Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. (London : J. Murray, 1882.)

THIS work is at once the manifestation of a very commendable family feeling in one who is conscious of his obligation towards an ancestor, whose feeling is the old Roman one—*patriæ fumus igne alieno luculentior*—and the picture of a state of things now utterly and for ever passed away. Mr. Twining, the grand-uncle of the compiler of this volume, lived from 1735 to 1804, during that 'backwater' of our English Church history, when spiritual slumber deep as 'poppy or mandragora' was spread over the land. It is odd for the parish priest of to-day to look back upon a time when clerical duty was so modest in its demands as to allow of frequent travel, and devotion to favourite pursuits as well. Parish duty was, we imagine, mostly a mere routine, and all the *virida vis* of the parson went into these other things. Hence the strange fact that, in the private correspondence of an exemplary clergyman, some of it with other clergymen, there is no mention of his parish or his work, but of almost all possible things besides. The letters are good specimens of the average epistolary style of that day, which is not in our opinion an agreeable one, with its affected playfulness and familiarity, alternated with passages of more than Johnsonian grandeur. Mr. Twining was perhaps peculiar in the opinion he expresses in one letter, that 'Swift's writings have [not] any one bad tendency,' and that Swift, whom he calls 'that capital man,' was not a misanthrope, but a great humourist, who only pretended to misanthropical ways. It is very characteristic of the period when the French Revolution was in full progress to find in these letters three country clergymen agreeing that 'there never can be any peace or quiet in the world till the word liberty is entirely abolished and expunged from all languages.' And Mr. Twining himself expresses the opinion 'I do really think that no word ever did mankind so much harm.' But he was evidently a clever, scholarly man, of a turn for dilettantism, fonder perhaps of play than of work, but amiable, estimable, and a gentleman; and we have no doubt that this generation will peruse the account of him with considerable interest.

The Jews of Barnow. Stories by KARL EMIL FRANZOS. Translated by M. W. MACDOWALL. (Edinburgh and London : William Blackwood and Sons, 1882.)

IN these eight stories of Polish Jews a very attractive effort has been made to convey to Gentile readers a true description of Jewish life

in some of its saddest phases. *Ars est celare artem.* The author has instructed us while we have been absorbed in his pathetic pages ; and we rise from their perusal with a fuller knowledge of strange customs and manners than we could have obtained by any number of dry treatises. Translations of the little volume have, we believe, now been made into all European tongues as well as Hebrew ; and, if the proverb quoted by the editor be true, 'Every country has the Jews which it deserves,' the softened feelings which these touching stories will awake may help towards the solution of a very difficult problem ; and Professor Goldwin Smith¹ may join with Dr. Adler in words of peace. 'The Shylock of Barnow' is a terrible story of sorrow and sin, and the hardening of a father's heart ; and, with 'Baron Schmale,' 'Nameless Graves,' and parts of 'Chane,' exhibits the Jewish character in some very repulsive traits ; while 'Two Saviours of the People,' 'The Child of Atonement,' and 'Esterka Regina' (Queen Esther) present it in some very noble points indeed. 'The Picture of Christ' is one of the most dramatic of the series, and will be the favourite of many readers ; but, for ourselves, the story of the poor little Chazan (or Reader), who saved his townsmen by the wonderful pathos of his singing, must be preferred. Its companion tale is too horrible ; the second 'Saviour of the People' had better have been left to oblivion, for the dark shadow of her sacrifice can only tell us what we already know—'how much the wretched dare.'

Altogether, we commend the book, and hope it may have as great a success in England as it has received already on the Continent. Few who take it in hand will fail to thank both author and translator for their excellent work.

The Great Schoolmen of the Middle Ages. By W. J. TOWNSEND.
(London : Hodder and Stoughton.)

THIS is an interesting work, and contains much information on a period in the history of thought about which very little is popularly known. Mr. Townsend is happy in having discovered a real literary want, and his book certainly goes far to fill a very considerable gap in our knowledge. Look into the Middle Ages where we will, scholasticism meets us at every turn—in the Church, the laws, even in poetry itself. Some account of the philosophical development of this great movement and of the principal thinkers belonging to it is certain to be read and carefully considered. While taking each of the chief schoolmen separately, Mr. Townsend gives us a short summary of their peculiar opinions, beginning with Scotus Erigena and ending with Gerson. It is of course very difficult, in writing on a theme somewhat dry and abstruse, to avoid over-diffuseness on the one hand, and on the other to give a sufficient general view of the subject-matter. We wish, however, that the author had found room to trace more fully the rise of scholasticism in that dark period which lies between Scotus Erigena and the Fathers, and had made it con-

¹ Vide *The Nineteenth Century* for Nov. 1882, 'The Jews : A Deferred Rejoinder.'

sistent with the title of his book to pursue his inquiries a little further than Gerson.

Against his biographical mode of treatment—good as it is in itself—it may perhaps be urged that rather too much space is given to incidents in the lives of men who are after all more famous for what they thought than for what they did, to the necessary exclusion of much which would be new to most of us. It is also somewhat difficult to take up again the various threads of thought which are dropped for a time, as each new actor is introduced upon the scene. It is certainly a wise choice which has selected Scotus Erigena as the first great schoolman, for he contains some indications of all the different phases of opinion about to be developed, and it is very truly said—‘He was the greatest intellectual force of the ninth century; but though he was a bold and adventurous mind he did not manifest thorough originality in his thinking.’ Mr. Townsend has, however, a little failed in making us feel what must have been the great charm of the *De Divisione Naturæ*, the immense scope and completeness of the theory—the orderly arrangement of the thoughts—to keep pace with the mighty procession of all things passing out from God and returning to Him. As that great train sweeps on before the mystic (for a mystic Scotus was as well as philosopher or logician), the barbarous Latin seems to creak and groan with the desire of expressing something it cannot contain, and a general impression is experienced, such as is in general only given by great writers, of a reserve of energy beyond what the words express. The aim after universality also, which is so visible in the *De Divisione*, and which pervades all scholasticism, is little dwelt upon, although it is one of the most conspicuous signs of that age; and has not Mr. Townsend gone a little beyond the mark in describing Scotus Erigena as a Protestant born out of due time? If this title is to be given to every one who applied reason to the elucidation of doctrine, has not S. Augustine an equal claim, or indeed most of the heretics in every place and time? There is also an inclination to follow too slavishly those French writers who see in every exercise of the intellect on religious matters ‘the revolt of reason against authority.’ Some truth there is no doubt in this view of things, but is it not more accurate to say that it was the Church herself who in the first place preserved the remnants of ancient learning to be employed for her own purposes, not doubting but that the *vera ratio* and *vera religio* were not only contrary but identical? Christians remembered that the pagan philosophy had been vanquished, and had very little reason for supposing that it would be able to do more in the future than in the past. Such ideas, if entertained, were certainly to a great extent justified by events. Twice the Church gathered her doctrines together, once in the *Liber Sententiarum* of Peter the Lombard, and, finally, in the *Summa* of S. Thomas, silencing all objectors, much more by arguments which appeared unanswerable than by the mere power of authority.

Passing by an interesting sketch of S. Anselm in which Descartes’ well-known argument for the existence of God is traced to

its real originator, and a notice of Abelard in which rather too much is made of his *sic et non* as rationalistic work, it is satisfactory to find that the mystics, represented by Hugh of S. Victor, are not forgotten as a part of the scholastic whole.

It is rather curious that Roger Bacon, the 'Doctor Admirabilis,' finds no place among his compeers. He, as truly as the mystics, may claim to be more than half a schoolman, and had his own opinions on the subject of universals; indeed it would be curious matter of inquiry to endeavour to find out how far in his attempts at experimentation he was tied down by the deductive method of the time, which is known to have influenced the physicians and alchemists to such an extraordinary extent. Dante, too, was thoroughly imbued with the scholastic philosophy. He reproduced many of the doctrines of S. Thomas Aquinas, whom he chiefly followed, *con angelica voce in sua favella*. His elaborate representation of Heaven, Hell, and Purgatory, shows the vast outlines of a *Summa*, glorified into poetry, and scholasticism finds at last that poetical expression which is wanting, we are told, to no science. All this is very pertinent to the subject, and it is to be regretted that Mr. Townsend's space was necessarily too limited to enable him to touch upon any but the more immediate facts.

The two most interesting chapters in the book are, we think, those upon Duns Scotus and Ockham, the great nominalist, who in reality gave the death-blow to scholasticism and is much more of a modern in many of his ideas than any of his contemporaries. Our author successfully traces many thoughts, supposed to have originated much later, back to these two men; in particular Locke's principle that all knowledge is derived through the double medium of sense and reflection, which Scotus announced even in a more correct manner than Locke himself.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS, NEW EDITIONS, CHARGES, SERMONS,
AND PAMPHLETS.

The Treasury of David. By C. H. Spurgeon. Vol. vi. Psalm cxix. to cxliv. (London: Passmore and Alabaster, 1882.) All students of the Psalter will welcome Mr. Spurgeon's new volume, although they will often disagree with him. The special value of the book is the use which the author has made of a host of commentators and critics whom a Churchman would be most unlikely to consult.

The Good News in Africa (Seeley, 1882), by a well-known authoress, with a preface by her brother, the Rev. E. H. Bickersteth, is well written and interesting, and copiously illustrated. We do not complain of the friendly notice of the various sectarian missions given in this volume, but the omission of the Central Africa Universities Mission in particular is unjustifiable.

Mrs. Oliphant has given so many proofs of the interest which she feels in the conditions of the future life that her hand will be recognized in *A Little Pilgrim in the Unseen* (London: Macmillan, 1882),

now published in a collected form. It deserves to be read with sympathy. But we do not feel that any really valuable new thought is suggested on this most mysterious but fascinating subject, and we regret that this pleasing little volume is pervaded by a dangerous undercurrent of Universalism.

Messrs. Rivington continue the publication of their dainty little volumes compiled by Mrs. Sidney Lear. *Sunrise, Noon, and Sunset* are the titles of the three now before us. They are made up of charmingly suggestive extracts. A series of five tiny volumes—*The Christian Year, The Imitation of Christ* (translated by the Rev. W. H. Hutchings), *The Spiritual Combat* (by the same translator), *The Devout Life* (by S. Francis de Sales), and *The Hidden Life of the Soul* (translated from the French of Jean Nicolas Grou)—have been issued by the same publishers. And the example has been followed by Messrs. Griffith and Farran, who publish *Whispers of Love and Wisdom*, collected by Annie Cazenove and furnished with a preface by Miss Yonge.

From many attractive books published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge we may name Lord Nelson's *Readings for the Seasons* as one that would be found useful not only in private devotion but in family prayer. Dr. Bright has issued *Private Prayer's for a Week* (Parker and Co.), which is especially valuable for its collects.

The Teacher's Prayer Book (London : Eyre and Spottiswoode) is an interleaved Prayer Book, on the model of the well-known edition of Dr. Campion and Mr. Beamont, with annotations by Dr. Barry. It is likely to be very useful both to teachers and to students. The notes are eminently judicious and sometimes too colourless for our taste—as, for example, about the Ornaments Rubric. It is pleasant to find Dr. Barry speaking boldly in defence of the Table of Kindred and Affinity. He takes the only right ground in affirming that our Lord's own teaching 'puts affinity or connection by marriage on exactly the same footing as kindred or connection by blood.' And he adds, 'It will be seen that the table is constructed on broad and obvious principles, and that if these be infringed in any case there is no reason why the infringement should not be indefinitely extended.' We may take this opportunity of mentioning that a powerful 'Marriage Law Defence Union' has been founded. Its office is No. 20 Cockspur Street, and its secretary is Mr. G. J. Murray.

Among new editions may be mentioned a beautifully illustrated volume in quarto form containing all the *Sacred Allegories* (Rivingtons) of the late Rev. W. Adams ; and a third edition of Bishop Moberly's most valuable Bampton Lectures of 1868, *The Administration of the Holy Spirit in the Body of Christ* (Parker and Co.). The preface to the second edition appears without alteration or addition. *Early Influences* (Rivingtons, 1883) appears, still anonymously, in a new edition, with a preface, calling attention to the real value of this almost forgotten book, from the pen of Mrs. Gladstone. A cheaper edition, in a condensed form and in one volume, of the *Life of Bishop Gray*, of Cape Town (Rivingtons, 1883), will be widely acceptable.

It is sufficient to announce the publication of the *eleventh* edition of Mr. M. H. Bloxam's well-known treatise on ecclesiastical vestments under the somewhat ill-chosen title of *Companion to the Principles of Gothic Architecture* (London : Bell and Sons, 1882).

The Charge of the Bishop of Argyll and the Isles (Edinburgh : S. Giles's Printing Company) deals only with questions of local interest, but concludes with an earnest appeal for assistance to the Western Highlands Mission Fund. The Archdeacon of Lewes has published three instructive *Addresses* (Brighton : Treacher) on questions now before Parliament and Convocation and on the Revised Version of the New Testament, which he delivered at his fifth Visitation.

Alms and Oblations (London : Stock), by Canon Simmons, has a permanent value. This eminent liturgical scholar refutes his adversary, Dean Howson, of Chester, who had striven to show that the word 'oblations' in the Prayer for the Church Militant is not intended to include the sacred elements. It was an easy task, but it has been done thoroughly and as few could have done it. This pamphlet has been reprinted with additions from the *Churchman* monthly magazine.

The Hon. C. L. Wood has acted wisely in publishing the timely and spirited paper which he read at the Church Congress at Derby on the Communion Service of the First Prayer Book of Edward VI., with the Service itself appended. It bears the title of *Liturgical Improvement* (London : Church Union Office). The injudicious and intemperate outcry with which this paper was received will result, as usual, in making the Service itself much more widely known and valued. Mr. Wood quotes on his title-page the well-known words of Bishop Wilson, in the *Sacra Privata*, expressing his hope and prayer that this office may be restored to us. We may mention here that Mr. James Parker has edited, and published, as a companion to his shilling edition of the *First Prayer Book*, a reprint of the *Second Prayer Book of 1552* (Oxford and London, 1883).

Among single sermons we would mention as particularly good one by Dr. Kingdon, Coadjutor Bishop of Fredericton, called *Spiritual Famine* (S. John, N.B., 1882) ; and one of special interest and of most encouraging hopefulness by the Bishop of Ely on the opening of Selwyn College, Cambridge, called *The Strength of the Church* (Cambridge : Macmillan and Bowes, 1882). Mr. Alleyne Pearson has published a vigorous and sensible sermon on *Christian Temperance* (Canterbury : Goulden), protesting against the extremes to which many total abstainers have been driven. We may notice also with commendation Dr. Luckock's sermon, entitled *An Appeal to the Church* (Rivingtons), preached before the University of Cambridge on Commencement Sunday. Its burthen is an eloquent and well-timed remonstrance against the withdrawal of the clergy from University training. The preacher urges that times of equal peril brought out Redmayn, Overall, and Pearson ; and hopes that it may again be said, as it was of the divines of their day, 'Anglicanus clerus stuporundi.'

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